This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

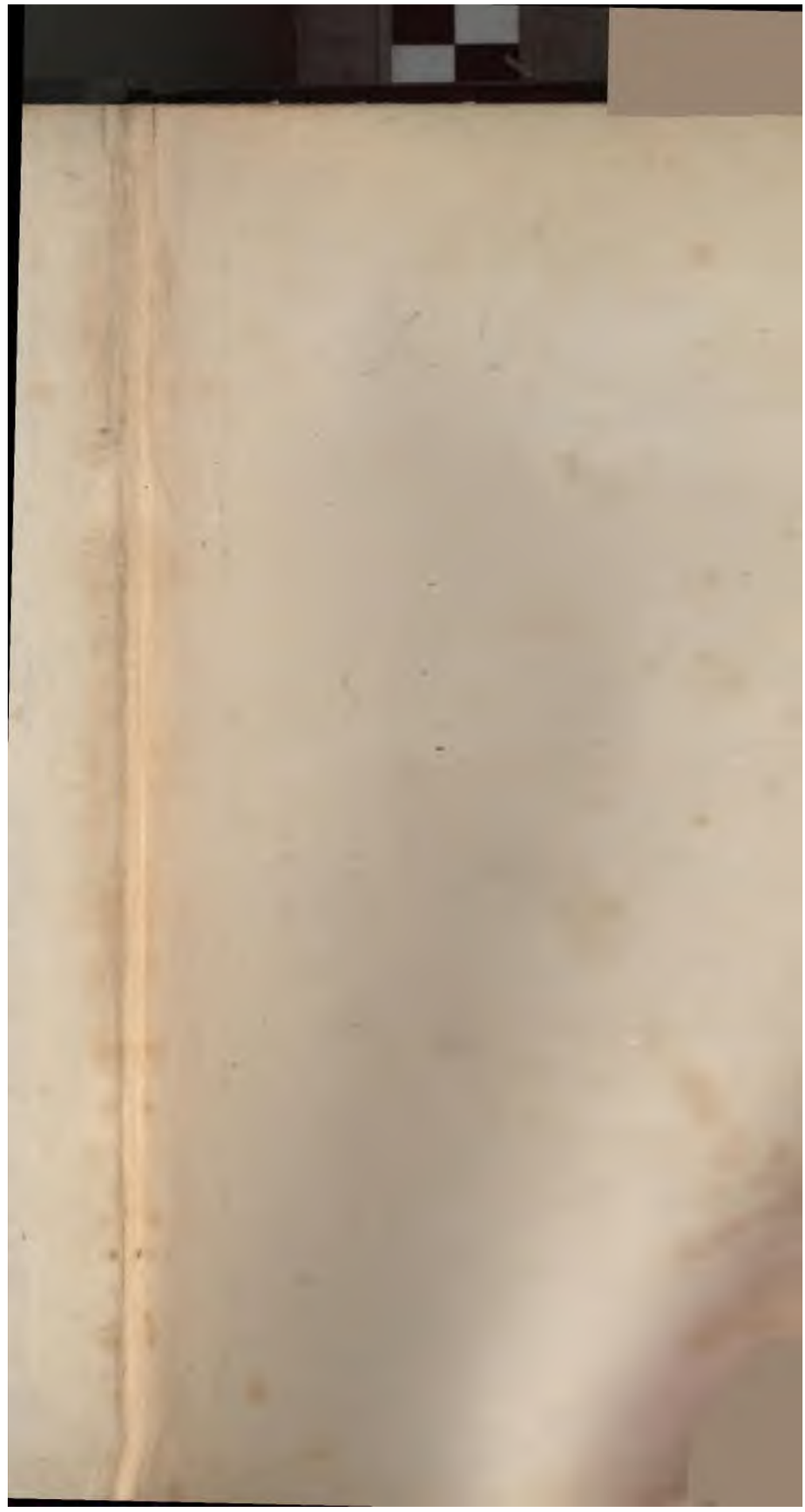
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE,

SOMETIME PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER,
WESTMINSTER.

VOL. IV.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
MDCCC LII.

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
Anonymous Gift

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

TITLE OF THE WORK, THE THIRD BOOK OF WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England, being a necessary Consideration and brief Resolution of the chief Controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church; occasioned by the present calamity of the Church of England: in three books: viz. of

I. The Principles of Christian Truth;
II. The Covenant of Grace;
III. The Laws of the Church:

By Herbert Thorndike.

London; Printed by J. M. and T. R. for J. Martin, J. Allestry, and T. Dicas, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bell, in St. Paul's Churchyard. Folio, 1659.

OF THE

LAWS OF THE CHURCH.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CHURCH FOUNDED UPON THE DUTY OF COMMUNICATING IN THE OFFICES OF GOD'S SERVICE. THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST, AMONG THOSE OFFICES, PROPER TO CHRISTIANITY. WHAT OPINIONS CONCERNING THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST'S BODY AND BLOOD IN THE EUCHARIST ARE ON FOOT.

CHAP. I.

The society of the Church founded upon the duty of communicating in the offices of God's service.

If God had only appointed the profession of Christianity to be the condition qualifying for the world to come, leaving to every man's judgment to determine, what that Christianity is, and wherein it consists, which it is necessary to salvation he profess, and what that conversation is which his salvation requireth; there had been no cause, why I should go any further in this dispute. But having shewed, that God hath appointed the sacrament of baptism to be a necessary means to salvation, limiting thereby the profession of Christianity, which He requireth to be deposited and consigned in the hands of His Church, whom He hath trusted for the maintaining and propagating of it[a]: I have thereby shewed, that He hath appointed all Christians to live in the communion of the Church; the effect of baptism being, to admit unto full communion in those offices, wherewith God is served by His Church. It is plain enough to all, that have the use of reason, what that communion of the Church and the society thereof is able to effect, and hath effected, in preserving the rule of Christianity, wherein the salvation of Christians consisteth, free and entire from the infection of men's devices, expressly or by consequence destructive to it; as well as the conversation of Christians from unchristian manners. But if the Church be trusted to exact the profession of Christianity of all, that require by baptism to be admitted unto the communion of the Church; it must, by consequence, be

[a] Bk. II. Of the Covenant of Grace, cc. ii. sq.

BOOK III.

intrusted to exact of them also the performance of that, which they have professed, that is, undertaken to profess. For, the profession being the condition upon which they are admitted to the communion of the Church, the performance, or at least a presumption of the performance, must needs be the condition upon which they enjoy it. Upon this ground, the Church becomes not only a number of men, but a society, corporation, and communion of Christians in those offices, wherewith God hath declared that He will be served by 2 Christians. For upon supposition of such a declaration or such a law of God it is, that the Church becomes a body or corporation of all Christians, though under several commonwealths and sovereignties of this world; as there are in all states several by-corporations, subsisting by some act or law of the sovereign powers of the same. For if God had not appointed, what offices He will be served with by His people at their common assemblies: there could be no ground, why the Church should be such a society founded by God, there being nothing appointed by God for the members of it to communicate in [b].

The sacrament of the eucharist, among those offices, proper to Christianity.

§ 2. But were there nothing but the sacrament of the eucharist acknowledged to have been delivered by God to His people, to be frequented and celebrated by them at their common assemblies; that alone would be enough, to demonstrate the foundation and institution of the communion and corporation of the Church by God. For, of a truth, the rest of those offices, wherewith God requires to be served by Christians, are the same, by which He required to be served by His ancient people before Christianity; setting aside that difference, which [c] the diverse measure of the knowledge of God in this and in that estate must needs produce. Though there is no serving of God by the blood of bulls and goats, nor by other ceremonies and sacrifices of Moses' law, under Christianity; yet were the praises of God, the hearing of His word read, and the instructing and exhorting of His people in it and to it, together with the sacrifice of prayer, frequented by God's people under the Law, as still God is served and is to be served with them under Christianity.

[Heb. ix. 12, x. 4.]

[b] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi.
[c] Corrected from MS.; "with," in orig. text.

And, upon this account, I have truly said elsewhere[d], as I conceive it, that the corporation of the Church is founded upon the privilege, which God hath granted all Christians, of assembling themselves for the service of God, though supposing that the powers of the world should forbid them so to do. For this privilege consists in nothing else, but in that command which God hath given His Church, of serving Him with these offices. Whereupon it necessarily ensues, that, notwithstanding whatsoever command of secular powers, they are forbidden to serve God in the communion of them that are not of the Church; seeing they cannot be commanded to serve God in the communion of the Church, but they must be forbidden to serve God in the communion of them which are not of the Church. And upon this ground stands all the power, which the Church can challenge, in limiting the circumstances and conditions upon which men may communicate in these offices. Which as it may justly seem of itself inconsiderable to the world and the powers that govern it; so, when those powers take upon them to establish the exercise of it by their laws, if they maintain not the Church in that power, which of right and of necessity it had from God before they professed to maintain Christianity, they destroy in deed that, which in word they profess. But if they take upon them to maintain it in the right, which originally it had, to limit the said circumstances by such rules, as by the act of secular powers become laws to their people; then must the power of the Church become as considerable, as it is indeed in all states and commonwealths, that retain the Christianity which they had from the beginning, in this point. This being the ground, and this the matter, of ecclesiastical laws, and the sacrament of the eucharist being that office proper to Christianity, in order to the communion whereof, all laws, limiting the circumstances and conditions of the said communion, are devised and made; it seems requisite to my design, in the first place, to void those controversies concerning the same, which all men know how much they have contributed to the present divisions of the Church. For the determination of them will be, without

[d] Right of Ch. in a Chr. State, c. i. § 1—4.

BOOK III.

doubt, of great consequence, to determine the true and right intent of those laws, which serve only to limit those circumstances, which are only the condition of communicating in this, and those other offices, concerning which there is no other controversy on foot to divide the Church but that which concerns the said circumstances.

What opinions concerning the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the eucharist are on foot.

§ 3. Now, what differences concerning the sacrament of the eucharist are matter of division to the Church, I may suppose all the world knows; the opinion of transubstantiation being so famous as it is: which importeth this,—that, in celebrating this sacrament, upon pronouncing of the words with which our Lord delivered it to His disciples, "This is My Body, this is My Blood," the substance of the elements, bread and wine, ceaseth and is abolished, the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ coming into their stead, though under the species of bread and wine; that is to say, those accidents of them, which our senses witness that they remain[e]. In opposition whereunto some have proceeded so far as to teach, that this sacrament is no more than a mere sign, and the celebration and communion thereof, barely, the renewing of our Christian profession of believing in Christ crucified, Whom it representeth, importing no spiritual grace at all to be tendered by it from God; which may justly seem to be the opinion of the Socinians[f], and properly

[1. Transubstantiation.]

[2. Socinians and Sacramentaries.]

[e] "Quoniam autem Christus Redemptor Noster Corpus Suum id quod sub specie panis offerebat vere esse dixit, ideo persuasum semper in Ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam Corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam Sanguinis Ejus, quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta Catholica Ecclesia transubstantiatio est appellata." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiii. Decret. de Sanctiss. Euchar. Sacram., c. iv.; ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. p. 806. B, C.

[f] "Est ergo, sive Eucharistia, sive Synaxis, sive Cœna Dominica, nihil aliud quam commemoratio, qua ii qui se Christi morte et sanguine firmiter credunt Patri reconciliatos esse, hanc vitalem mortem annunciant, hoc est, laudant, gratulantur, et prædicant." Zuinglius, De Vera et Falsa Religione; Op., tom. ii. p. 212. b. Tigur. 1581: and see the chapter at length, and his Subsidium de Eucharistia (ibid., pp. 244. a, sq.), and his other tracts against Luther and the Lutheran doctrine (ibid., pp. 272. a, sq.).—"Patet ergo in his verbis Pauli, Nonne communicatio Sanguinis," &c., "communicationem non pro esu accipi, pro quo hactenus acceperunt theologi, sed pro communicatione ecclesiæ, hoc est, quod quisque hoc pacto se ecclesiæ probat, et inserit tanquam præstito sacramento." Id., Ad Matth. Rutling. Eccles. De Cœna Dom. Epist., ibid., p. 157. a.—And so Œcolampadius, Bullinger, &c.—So also, at length, Socinus, De Usu et Fine Cœnæ Domini, Op., tom. i. pp. 756—775; and Volkel., De Vera Relig., lib. iv. c. 22. pp. 301—351.—The decisive passages from Zuingle may be found collected in a tract entitled Sensus Clariss. V. J. J. Zimmermanni de vero et legitimo usu S. Cœnæ, &c. in the

to give the name of Sacramentaries to all that profess it. For, in reason and justice, we are to difference it from the opinion of those, that hold it for a sign appointed by God, to tender the Body and Blood of Christ, spiritually to be received by it of as many as with a lively faith communicate in it[g]. Though these also cannot pretend to make it any more than a sign, by virtue of that consecration which makes it a sacrament; seeing it is the faith of him that receives it, as they say, which makes it the Body and Blood of Christ spiritually, though truly and really, to him that so receives it. There is, besides, another opinion[h], extremely distant from this last: in regard that, whereas this ascribes the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist to the faith of them that receive it (which is after the consecration of the sacrament, inasmuch as it is exercised in receiving the same), the other extreme opinion, that I speak of, attributes it to the hypostatical union of the two Natures in the Person of Christ; the consequence whereof they will have to be this, that the perfections of the Godhead are communicated to the human Nature in the Person of Christ, exalted to the power of gathering and conducting His Church through this world to the world to come; because this power, being to be exercised in our nature, requires and imports the attributes of the Godhead, to the executing, and in the executing, of it. For seeing the Manhood of Christ cannot communicate with His Godhead in giving this spiritual assistance to His Church, but first it must be present; and seeing this assistance is given by the sacrament of the eucharist; of neces-

[3. Calvinists.]

[4. Luther and the Ubiquitaries.]

Museum Helveticum (tom. i. pp. 490—494, 501, 502. Tigur. 1746), quoted by Mosheim, Eccles. Hist., Bk. iv. Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. c. 2. § 10: and in Hospinian (himself a Zuinglian), Hist. Sacram. Pars Altera, pp. 22. a, sq. fol. Tigur. 1602.

[g] So Calvin, expressing the doctrine at length, in 26 Consensionis Capita, in the Consensio Mutua in re Sacramentaria Ministrorum Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ et D. Joannis Calvini, &c., ap. Op., J. Calvin., tom. viii. pp. 648—650: and see also the "Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia, quam obtulerunt Farellus, Calvinus, et Viretus; cui subscripserunt Bucerus et Capito;" in Calvin's Epistolæ et Responsa, Op., tom. ix. p. 182: and Cosin's Hist. of Transubst., c. ii. § 20.

[h] The passages from Luther may be found in Hospinian, Hist. Sacram. P. Altera, pp. 3. a—18. a: but the Ubiquitarian doctrine was more fully developed by his followers, e.g., Brentius, De Personali Unione Duarum Naturarum in Christo, et Ascensu Christi in Cœlum, ac Sessione Ejus ad Dextram Dei Patris, qua Vera Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Præsentia in Cœna explicata est et Confirmata, 4to. Tubing. 1561. See also the works of Selneccer, Chemnitius, Heshusius, &c.: the note to Mosheim, Eccles. Hist., Bk. iv. Cent. xvi. Sect. i. c. ii. § 20. vol. iii. p. 117. ed. Soames, 1850; Cosin's Hist. of Trans., c. ii. § 8—13: and below, c. iii. § 7—15.

BOOK III.

sity, they think, the Body and Blood of Christ must be present in the eucharist, to give this assistance, by virtue of the hypostatical union ordained for that purpose. And so this opinion becomes extremely opposite to the last; because [that[1]] attributes the presence, and so the receiving, of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist, to that faith which takes effect after that consecration which makes the sacrament; whereas this attributes the same to the hypostatical union of the Manhood with the Godhead in Christ, taking effect without exception after His exaltation to glory, which it is manifest is so long since past and done before the celebration of it.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE NATURAL SUBSTANCE OF THE ELEMENTS REMAINS IN THE SACRAMENT. THAT THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST IS NEVERTHELESS PRESENT IN THE SAME, WHEN IT IS RECEIVED; NOT BY THE RECEIVING OF IT. THE EATING OF THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST UPON THE CROSS NECESSARILY REQUIRETH THE SAME. THIS CAUSES NO CONTRADICTION NOR IMPROPRIETY IN THE WORDS OF OUR LORD.

THIS being the question, wherein I am now to give judgment; and no more required of a divine, than to give such a meaning to those few Scriptures which depose in it, as may no way contradict the rule of faith: I shall (without considering how to content those factions which these opinions have made) content myself by delivering that opinion, which I conceive best satisfies the plain words of the Scripture, without trenching upon any ground of Christianity, within which the meaning of the Scriptures is to remain. 4

That the natural substance of the elements remains in the sacrament.

§ 2. I say then, first, that if we will not offer open violence to the words of the Scripture, and to all consideration of reason that may deserve to direct the meaning of it, we must grant, in the first place, that the bodily substance of bread and wine is not abolished nor ceaseth in this sacrament by virtue of the consecration of it.

[Scripture proofs.]

§ 3. And of this, I conceive, the manifest words of the Scripture, wheresoever there is mention of this sacrament, are

[1] "it," in orig. text.

evidence enough. Matt. xxvi. 26—29: "And when they were eating, Jesus took bread, and having blessed brake and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body: and taking the cup, He gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is that Blood of Mine of the New Testament, which is shed for many unto remission of sins; and I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of this production of the vine, till I drink it new with you in My Father's kingdom." In St. Mark, I can imagine no matter of difference but this (Mark xiv. 24, 25): "This is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many; verily I say unto you, that I will not drink of that which the vine brings forth till I drink it new in the kingdom of God." In St. Luke thus (xxii. 17—20): "And taking the cup [and giving thanks], He said, Take this and divide it amongst you; for I say unto you, that I will not drink of that which the vine brings forth, till the kingdom of God come: and He took bread, and having given thanks brake it, and gave it to them, saying, This is My Body Which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me: likewise also the cup, after having supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which is shed for you." St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23—32: "For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered to you: that the Lord Jesus, in the night that He was betrayed, took bread, and having given thanks brake it, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body Which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of Me: likewise also the cup, after having supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My Blood; this do, so often as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me: for so often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, ye declare the Lord's death, till He come. Therefore, whoso eateth this bread or drinketh this cup unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ. But let a man examine himself, and so eat of [this[k]] bread, and drink of [this[k]] cup. For whoso eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body. Therefore many among you are sick and weak, and many fall asleep. For if we did discern ourselves, we should not be condemned. But when we are judged, we are chastised by the Lord, that

["τοῦ ἄρτου—τοῦ ποτηρίου."]

[k] Corrected in MS.; "the" in orig. text.

BOOK III.

we be not condemned with the world." And again, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17: "The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ? for as the bread is one, so we many are one body: for we all partake of the same bread."

["ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν."] [The word "this," in the words of consecration.]

§ 4. Had not a man as good bid the Scripture be silent (for he will believe what he list notwithstanding the Scripture), as set all this evidence upon the rack, to make it deny that which it cries aloud? For when St. Matthew tells us, that our Lord "took bread, and having blessed brake and gave it, saying, This is My Body;" that He "took the cup, and having given thanks gave it to them, saying, This is My Blood:" is it not as manifest, that He says, "This bread is My Body—this wine is My Blood," as that He says, "This is My Body,—this is My Blood?" Unless we think, that "This" can demonstrate any thing, but that which had been spoke of afore in the process, without giving any mark to know what it is that He meant to demonstrate. There is none of them that deny this, but will be puzzled to say himself, what he would have the disciples, to whom this is said, understand by "This," forbidding them to understand that which went before[l]. In St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul, the difficulty is the same. For is not "This," of which our Lord speaks, the same that He "took?" If you say, not so, because He "gave thanks" before He said, "This is My Body—this is My Blood[m]:" at least it must be that, which He "broke

[l] See Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 8. pp. 35. a—41. a, reckoning six "principal opinions" on the meaning of the pronoun "hoc:" scil. that it points to "nothing" at all, to the "accidentia panis," to the bread itself (but this either in sensu composito, and taking the verb 'est' transitively—hic panis transit in Corpus Meum,—or not "ut est in se, sed ut est conversa in Corpus Christi," or, thirdly, not "ut panis est sed ut Hæc substantia vel Hoc ens"); or again that it is to be explained "de 'individuo entis' quod in fine verborum est Corpus Christi," or "de eo quod continetur sub accidentibus panis;" or lastly of "the Body of Christ," and this either "ut actu præsens," or "prout in cœlo est," or as that "quod erit," scil. when the words of consecration have been pronounced. Albertin (ibid., p. 35. a) aptly cites the words of Catharinus (Tract. ii. de Verbis quibus Conficitur, &c.), "Lector consideret laborem et angustias usque (pene dixerim) ad necem fere omnium scribentium, dum rogati quid significet pronomen illud, Hoc, tot et tanta scribunt et adeo varia, ut valeant ad insaniam redigere lectorem nimium considerantem."—See also Bramhall, Answ. to Milletière, Works, vol. i. p. 15. Oxf. 1842.

[m] "Respondeo, Dominum accepisse ac benedixisse panem; sed dedisse panem non vulgarem, ut acceperat, sed benedictum, et benedictione mutatum. Intercedit enim inter 'Accepit' et 'Dedit' verbum 'Benedixit,' quod facit, ne omnia verba regant eundem accusa-

after He had given thanks;" and that, of necessity, is the same bread which He "took," as the same wine. For to imagine, that "This" demonstrates bread and wine, which, when He says, "Is My Body and Blood," are then abolished, to make room for the Body and Blood[n]; is that, which His affirmation "is" will by no means allow, requiring that which it affirmeth to be verified for that time which it demonstrateth, or presenteth to the understanding. So that "This" must be the Body and Blood of Christ, at such time as it is "This;" that is, that bread and that wine, which God's word demonstrateth. In fine, whatsoever it is, which "This" may be said to demonstrate, besides bread and wine, it will be unpossible to make appear, that the disciples understood that, which the Scriptures (whereby we must learn what they understood) express not.

§ 5. But this is not all. When St. Matthew says, "I will drink no more of this production of the vine" (which St. Luke says that our Lord said before the consecration of the sacrament); either we must say, that He repeated the same words (which is nothing unlikely, seeing the tender of the cup, at which they were said, is repeated by our Lord; as it is agreed upon, that the Jews at the supper of the Passover did customarily repeat the same; and this answer takes away all imputation of confusion from the text of St. Matthew[o]). But if any man stand upon it, that these words were said only before the consecration, though they are repeated by St. Matthew after it, at the delivering of the cup; [Of the words "γέννημα ἀμπέλου."]

tivum eodem modo se habentem. Neque est hoc inusitatum: nam si quis dicat, Percussit quidam Petrum, occidit, et sepelivit; non intelliget Petrum fuisse vivum sepultum, tametsi vivus fuerit percussus." Bellarm., De Sacram. Euch., lib. i. c. 11; Controv., tom. ii. p. 515. A.—So also Becanus (De Sacram. in Specie, c. xvii. qu. 5.), as quoted by Albertinus, De Eucharistia, lib. i. c. 9. p. 45. a.

[n] The doctrine of Bellarmine is, that transubstantiation takes place "non toto tempore quo durat pronunciatio sed in ultimo instanti terminativo illius prolationis" (De Sacr. Euchar., lib. iii. c. 24; Controv., tom. ii. p. 777. B.): adding (ibid.) that "quod Petrus Martyr objicit, sequi ex hac solutione totam vim consecrationis consistere in illo ultimo *UM*, quod videtur esse ridiculum, leve est; nam illud UM non operatur virtute sua sola," &c., "sed virtute totius sententiæ." — See also below, c. iv.

[o] So Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 17. pp. 111. b, 112. a.—"Consuetudo quidem erat apud Judæos, sicut videre est in libris eorum ritualibus, quando et agnus et panes azymi manducabantur, ut paterfamilias ante illorum distributionem præmitteret gratiarum actionem Deo; sed et de more similiter erat post comestos panes separatim gratias agere super poculo his verbis, 'Benedictus sis Tu Domine Deus noster, Rex seculi, Qui creasti fructum vitis.'"

BOOK III.

and, therefore, that it is not called "wine," which is in the cup after the consecration[p]: if he consider how pertinently he makes St. Matthew bring in this saying upon the delivery of the cup, not supposing that to be wine which was in it, he will find himself never a whit easied by that escape. For how gross were it for him to put these sayings together, "This is My Blood of the New Testament, Which is shed for many to the remission of sins," and, "I say unto you I will drink no more of this production of the vine;" had he not taken that which was in the cup for wine? The same holds in the words of St. Mark, having followed St. Matthew in this.

[Of the "Body" that is "broken," in St. Paul.]

§ 6. So, when St. Paul makes our Lord say, "Take, eat, this is My Body Which is broken for you:" is it not manifest, that breaking is properly said of bread; of a body of flesh, not without some impropriety, to be understood by that which is common to bread and to a body of flesh? And would St. Paul have used a term, which necessarily refers him that hears it to bread, were it not bread which our Lord brake after the consecration of the sacrament, in resemblance wherewith this Body is said to be "broken," because it was wounded?

[Of the remainder of St. Paul's words.]

§ 7. But when the same St. Paul, speaking of that which they take, which they eat, which they drink (which certainly they do after the consecration, when it is the sacrament), saith, "So oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye declare the Lord's death till He come; therefore, whoso eateth this bread and drinketh this cup unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ:" is there then any reason left, why we should not believe bread to be bread, and wine to be wine, when the Word of God says it, but that, whatsoever the Word of God say, we are resolved of our prejudice? And when he saith again, "Let a man examine himself, and

[p] "Respondeo, ex Luca aperte colligi verba ista pertinere ad calicem vini quem dedit apostolis Dominus post esum agni paschalis ante consecrationem mysteriorum; ac proinde alios duo Evangelistas non narrasse hoc suo loco." Bellarm., De Sacram. Euchar., lib. i. c. 11; Controv., tom. ii. p. 527. D.—"Primo enim Maldonatus, Lucas Brugensis, Stapletonus, Bellarminus, Becanus, a Lapide, concedunt Dominum loqui 'de vino proprie dicto, non autem de Sanguine Suo;' verum addunt, 'hæc non dicta esse de calice eucharistico sed de calice quem dedit Dominus post esum agni paschalis' .. ... Sed hæc responsio refutatur a Jansenio, Vasquez, et Gamachæo." Albertin., De Euchar., lib. i. c. 17. p. 111. b. These last maintained, with others, that the words "genimen vitis" are to be taken improperly or figuratively: Albertin., ibid., p. 113. b.

so eat of the bread and drink of the cup;" speaketh he of eating and drinking any thing else, but that which all Christians receive in the sacrament of the eucharist? If any thing can possibly be more manifest than this, it is that which he addeth; arguing, that all Christians "are one body, as the bread is one" (to wit, which they eat), "because they all partake of one bread." And, therefore, when he saith further, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?"—I will not insist upon this, that it is called "bread" after the blessing, though St. Matthew observeth, that our Lord calleth it so after "giving of thanks;" because the cup may be called "the cup of blessing which we bless," before the blessing be past and done: but I say confidently, that to make our Lord say, that the bread is "the communion of the Body," and the cup (that is, the wine that is in the cup which is blessed, for what else can be understood to be in the cup, with correspondence to bread?) is "the communion of the Blood of Christ;" is to make Him say that which He did not mean, unless He did mean, that that is bread and wine, whereby Christians communicate in the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist.

That the Body and Blood of Christ is nevertheless present in the same, when it is received; not by the receiving of it.

6 § 8. But shall this evidence of the nature and substance of bread and wine remaining in the sacrament of the eucharist even when it is a sacrament, that is, when it is received, either deface or efface[q] the evidence, which the same Scriptures yield us, of the truth of Christ's Body and Blood, brought forth and made to be in the sacrament of the eucharist by making it to be that sacrament? Surely we must not suffer such a conceit to possess us, unless we will offer the same violence to the manifest and express words of the Scripture.

[The words of consecration imply as much.]

§ 9. For, of necessity, when our Lord saith, "This is My Body—this is My Blood;" either we must make "is" to stand for "signifieth," and, "This is My Body—this is My Blood," to be no more than, This is a sign of My Body and Blood; or else the word "is" will enforce the elements to be called the Body and Blood of Christ, at that time, and for

[q] Altered in MS. into "either obscure or quite put out."

BOOK III.

that time, when they are not yet received: that is to say, [that it concerns[r]] them, who think it for their advantage to maintain, that "This is My Body and My Blood" signifies no more but, This is a sign of My Body and Blood, to advise, how they can ground the true and real participation of the Body and Blood of Christ in and by the sacrament of the eucharist upon the Scripture, allowing no more than the signification of the Body and Blood of Christ by that sacrament to be declared in those words of the Scripture, that describe the institution of it. For that a man receives the Body and Blood of Christ spiritually, through faith, in receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, is no more than he does in not receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, if, by the act of a living faith, we do eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood; as, understanding themselves aright, all Christians must needs do. Unless we can maintain, that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ, not only when we receive the sacrament of the eucharist, but also by receiving it, there is no cause why our Lord should say, "This is My Body—this is [My] Blood;" when He delivered only the sign of it to good and bad, and, therefore, not out of any consideration of the quality of them that received it.

§ 10. And what a gross thing were it to say, that our Saviour took such care to leave His Church, by the act of His last will, a legacy, which imports no more than that which they might at all times bestow upon themselves? [For[s]] let me know, whether the Church could not devise signs enow to renew the memory of Christ's death, or (if that be likewise included) to express their profession also of dying with Christ by bearing His cross, if our Lord's intent had been no more than to appoint a ceremony, that might serve to commemorate our Lord's death or to express our own profession of conformity to the same? For, certainly, they who make no more of it (whom, I said, we may therefore properly call Sacramentaries), cannot assign any further effect of God's grace, for which it may have been instituted; and yet make it a mere sign of Christ's death, or of

[r] So corrected from MS.; "that is to say, whether he that receives them, who," in orig. text, by an obvious fault of the printer.

[s] Corrected from MS.; "And," in orig. text.

our own profession to die with Christ or for Christ. But if I allow them that make it more than such a sign, to have departed from a pestilent conceit and utterly destructive to Christianity, I cannot allow them to speak things consequent to their own position, when they will not have these words to signify, that the elements are the Body and Blood of Christ when they are received, but become so upon being received with living faith; which will allow no more of the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the sacrament than out of it. For the act of living faith importeth the eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, no less without the sacrament than in it. Certainly, it is no such abstruse consequence, no such far-fetched argument, to infer; if "This is My Body—this is My Blood," signifies no more than, This is the sign of My Body and Blood, then is the sacrament of the eucharist a mere sign of the Body and Blood of Christ, without any promise of spiritual grace: seeing that, being now a sacrament, by being become a sacrament, it is become no more than a sign of the Body and Blood of Christ; which though a living faith spiritually eateth and drinketh, when it receives the sacrament, yet should it have done no less without receiving the same.

[Of St. John vi. 26—63.]

§ 11. I will here allege the discourse of our Lord to them that followed Him to Capernaum (John vi. 26—63), upon occasion of having been fed by the miracle of five loaves and a few little fishes: supposing that, which any man of common sense must grant,—that it signifies no more than they
7 that heard it could understand by it; and that, the sacrament of the eucharist not being then ordained, they could not understand that He spake of it, but ought to understand Him to speak of believing the Gospel and becoming Christians, under the allegory of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood. But when the eucharist was instituted, the correspondence of the ceremony thereof with the allegory which here He discourseth, is evidence enough, that as well the promise which He tendereth, as the duty which He requireth, have their effect and accomplishment in and by the receiving of it[t].

[t] "The question whether there is here (St. John vi. 51. sq.) any reference to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, has been inaccurately put.

BOOK III.

§ 12. I must here call you to mind that which I said of the sacrament of baptism[u]; that, when our Lord discoursed with Nicodemus of regeneration by "water and the Holy Ghost," John iii. (not having yet instituted the sacrament of baptism in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, nor declared the promise of giving the Holy Ghost to them that should receive the same), it must needs be thought, that He made way thereby to the introducing of that ordinance, the condition and promise whereof He meant, by the process of His own and His apostles' doctrine, further to limit and determine. In like manner I must here insist, and suppose, that He speaks not here immediately of eating and drinking His Flesh and Blood in the eucharist (which His hearers could not then foretell that He meant to ordain); but that, the action thereof being instituted with such correspondence to this discourse, the intent of it may be and is to be argued from the same. Now I have shewed in due place[x], that the sayings and doings of our Lord in the Gospel are mystical; to signify His kingdom of glory, to the which He bringeth us through His kingdom of grace. So that, when our Saviour fed that great multitude with the loaves and the fishes, which He multiplied by miracle, to the intent that they might not faint in following Him and His doctrine; it is manifest, that He intimateth thereby a promise of grace, to sustain us in our travail here, till we come to our country of the land of promise. When therefore He proposeth the theme of this discourse, saying, "Ye seek Me not because ye have seen miracles" (which serve to recommend My doctrine), "but because ye have eaten of the loaves and were filled; labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that which endures to life everlasting;" He shews two

[John vi. 26, 27.]

When cleared of inaccuracy in terms, it will mean, Is the subject here dwelt upon, the same as that which is set forth in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper? And of this there can surely be no doubt. To the ordinance itself there is here no reference; nor could there well have been any; but the spiritual verity which underlies the ordinance is one and the same with that here insisted on; and so considered, the discourse is, as generally treated, most important towards a right understanding of the ordinance." Alford upon John vi. 51. And better than this, Bengel in loc. (whom Alford quotes), "Jesus verba Sua scienter ita formavit, ut statim et semper illa quidem de spirituali fruitione Sui agerent proprie; sed posthac eadem consequenter etiam in augustissimum S. Cœnæ mysterium, quum id institutum foret, convenirent."

[u] Bk. II. Of the Covenant of Grace, c. ii. § 7; c. x. § 19.

[x] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii. § 52, 53.

CHAP. II.

things: first, that His Flesh and Blood sustain us in our pilgrimage here, because He shews the manna which the fathers lived on in the wilderness to be a figure of it: secondly, that they bring us to immortality and everlasting life in the world to come; by expounding the figure to consist in this, that, as they were maintained by manna till they died, so His new Israelites, by His Flesh and Blood, by eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood which He was giving for the life of the world, never to die. Now, wherein the eating and drinking of His Flesh and Blood consisteth, He shews by His answer to their question upon this; warning them to "work for the meat that lasts unto everlasting life," which He tenders, and "not for" that "which perisheth." The question is, "What shall we do to work God's works?" And the answer, "The work of God is this, to believe in Him Whom He hath sent." I have shewed in due place[y], that the condition which makes the promises of the Gospel due is our Christianity; to wit, to profess the faith of Christ faithfully, that is, not in vain. Therefore, when our Lord saith, "The work of God is this, to believe on Him Whom He hath sent;" He means this fidelity in professing Christianity. For indeed who can imagine, otherwise, that He should call the act of "believing" in Christ that "work of God," which Christ came to teach God's people? He then, that considers the death of Christ, that is to say, the crucifying of His Flesh and the pouring out of His Blood, with that faith, which supposes all that to be true, and by the consideration of it is induced to resolve and undertake the profession of Christianity; he it is, that eats and drinks the Flesh and Blood of Christ, till he depart from the effect of it: for no man can be thought to feed upon that which he vomits up again. Neither can there be found a more exact correspondence, than that which is seen between the nourishment of the body, in the strength whereof it moves, and those reasons, whereupon the mind frames the resolutions from which a man's conversation proceeds. And because God hath promised to give the Holy Ghost to them that faithfully resolve
8 this; and that as many as have the Holy Ghost, their mortal bodies shall, by the Holy Ghost That dwelleth in them,

[John vi. 31, 32.]

[John vi. 28, 29.]

[y] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii., sq.

BOOK III.

be raised to life everlasting (Rom. viii. 11): therefore, they that thus eat the Body and Blood of Christ shall not die, but live unto everlasting. This being the eating and drinking of Christ's Flesh and Blood spiritually by faith, and that, when the sacrament of the eucharist is instituted, the effect of it must needs be the same spiritual nourishment and sustenance of the soul, but by a new means, to wit, the receiving of that sacrament; as the eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ spiritually by faith presupposes the Flesh of Christ crucified and His Blood poured forth, so must the eating of it in the sacrament presuppose the being of it in the sacrament, to wit, by the being and becoming of it a sacrament: unless a man can spiritually eat and drink the Flesh and Blood of Christ in and by the sacrament, which is not in the sacrament when he eats and drinks it, but by his eating and drinking of it comes to be there. He therefore spiritually eats and drinks the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the sacrament, who, considering the profession Christ calls us to with that faith, which supposes Him to have signed His calling by finishing His course upon the cross, resolves to undertake the same, and in that resolution participates of the eucharist. But if the Flesh and Blood of Christ be not there by the virtue of the consecration of the elements into the sacrament, then cannot the Flesh of Christ and His Blood be said to be eaten and drunk in the sacrament; which are not in the sacrament by being a sacrament, but in him that eats and drinks it. For that which he finds to eat and drink in the sacrament, cannot be said to be in the sacrament because it is in him that spiritually eats and drinks it by faith. Either, therefore, the Flesh and Blood of Christ cannot be eaten and drunk in the eucharist; or it is necessarily in the sacrament when it is eaten and drunk in it, in which if it were not, it could not be eaten and drunk in it.

[Of St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. x.]

§ 13. This is further seen by the words of St. Paul, when, inferring his purpose (to wit, that Christians ought not to communicate in things sacrificed to idols) upon that which he had premised,—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of

[1 Cor. x. 16.]

Christ?"—he addeth, 1 Cor. x. 18—21; "Look upon Israel according to the flesh, do not they which eat the sacrifices partake with the altar? what say I then? that an idol is any thing? or that a thing sacrificed to an idol is any thing? rather, that what the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and I would not have you partake with devils: ye cannot drink the cup of God and the cup of devils; ye cannot partake of the Lord's table and the table of devils."

§ 14. These words manifestly suppose the eucharist to be the communion of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. For as our Lord saith, "This cup is the new testament in My Blood," or "My Blood of the new testament;" so is it manifest, that God, in enacting His covenant, that is, His testament, proceeds (according as the custom was among the most ancient nations of the world) to solemnize the establishment thereof with sacrifice. I have shewed you before[z], that the Law was covenanted for with sacrificing holocausts and peace-offerings; the blood whereof was sprinkled on all the people, but the elders in the name of the people feasted upon the remains: Exod. xxiv. 5—11. And among the sacrifices of the Law, those sin-offerings, wherein the priests shared with the altar in behalf of them whose sins they expiated by them, and the peace-offerings, wherein those that offered them, as well as the priests that offered them, shared with the altar, had their effect by virtue of the Law, and the covenant which introduced it; and therefore they contained a new act, by which the covenant was renewed, as to the particular purpose of those sacrifices, and the effect of them in them for whom they were made. Correspondently, the covenant of grace, being enacted by the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, as to God's part (that is to say, so far as to oblige God to grant remission of sins and life everlasting to all those, that are baptized into the faithful profession of Christianity), is renewed in the consecration and communion of the eucharist, whereby that sacrifice is renewed and revived unto the world's end. So that, as those who eat of the
9 sacrifices of the altar (whether by the priests or by themselves) did feast with God, Whose altar had received and consumed a part of those sacrifices; so those, that commu-

[Luke xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25.] [Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiv. 24.]

[z] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxvii. § 6.

BOOK III.

nicate in the eucharist, do feast upon the sacrifice of our Lord Christ on the cross, which God is so well pleased with as to grant the covenant of grace, and the publication thereof, in consideration of it. This, being evidently that correspondence which the discourse of St. Paul requires, remains manifestly proved by the same.

[Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiv. 24: Luke xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25.]

§ 15. Though, of a truth, the words of our Lord, when He saith, "This is My Blood of the new testament which is shed for" you; or, "This cup is the new testament in My Blood which is shed for you;" cannot otherwise be understood, than by taking "This cup," or "This" which our Lord speaks of, to stand for the action of giving and receiving the sacrament, not for that which is given and received in it and by it. For, otherwise, how should a cup, or that which is in it, be a testament? But inasmuch as the communion of the eucharist proceeds upon supposition of the covenant of grace, and therefore imports a profession, both on God's part, and on his that receives it, of performing the condition to which respectively they bind themselves by the same; in that regard nothing can be more properly said, than that God tenders by that sacrament all that the Gospel promises, and man, by receiving it, the condition which God covenants for at his hands. Which whether you call the new covenant or the new testament, it matters not; an heir, upon condition of performing the will of the dead, being in the same state with him, that contracteth upon articles.

[Luke xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 24.]

§ 16. But there is as much said, when our Lord saith only, "This is My Body which is given for you;" if it be rightly understood: that is, supposing the Body of Christ to have been given to be sacrificed for us upon the cross. For he, that tenders this to eat, thereby declares, that he incites to the profession of that covenant, which otherwise appears to have been enacted by that which he tenders.

[And 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.]

§ 17. The same sense is contained in St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8: "Christ your Passover is slain for you; let us therefore feast, not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and deceit, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." For if we consider the circumstance of time and place, which our Lord took to institute the sacra-

ment of the eucharist, just when the paschal lamb was eaten; how shall we deny the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross to have been as presently received there, as the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was the subject and occasion of the feast at which He ordained it?

§ 18. But the discourse by which the apostle persuades Christians to separate themselves from the Jews (Hebr. xiii. 10—16), is most pertinent to this purpose; as that which is not to be understood otherwise. Though, when he saith, "We have an altar, whereof those that serve the tabernacle have no right to eat;" I allow, that by "an altar" he means metonymically a sacrifice[a]. For, proving his intent by instancing in those sacrifices for sin, the blood whereof was carried within the veil, being by the Law appointed to be burnt without the camp, or city Jerusalem, he supposes them to figure our Lord Christ, Who suffered without Jerusalem; inferring thereupon, that they ought to go forth of the communion of the synagogue, though they were to suffer persecution at the hands of their brethren for it. But when he proceedeth; "By Him therefore let us offer to God the sacrifice of praise continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to His Name; and to do good and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased:" either we must conceive him to return to his purpose, and to shew, what sacrifice he meant when he said, "We have an altar, of which they that wait upon the tabernacle have no right to eat;" or we can give no reason, what he meant to argue, that the Jews have no right to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, which Christians pretend not to eat of in any sacrifice but in the eucharist. And surely, if we consider but the name of eucharist, we cannot think it could have been more properly signified, than by calling it "the sacrifice of praise, the fruit of the lips that confess the name of God." For when he proceeds to exhort, "not to forget communi-

[And Hebr. xiii. 10—16.]

[a] "Quæ quidem verba" (scil. Heb. xiii. 10), . . . "hanc continere sententiam patebit; Christianos nequaquam in cibis Divini cultus rationem collocare debere: idque inde constare, quod, cum tabernaculo serviant, id est, sacerdotum munere fungantur," &c., "edere tamen de victima pro nobis oblata iis non liceat: propterea quod tale nunc est factum sacrificium (quod Altaris nomine per quandam metonymiam isto in loco exprimitur), de quo illis, qui serviunt tabernaculo, seu sacerdotibus, comedere fas non est."—Volkel., De Vera Relig., lib. iv. c. 22. De Cœna Domini, p. 346.

BOOK III.

cating" their goods; do we not know, and have we not made it to appear[b], that this must be by their oblations to the altar [out of[c]] the first-fruits of their goods: whereof the eucharist being first consecrated, the rest served the necessities of the Church? Which, as hath been shewed[d], was the original of all consecrations and dedications, that have been made in Christianity.

The eating of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross necessarily requireth the same [presence of Christ in the elements].

§ 19. If, therefore, the eating of the sacrifice of the cross in the sacrament of the eucharist mean no more, but the signifying and the figuring of that eating of the sacrifice of the cross, which is done by a lively faith (that is, by every one, that considers the death of Christ with that faith, which, supposing all that the Gospel says of it to be true, resolves faithfully to profess Christianity); the question is, why the sacrament of the eucharist was instituted by God, why in those elements, and to what purpose: seeing, without God's appointment, men could have done it of themselves to the same effect. But if it be manifest, that by the sacrament of the eucharist God pretends to tender us the communion of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross; then is there another presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the sacrament, beside that spiritual presence in the soul; which that living faith effecteth without the sacrament, as well as in the receiving of it.

[Representation.]

§ 20. Which kind of presence, you may, if you please, call the *representation* of the sacrifice of Christ; so as you understand the word "representation" to signify, not the figuring or resembling of that which is only signified, but as it signifies in the Roman laws, when a man is said "*repræsentare pecuniam*," who pays ready money: deriving the signification of it *a re præsenti*, not from the preposition *re*; which will import, not the presenting of that again to a man's senses, which once is past, but the tendering of that to a man's possession, which is tendered him upon the place[e].

[b] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. State, c. iv. § 45.

[c] Added from MS.

[d] Rt. of Ch. &c., ibid. § 60.

[e] "Respondeo, verbum Representandi ambiguum est: significat enim præsentem rem aliquam facere, sive reipsa, sive in signo aliquo vel imagine. Ac, ut omittam testimonia Ciceronis, et etiam sanctorum Patrum, qui frequenter utuntur hac voce ad significandum rem aliquam vere et proprie præsentem exhiberi; Tertullianus ipse utriusque significationis exempla præbere potest." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. ii. c. 7; Controv., tom. ii. p. 572. D.—See also some quotations from the

§ 21. That this is the intent of the sacrament of the eucharist, one peremptory argument there remains; in the words of St. Paul, when he says, "Whoso eateth this bread and drinketh this cup unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ." For neither can it be said, that the apostle, by way of hyperbole, calls the slighting of God's ordinance, which He hath appointed to signify Christ's death, the crucifying of our Lord again: because it is manifest, that his menace is grounded upon a particular consideration of the nature of the crime, not upon that which is seen in every sin. Renouncing Christianity indeed is truly the crucifying of Christ again, as the apostle shews, Hebr. vi. 6: and unworthily receiving the eucharist is, by just construction, the renouncing of Christianity, because that is it, which renews the bond of observing it. But otherwise it were too cold an expression, to make St. Paul call it the crucifying of Christ, for that which is common to all sins. Nor would it serve the turn. For when it follows, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body;" unless a man "discern the Lord's Body" where It is not, of necessity It must there be where It is "discerned" to be; not made to be there by being "discerned" to be there.

[St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 27.]

[1 Cor. xi. 29.]

§ 22. It will now be objected, that I hold things inconsistent, and state such a sense of our Lord's words as makes contradictories true. For if bread and wine, remaining bread and wine, can be also the Body and Blood of Christ (that is, unless, granting them to be that which they are, we deny them to be that, which is not that which we grant them to be); there will be no cause, why we should believe any thing to be that which it is, more than that which it is not: all difference being a sufficient ground of that contradiction, which denies any thing to be that which differs from it, that is, which it is not.

This causes no contradiction nor impropriety in the words of our Lord.

§ 23. The difficulty of answering this is the same, which every man finds, when he is put to prove that which is most

Fathers in Bramhall's Answ. to La Milletière, Works, vol. i. p. 10. note r.— "Repræsento . . in emptionibus et solutionibus significat pecunia præsenti rem transigere." Facciolati (ed. Jac. Furlanett., Patav., 1830) sub voce, citing for authorities Cicero, Suetonius, and Marcell., Dig., 35. i. 35: and so also under the word repræsentatio.

BOOK III.

evident, or to make that clear by words which all men's common sense admits. Supposing the bread and the wine to remain in the sacrament of the eucharist, as sense informs and the word of God enforces; if the same word of God affirm there to be also the Body and Blood of Christ, what remaineth, but that bread and wine by nature and bodily substance, be also the Bodily Flesh and Blood of Christ by mystical representation (in that sense which I determined even now) and by spiritual grace? For what reason can be imagined, why the material presence of bread and wine in bodily substance should hinder the mystical and spiritual presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, as in a sacrament, whereby They are tendered of grace to them that receive? Shall They be ever a whit the more present in this sense, if the substance of bread 11
and wine be abolished, than if it be not? Certainly, unless we believe the spiritual grace of Christ's Body and Blood in the sacrament of the eucharist to possess those dimensions, which the elements hold (and if so, then are they not there sacramentally and mystically, but bodily and materially); we can give no reason, why the bodily presence of the elements should hinder it. So far is this from being strange to the nature and custom of human speech, that, supposing the invisible presence of one thing in another and with another, which is visibly present, it cannot otherwise be expressed than by saying, This is that; though every man know, what distance there is between their natures. The dove, in the which the Holy Ghost was seen to come down and rest upon our Lord, the fiery tongues, in which the Holy Ghost rested upon the apostles, the fire and the whirlwind, in the which God's angels attend upon Him and upon His commands[f] (in regard whereof it is said, Psalm civ. 4, "He maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flaming fire"): are they not as truly said to be the Holy Ghost, or those angels, as the Holy Ghost, or those angels, is said to come down, to rest, or to move, because those things rest, and come down, or move; whereas the Holy Ghost otherwise can neither rest nor come down, nor those angels move, as the fire or the wind moves, in which they are? I know it may be said,

[Matt. iii. 16, Mark i. 10, Luke iii. 22, John i. 32, Acts ii. 3.]

[f] See Deut. xxxiii. 2, compared with Acts vii. 53, and Gal. iii. 19, and Hebr. ii. 2: and Exod. xix. 16—18, compared with Hebr. xii. 18.

that neither the dove nor those tongues are called the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures[g]: nor do I intend to build upon any supposition that they are. This I say: whosoever understands the capacity of words, serving for instruments to signify men's minds, may firmly conclude, that they may as well be said to be the Holy Ghost, as it may be said, that the Holy Ghost came down, because the dove came down. For can there be any occasion for a man of sense to conceive cloven tongues of fire to be the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, because they are called the Holy Ghost, in regard they are used to demonstrate the presence of It; when no man complains, that any man of sense hath occasion to mistake the Godhead to move, because the Holy Ghost is said to come down in the bodily shape of a dove?

[Of the ministering spirits in Ps. civ. 4.]

§ 24. I know it may be said, and is said[h], that in the text of the Psalm, that I quoted, it is not to be translated "winds," but "spirits," or "spiritual substances:" because the apostle, having alleged it to shew the difference between them and our Lord Christ (Hebr. i. 7, 14), inferreth, that "they are ministering spirits;" signifying thereby, not "winds," but that which Christians signify by the name of "spiritual substances." And I yield, that they are so called (not only in the common language of Christians, but in the apostle also here, and by our Lord speaking in the common phrase of God's people, when He saith, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have," Luke xxiv. 39) upon occasion of that appearance of God's majesty, which is either presented to, or described by, the prophets in the Old Testament, with His throne attended by angels, the visible signs of whose presence are whirlwind and fire. So, in the place quoted, Psalm civ. 2 [, 3]: "That puts on light for a robe, stretches the heavens as a curtain, lays the beams of His chambers in

[g] See these instances argued in e. g. Chemnitius, Fundamenta Sanæ Doctrinæ de Vera et Substantiali Præsentia, Exhibitione, et Sumtione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Cœna, c. iv. p. 17. ed. 2nda Witteb. 1610.—"Tertium exemplum simile est superiori. Nusquam enim expresse legimus, Columba est Spiritus Sanctus; sed sol[illegible] a Johanne Spir[illegible] [illegible]ut [illegible] columbam signum duntaxat Spiritus Sancti fuisse, et Spiritum Sanctum in columba ut in signo visum." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 17: Controv., tom. ii. pp. 743. D, 744. A.

[h] "Angelos facit spiritus, i. e. spirituales essentias (in quo differunt a Christo, Qui non est spiritus creatus sed creator omnium), non corporeas." Genebrardus, and Ainsworth, ap. Poli Syn. ad Psalm. civ. 4.

BOOK III.

the waters, makes the clouds His chariot, and walks upon the wings of the wind:" whereupon follows, "That makes His angels spirits" (or winds,) "and His ministers a flame of fire;" which answers "winds," not "spiritual substances." Compare the description of God's appearance, Psalm l. 3,—"Our God shall come and shall not keep silence, a consuming fire shall go before Him, and be very tempestuous round about,"—either with the visions of the prophet (Ezekiel i. and Daniel vii.), or with the description of the same laid down Psalm xviii. 10—14; and you will have reason to say as I do: especially when you read, "He rode upon a cherub and did fly, He came flying upon the wings of the wind;" where a "cherub" in the first clause is "the wind" in the second, the same sense being repeated, according to the perpetual custom of the Psalms[i]. So, when angels appeared in the shape of men, was it not true to say, This is an angel, but we must suppose the nature of man abolished? If the Holy Ghost and angels be of spiritual nature, the Flesh and the Blood of Christ bodily, then are they at as great distance from the dove, from the tongues, from the fire, from the wind, from the men in which they appeared, as the Flesh and Blood of 12
Christ from the elements of the eucharist. Nor is the mystical and sacramental presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the eucharist, ever a whit more destructive to the bodily presence of the elements, than the invisible presence of the Holy Ghost or angels, to the visible presence of those things in which they were.

[Parallel of the *communicatio idiomatum* in the Incarnation of our Lord.]

§ 25. Nay, if I may, without offence, allege that which is most pertinent to this purpose, not being usually alleged in it[k]; that manner of speech which all orthodox Christians use, in calling the Person of our Lord Christ either God or Man (according to the Nature which they intend chiefly to signify), or in ascribing the properties of each Nature to the said Person, respectively to the subject of their speech, hath no other ground than this which I speak of. For all affirmatives, philosophers know, signify the subject that a man speaks of to be the very same thing with that which is attributed to it. As, when 'this wall' is said to be 'white,' 'this

[i] See Lowth's Prælections, Lect. xix.

[k] Compare the well-known fragment of Gelasius, ap. Routh., Script. Eccles., tom. ii. p. 139. Ox. 1840.

wall' is the same subject with 'this white.' Therefore, when a thing is said to be that, which in nature we see it is not (as when a man's picture is said to be he); the saying, though extremely proper, if you regard what use and the elegance of speech requires, is unproper to the right understanding of the nature of the things we speak of; though a man would not be so well understood commonly, if he should go about to explain his meaning by more or other words: as, I conceive, I am not so well understood in writing thus, as our Lord was, when He spoke the words that I endeavour to clear. When, therefore, the properties of the Divine Nature are attributed to the Manhood of our Lord (supposing, as all good Christians do, that neither Natures nor properties are confounded), what can we say but this, that by such attributions as these, in the language of His prophets the apostles, God would have us understand a supernatural conjunction and union of two Natures in one Person of our Lord? And what shall we then say, when the name of Christ's Body and Blood is attributed to the bread and wine of the eucharist, but that God would have us understand a supernatural conjunction and union between the Body and Blood of Christ and the said bread and wine, whereby they become as truly the instrument of conveying God's Spirit to them who receive as they ought, as the same Spirit was always in His natural Body and Blood? For it matters not, that the union of the two Natures is indissoluble, that of Christ's Body and Blood only in order to the use of the elements; that is, speaking properly, from the consecration to the receiving: the reason of both unions being the same, that makes both supernatural, to wit, the will of God passed upon both, and understood by the Scriptures to be passed upon both, though to several effects and purposes.

§ 26. Therefore, I am no way singular in this sense. All they of the Confession of Augsburg do maintain it before me; and think it enough to say, that it is an unusual or extraordinary manner of speech, when one thing is said to be another of a several kind and nature, but which the unusual and extraordinary case that is signified, both expounds and justifies[1]. They indeed maintain another reason of this presence, and [The Confession of Augsburg.]

[1] So e. g. Chemnitius, Fundamenta &c. SS. Cœnæ, c. iv. pp. 17, 18.

BOOK III.

therefore another manner of it. For if, by virtue of the hypostatical union, the omnipresence of the Godhead is communicated to the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the eucharist, then is the Flesh and Blood of Christ there, not only mystically, but bodily[m]. But if, supposing both the elements and the Flesh and Blood of Christ bodily present, it may nevertheless truly be said, "This is My Flesh—this is My Blood;" how much more, if, as I say, the elements only be there bodily, but the Flesh and Blood of Christ only mystically and spiritually? And therefore I find it reasonable for me to argue, that the sense of so many men, both learned and others, understanding the words of our Lord in this sense, ought to convince any man, that it is not against common sense; and therefore, tending so much to make good the words of our Lord and the holy Scripture, is not to be let go.

[The more proper sense of the words of consecration themselves.]

§ 27. I do not intend, nevertheless, hereby to grant, that the sense of these words "This is My Body—this is My Blood," for, "This is the sign of My Body and Blood," is a true sense, because abundance of learned as well as ordinary people take it so to be. But, well and good, that it might have been maintained to be the true sense of them, had no more been expressed by the Scripture in that business. For then, I suppose, the sense of the Church (of which I say nothing as yet) could not have evidenced so much more, as I have deduced by consequence from the rest of the Scripture. But, the mystical presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist being further deduced from the Scripture by good consequence, I conceive the common understanding of all those men, who, granting that, do not grant the elements to be abolished, sufficient ground for me, that the signification of these words, "This is My Body—this is My Blood," inforceth it not. Whereas, on the other side, the substance of the elements is not distinguishable by common sense from their accidents (for whether the quantity and the matter be all one or not, whether, beside the matter and accidents which the quantity is invested with, a substantial form be requisite, is yet disputable among philosophers[n]); and, therefore, no reason can presume, that the

13

[m] See below, c. iii. § 10.

[n] See Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 21. pp. 133. b, sq.: "In quo refutatur Transubstantiatio ex eo quod quantitas panis et vini post consecrationem in Eucharistia maneat, quan-

apostles, to whom these words were spoken, did understand "This," of which our Lord speaks, to signify the sensible accidents of bread and wine, severed from the material substance of the same. I may therefore very well undertake to say, that this sense of the words is more proper, than conceiving the substance of bread and wine to be abolished, the effect of grace to the Church remaining the same. For the property of speech is not to be judged by the signification of a single word, but by the tenor of the speech wherein it stands, and the intent of him that speaks, declared by his actions, and the visible circumstances of the same. Now our Lord, having taught those to whom this was spoken, that the eating of His Flesh and drinking of His Blood is done by living faith, must be supposed, by appointing this sacrament, tendering His Flesh to eat and His Blood to drink, to limit and determine an office, in the doing whereof His Flesh and Blood is either eaten and drunk, or crucified, according to the premisses. If then the eating and drinking of His Flesh and Blood out of the sacrament be merely spiritual by living faith, shall not the presence thereof in the sacrament be according? Shall it not be enough, that They are mystically present in the sacrament, to be spiritually eaten by them that receive Them with living faith, to be crucified of them that do not? Is it any way pertinent to the spiritual eating of Them, that They are bodily present? Is it not far more proper to that which our Lord was about (tending, without question, to the spiritual union which He seeks with His Church), that He should be understood to promise the mystical, than the bodily, presence of Them in the sacrament, which is nothing else than a mystery by the proper signification and intent of it? I grant an abatement of that, which the terms of "Body and Blood" were originally imposed to

titas autem eadem realiter sit cum materia:"—to which argument, "respondent adversarii varie: primo enim nonnulli, referente Suaresio, fatentur, quantitate ita sublata materiam nullibi futuram," &c.; "secundo alii respondent, in illo casu materiam confluxuram vel ad punctum indivisibile, vel ad spatium aliquid divisibile, ita tamen (ait Fonseca) ut tota tum esset in qualibet parte ejus," &c. "Postremo respondet Suares, Si auferatur quantitas et conservetur substantia, et nulla alia mutatio localis in substantia fiat, manebit substantia cum eadem præsentia substantiali," &c., &c. Albertin., ibid., p. 134.—See also the preceding chapter, pp. 125. b, sq.: "In quo probatur substantias panis et vini manere eo quod accidentia non possint esse sine subjecto."

BOOK III.

signify; being, without question, that which is visible and subject to sense. But if the nature of the action which our Lord was about, of the subject which His words express, be such as requires this abatement, then cannot the original sense of these words be so proper for this place, as this abatement.

[The decree of Trent does not wholly exclude the tropical sense.]

§ 28. Here I will observe, that the Council of Trent itself, Sess. xiii. cap. i.[o], speaketh so warily in this matter, as not to exclude all manner of tropes from the right sense of these words: saying; "*Indignissimum sane flagitium est, ea a quibusdam contentiosis et pravis hominibus ad fictitios et imaginarios tropos, quibus veritas Carnis et Sanguinis Christi negatur, contra universum Ecclesiæ sensum detorqueri*"—"It is indeed a very great indignity, that they are, by some contentious and perverse persons, wrested aside to contrived and imaginary tropes, whereby the truth of Christ's Flesh and Blood is denied, contrary to the whole sense of the Church." They were wiser than to impose upon all their divines a necessity to maintain, that there is no trope in the words, "This is My cup of the new testament;" which so many of their predecessors had granted[p], because it could not be denied. Which being granted, must needs take place in "This is My Body," by necessary consequence.

[Of tropes.]

§ 29. And, surely, the common principles of grammar and rhetoric will enforce it; when they inform us, that tropes are used as clothes are[q], either for necessity, because there are more things (much more conceptions) than words to signify them (for thereupon necessity constrains to turn a word to signify that, which it was not at first intended to signify, and that is a trope), or for ornament, to express a man's mind with more elegance. Compare then our ordinary way of expressing the conceptions of the mind by words, which is

14

[o] Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. p. 805. C.

[p] "Plurimi etiam ex ipsis adversariis, vi veritatis adacti, non modo fatentur, sed et nobiscum contendunt, 'hanc locutionem, Hic calix Novum Testamentum est, non posse accipi in proprio sensu, sive calix accipiatur pro vasculo potorio sive synecdochice pro Sanguine in poculo contento, sed tantummodo improprie, figurate, et per metonymiam.' Ita Maldonatus ipsemet alias: Salmero, De Valentia, Roffensis, Canus, Jansenius, Justinianus, Tena: et Roffensis quidem, 'Palam est,' inquit, 'et res dilucida est;' Canus, 'Omnino liquet;' Jansenius, 'Certum est;' De Valentia, 'Oportet.' Nec modo id aiunt sed etiam probant," &c.—Albertin., De Euchar., lib. i. c. 11. pp. 71. b, 72. a: and see also ibid., c. 14. pp. 83. b, sq. for other instances.

[q] Voss., Institut. Orator., lib. iv. c. vi. § 14. Lat. 1630.

common to all languages, with our ordinary way of expressing the objects thereof to our minds by the said conceptions. If a word be diverted to signify that conception, which it was not first imposed to signify, because there was no other at hand imposed to signify the present conceit; logic and grammar will make this a trope, though rhetoric do not, because it was not used for ornament, but for the necessary clothing of a man's mind in terms intelligible. The trial whereof is, if the subject you speak of cannot truly be said to be the thing which is attributed to it: as the bread and wine, which our Lord blessed, cannot be said to be His Body and Blood. For if the subject matter, signified by the Scripture elsewhere, require, that the Body and Blood of Christ be thought present; then is the property of the terms to be abated, so as they may serve to signify that presence: voiding all dispute concerning the signification of words (which those that hold transubstantiation could never, nor never will, agree upon among themselves[r], because it stands upon terms of art, the use whereof no man's conceit can overrule); that, which the necessity of our common faith requireth, being once secured, as here.

[The purpose of the sacrament accomplished without transubstantiation.]

§ 30. For the reason being rendered, why the eucharist was instituted, and why it is to be frequented, notwithstanding that the Body and Blood of Christ may always be eaten and drunk by a living faith (to wit, because the reviving of our Christianity by receiving the sacrament, reviveth the promise of Christ's Body and Blood, being the means to convey His Spirit); it will not concern the purpose thereof, that It should be present by transubstantiation, abolishing the nature of the elements. For though it hath been boldly said, by those who dispute controversies[s], that the Body of

[r] See Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 23. pp. 140. a, sq.: and Bramhall, Answ. to Millet., Works, vol. i. pp. 15—19.

[s] "Sequitur, horum accidentium medio ac ministerio, sicut per eadem ante panis, ita nunc Corpus ac Sanguinem vere a nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, carni nostræ immisceri, dentibus teri, ... sensibiliter sacrificari," Alanus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 37. p. 435, 4to. Antv. 1576.—"Respondeo, Corpus Christi vere ac proprie manducari etiam corpore in eucharistia." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. i. c. 11; Controv., tom. ii. p. 519. C.—"Petrus Martinus, doctor Complutensis, ait per manducationem oralem carnis Christi fieri unionem realem et substantialem carnis Christi cum carne nostra," &c.. Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 32. p. 246. a. from Vasquez, who refutes the assertion: and see also other quotations to a similar purpose in

BOOK III.

Christ is "really and substantially resident in, and united to," our bodies; that "grace and charity, cooled by sin, are inflamed in the soul by the Body of Christ immediately touching" our bodies; that "the seed of our resurrection is thereby sowed in our mortal bodies:" first, none of this is true, unless you understand it with the same abatement,—that the Body of Christ, received in the sacrament by the body of him, whose soul hath living faith in Christ, is the seed of the life of grace and glory both to his soul and body;—because otherwise a dead faith should receive the same: secondly, none of this would hold, if transubstantiation be true; because, rendering the Body of Christ invisibly present, no man's body whatsoever can immediately touch it.

[Transubstantiation acknowledged by the school doctors not to be concluded from the scriptures.]

§ 31. And therefore it is no marvel, that so many excellent school doctors have acknowledged, that, setting the sense of the Church aside (of which I will say what shall be requisite by and by) transubstantiation cannot be concluded from the Scriptures[t]. Whose judgments I carry along with me,

Albertinus, ibid.,—"Suarez, Vasquez, et Mæratius aiunt, acquiri quidem per manducationem oralem Carnis Christi unionem realem, quæ aliquomodo naturalis et substantialis appellari possit, ... et corporalis, ... maxime tamen spiritualis sit et proprie mystica seu moralis sit appellanda:" ..... "unde resultet unitas quæ non tantum duret eo tempore quo durat præsentia realis Carnis Christi sub speciebus" (as Martinus had affirmed), "sed tamdiu quamdiu duramus in statu sanctificantis gratiæ." Albertin., ibid., p. 247. b.—"Quartam .... utilitatem Perronius post alios innumeros ait esse, augmentum gratiæ et charitatis, restitutionem vigoris et caloris naturalis quoad animam per peccati reliquias refrigeratam et debilitatam: hæc enim omnia facilius obtineri per receptionem hostiæ (id est, Carnis Christi) in nobis, quia ex Ejus contactu emanat virtus operativa, præter eam quam Divinitas in Se exerit." Albertin., ibid., p. 249. b: from Card. Perron, Du Saint Sacrem. de l' Euchar., liv. i. c. 33. p. 232. Paris 1622.—"Eucharistia ... est caussa et quasi semen resurrectionis corporum nostrorum, idque per contactum et conjunctionem Corporis gloriosi cum corporibus nostris mortalibus." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 9; Controv., tom. ii. p. 716. C: answering objections "ab inutilitate Realis Presentiæ." And so also Cardinal Perron (as above quoted, liv. ii. Autheur xxiii. c. 4. p. 481; and elsewhere), and others, "et plurimi alii recentiorum," quoted by Albertinus ut supra; who proceeds however to cite Vasquez and Suarez strongly denouncing the position as "sine fundamento omnino conficta."—And see the whole chapter in Albertinus.

[t] Admissions to this effect are cited at length in Cosin's Hist. of Transubst., c. iv. § 2, 3, from Scotus, Durandus, Biel, Occam, Cameracensis, Fisher, Cajetan, and even Bellarmine himself. And see below, c. iv. last §; where the original passages are given. Of the two from Card. Cajetan, which are quoted by Cosin at second hand (as indeed the others are also), the first—"Non apparet ex Evangelio coactivum aliquid ad intelligendum hæc verba proprie," scil. the words of institution—occurs in his Comment. in 3tiam P. D. Thomæ, Qu. lxxv. art. i. p. 300. b. Bonon. 1528: but is erased by command of Pius V. from later editions, e. g. that of Venice, 1593 (and see Albertinus, De Euchar., lib. i. c. 14. p. 85. a.). The second passage referred to is misquoted, but seems to be from the same tract and the same part of it (p. 301. a. ed. of 1528, p. 236. ed. of 1593), "Alterum autem, *quod evange-*

CHAP. II.

for the complement of that prejudice which I advance, toward the right understanding of the sense of the Church; to wit, that, whatsoever the present Church may have determined, the Catholic Church did never understand that which the Scripture necessarily signifieth not.

[Of our Lord's words in John vi. 58—63.]

§ 32. Now let us see, what our Lord says to His disciples, being scandalized at those things which I shewed you that He taught them in the synagogue at Capernaum, of attaining everlasting life by eating His Flesh; John vi. 58—63. "Is this it which scandalizeth you?" saith He. "What then if you see the Son of Man ascend where He was afore? it is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak to you, are spirit and life." The spiritual sense, in which He commandeth them to eat and drink His Flesh and Blood, is grounded upon that difference between the promises of the Law and the Gospel, which I settled in the beginning[u]. For, by virtue thereof, that manna, which maintained them in the desert till they died, is the figure of His Body and Blood, That maintains us not to die. Whereupon St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. iii. 6; "The spirit quickeneth, but the letter killeth:" not only because the Law covenants not for the world to come; but also, because it was no further the means to procure that righteousness which giveth life, than the Spirit of Christ was intimated and furnished under the dispensation of it: whereupon St. Paul argues, that the Jews have as much need of Christ as the Gentiles, because the Law is not able to bring corrupt nature to righteousness. Wherefore the reason, why they were scandalized at this doctrine of our Lord's, was not merely because it was difficult to understand (He having so plentifully expressed His meaning, and inculcated it, by often beating the same discourse there, and otherwise made the condition of His Gospel intelligible to His disciples), but because it was hard to undergo, importing the taking up of His cross; as I have said[x]. For it is evident by common

lium non explicavit, expresse *ab ecclesia* accepimus, scilicet conversionem panis in Corpus Christi:" see Albertin., ibid., c. 16. p. 102. b.—Other quotations to the same effect may be found in Albertinu[illegible] whom Cosin, and also, borrowed their quotations. See also Jeremy Taylor, Real Presence, sect. 2. § 1—3. vol. vi. pp. 19—21. ed. Eden.

[u] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii. § 6, sq.; xiii. § 1, sq.

[x] Above, § 11, 12.

BOOK III.

experience in the world, how men find, or how they plead, their minds to be obstructed in the understanding of those spiritual matters, which if they should grant their understandings to be convinced of, there were no plea left them, why they should not conform their lives and conversations to that light, which themselves confess they have received. So that the scandal was the same, that the rich man in the Gospel took, when he was told, that, besides keeping God's commandments, one thing was wanting, to part with all he had, and take up Christ's cross; to wit, for the observing of His commandments. And this scandal He intends to take away, when He refers them to His ascension into heaven; because then, and from thence, they were to expect the Holy Ghost, to enable them to do that which the eating and drinking of His Flesh and Blood signifieth spiritually. And His words He therefore calleth "spirit" and "life," because they are the means to bring unto the communion of His Spirit, wherein spiritual and everlasting life consisteth. So that, the Flesh of Christ being exalted to the right hand of God, and His Spirit (Which first made Itself an habitation in His Flesh) being sent down to make Him an habitation in the hearts of His people, those, who upon faithful consideration of His cross faithfully resolve to undertake it, do by the Spirit eat His Flesh and drink His Blood. Therefore, when, in correspondence hereunto, He pretends to institute the sacrament of the eucharist, that they, who eat His Flesh and drink His Blood in that sacrament, may eat and drink the same spiritually (as, unless they crucify Him again, they cannot choose but do); it behoves indeed, that He procure the Flesh and Blood of Christ to be there by the operation of that Spirit, Which framed Them for an habitation to Itself in the womb of the Virgin (that so the receiving of His Flesh and Blood may be the means of conveying His Spirit): but how is it requisite, that They be there in bodily substance, as if the mystical presence of Them were not a sufficient means to convey His Spirit, Which we see is conveyed by the mere spiritual consideration and resolution of a lively and effectual faith?

[Matt. xix. 16—21, Mark x. 17—21, Luke xviii. 18—22.]

[St. Paul's argument in 1 Cor. x. 1—4.]

§ 33. St. Paul writes thus to the Corinthians: "I would not that you should be ignorant, brethren, how that all our

fathers . . . did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the spiritual rock that went with them; now that rock was Christ:" 1 Cor. x. 1, 3, 4. The meat and drink of the fathers in the wilderness can no otherwise be understood to be spiritual, than as I have proved the law of Moses to be spiritual; that is, as, intimating spiritual promises, it intimates a contract for spiritual obedience. So St. Paul's argument holds:—if they, who were sustained by God in their travel to the land of promise, not keeping their covenant with God, fell in the wilderness; then shall it not serve our turn, that, being baptized, we are fed by the eucharist to everlasting life, if we perform not that, which by our baptism we undertake. The rock, then, and the manna were spiritual meat and drink, because they signified the Flesh and the Blood of Christ crucified for us: which who so believes as thereupon to undertake Christianity, our Lord, when He had not yet instituted the eucharist, promiseth, that he shall be nourished by His Flesh and Blood to life everlasting; the effect of which promise all Christians find, that by the assistance of His Spirit overcome the world in approving themselves Christians. When our Lord annexed the promise of His Spirit to His baptism and eucharist by instituting those sacraments, He tied the spiritual eating and drinking of His Body and Blood to the sacramental, in respect of all them, whom the affirmative precepts of using those sacraments should oblige. Christ, then, was the food and the drink of them, who attained salvation under Moses' law; because by the faith of Christ to be crucified they were saved, as we by
16 the faith of Christ crucified. But to follow God in hope of salvation by Christ to come, is not the same[y], as to undertake that Christianity, which by His coming He hath taught us. The signs of good things to come fed only those, that were led by the promise of them: the rest found by them only the nourishment of their bodies in their travel to the land of promise. But when our Lord, having promised His Flesh and Blood for food to those souls, that should conform themselves to His cross, instituteth the eucharist, and con-

y Corrected in the errata to the folio edition into "is the same;" but by an obvious error.

BOOK III.

fineth the spiritual eating and drinking of His Flesh and Blood to it, so far as the precept thereof obligeth; shall He not be understood to promise His Body and Blood by that sacrament, without which He will not grant it to those, that are tied to the sacrament and neglect it? The presence of His Body and Blood in the sacrament is that, which makes good the promise of His Body and Blood, made before the instituting of the sacrament to them, who are obliged to use the sacrament by the institution of it.

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST'S BODY IN THE EUCHARIST DEPENDS NOT UPON THE LIVING FAITH OF HIM THAT RECEIVES, BUT UPON THE TRUE PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE CHURCH THAT CELEBRATES. THE SCRIPTURES THAT ARE ALLEGED FOR THE DEPENDENCE OF IT UPON THE COMMUNICATION OF THE PROPERTIES. THEY CONCLUDE NOT THE SENSE OF THEM BY WHOM THEY ARE ALLEGED. HOW THE SCRIPTURE CONFINETH THE FLESH OF CHRIST TO THE HEAVENS.

[Of the change wrought in the elements by the consecration of them.]

If these things be true, it will be requisite that we acknowledge a change to be wrought in the elements by the consecration of them into the sacrament. For how should they come to be that which they were not before, to wit, the Body and Blood of Christ, without any change? And, in regard of this change, the elements are no more called by the name of their nature and kind, after the consecration, but by the name of that which they are become. Not as if the substance thereof were abolished, but because it remains no more considerable to Christians; who do not nor are to look upon this sacrament with any account of what it may be to the nourishment of their bodies by the nature of the elements, but what it may be to the nourishment of their souls by the Spirit of God assisting in and with His Flesh, mystically present in it. But this change consisting in the assistance of the Holy Ghost, Which makes the elements, in which It dwells, the Body and Blood of Christ; it is not necessary, that we acknowledge the bodily substance of them to be any way abolished.

§ 2. Nay, as I am persuaded, that the presence of Christ in the eucharist cannot be better expressed, than by that term which the Council of Trent useth, calling it a "sacrament," and saying that the Flesh and Blood of Christ is "sacramentally" there[z]; so there is nothing more demonstrative to me, that no such thing as the abolishing of the elements is revealed by the Scriptures, than that the sense of them is so fully satisfied by this term. So that the "anathema[a]," which it decreeth against them that do not believe them to be abolished, can by no means be grounded upon the Scriptures. Nor do I think the term any less fit or serviceable, because it serves them to signify the local presence of Christ's Body and Blood under the dimensions of the elements, the substance of them being gone. For I shall not be obliged to grant, that the "sacrament" of Christ's Body and Blood can properly be understood, supposing the sign and the thing signified to be both the same subject; the dimensions of the elements being become the dimensions of Christ's Body and Blood, and, by the means of them, all the bodily accidents of the elements subsisting in the same. And, therefore, the sacramental presence of Christ's Body and Blood cannot properly be maintained; unless, acknowledging the true being and presence of the thing signified, we acknowledge also the sign to remain.

["Sacramental" presence.]

§ 3. But if a man demand further, how I understand the Body and Blood of Christ to be present "in," or "with," or "under," the elements, when I say, they are "in," and "with," and "under," them, as "in," and "with," and "under," a sacrament mystically; I conceive I am excused
17 of any further answer, and am not obliged to declare the manner of that which must be mystical, when I have said what I can say to declare it. Only I will take leave to tell him, that he will remain nevertheless obliged to believe the

[No need to explain the manner of the presence.]

[z] "Neque enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut Ipse Salvator noster semper ad dexteram Patris in cœlis assideat juxta modum existendi naturalem, et ut multis nihilominus aliis locis *sacramentaliter* præsens Sua substantia nobis adsit, ea existendi ratione, quam, etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo, cogitatione per fidem illustrata, assequi possumus, et constantissime credere debemus." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiii. Decret. de Sanctiss. Euch. Sacr., c. i.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 805. A, B.

[a] "Si quis dixerit Christum in Eucharistia exhibitum spiritualiter tantum manducari, et non etiam *sacramentaliter* ac realiter, anathema sit." Ibid., Can. 8; ibid., p. 809. C.

BOOK III.

truth both of the sign and of the thing signified (and that by virtue of the sacrament; that is, of the consecration that makes it a sacrament, not of the faith of him that receives it): though I answer not all that he demands, upon the question, what the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in, or with, or under, the elements of the eucharist signifies.

[Two opinions respecting the cause of the presence.]

§ 4. I would now consider wherein the consecration of the eucharist consists, that I might thereupon infer, what kind of presence it enforceth. But I hold it fit, first, to set aside those two opinions: the one whereof (I said[b]) ascribeth it to the faith of them that receive, being accidental to the consecration, and not included in it; the other, to the hypostatical union, and that communication which it inferreth between the properties of the united Natures.

1. That the presence of Christ's Body in the eucharist depends not upon the living faith of him that receives, but upon the true profession of Christianity in the Church that celebrates.

§ 5. That which I have already said, I suppose, is enough to evidence the mystical and spiritual presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the elements, as the sacrament of the same; before any man can suppose that spiritual presence of them to the soul, which the eating and drinking Christ's Flesh and Blood spiritually by living faith importeth. Only, that I may once conclude, how faith effecteth the sacramental presence in the elements, as well as the spiritual in the soul: I will distinguish between the outward profession of Christianity, which maketh us members of God's visible Church; and the inward performance or faithful purpose of performing the same, which makes a man of that number whom God owns for heirs of His kingdom, whether you call that number an invisible Church or not. And then I say, that it is the visible profession of true Christianity, which makes the consecration of the eucharist effectual to make the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally present in the elements of it; but that it is the invisible faithfulness of the heart, in making good or in resolving to make good the said profession, which makes the receiving of it effectual to the spiritual eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood. For supposing, that God hath instituted and founded the corporation of His Church upon the precept, or the privilege, of assembling to communicate

[b] Above, c. i. § 3.

in the offices of His service, according to Christianity[c]: whensoever this office is tendered to God out of that profession which makes men members of God's Church, there the effect follows, as sure as Christianity is true; where otherwise there can be no such assurance. But if eating and drinking the Body and Blood of Christ in this sacrament unworthily, be the crucifying of Christ again, rendering a man "guilty of His Body and Blood;" then is not His Flesh and Blood spiritually eaten and drunk, till living faith make Them spiritually present to the soul, which the consecration maketh sacramentally present to the body. And it is to be noted, that no man can say, that this sacrament represents or tenders and exhibits unto him that receiveth, the Body and Blood of Christ (as all must do, that abhor the irreverence to so great an ordinance, which the opinion that it is but a bare sign of Christ crucified necessarily engendereth), but he must believe this; unless a man will say, that that which is not present may be represented, that is to say, tendered and exhibited presently down upon the place. It is not therefore that living faith, which he that receiveth the eucharist, and is present at the consecrating of it, may have and may not have, that causeth the Body and Blood of Christ to be sacramentally present in the elements of it: but it is the profession of that common Christianity, which makes men members of God's Church; in the unity whereof, wheresoever this sacrament is celebrated (without enquiring, whether those that are assembled be of the number of those, to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs), thou hast a legal presumption, even towards God, that thou receivest the Flesh and Blood of Christ in and with the elements of bread and wine, and shalt receive the same spiritually for the food of thy soul, supposing that thou receivest the same with living faith. For one part of our common Christianity being this, that our Lord Christ instituted this sacrament, with a promise to make by His
18 Spirit the elements of bread and wine sacramentally His Body and Blood; so that His Spirit, That made them so (dwelling in them, as in His natural Body), should feed them with Christ's Body and Blood, that receive the sacra-

[1 Cor. xi. 27.]

[c] See above, c. i. § 2. note d.

BOOK III.

ment of Them with living faith: this institution being executed, that is, the eucharist being consecrated according to it, so sure as Christianity is true, so sure the effect follows. So that the faith, which brings it to effect, is the faith of them, who, believing God's promises, proceed to execute His ordinances, that they may obtain the same. Whereas those, that would have justifying faith to consist in believing a man's own salvation, or the decree of God peremptorily passed upon it, and the sacrament of the eucharist to be appointed for a sign to confirm this faith (which is nothing else but the revelation of this decree), are not able to say, how the signifying of the eating of Christ's Body and Blood conduces to such a revelation as this, or why any such thing is done, which conduceth not to the purpose. Besides that, having shewed wherein justifying faith indeed consists[d], I have by that means made it appear, that the sacramental nourishment of the soul is the means of the spiritual nourishment of the soul, as well as the resemblance of it.

[How present in the sacrament to those, that lack a living faith.]

§ 6. Here, indeed, it will be requisite to take notice of that which may be objected for an inconvenience; that God should grant the operation of His Spirit, to make the elements sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ, upon the dead faith of them who receive it to their condemnation in the sacrament, and therefore cannot be said to eat the Body and Blood of Christ (which is only the act of living faith) without that abatement which the premisses have established; to wit, in the sacrament. But all this, if the effect of my saying be thoroughly considered, will appear to be no inconvenience. For that the Body and Blood of Christ should be sacramentally present in and under the elements (to be spiritually received of all, that meet it with a living faith, to condemn those for crucifying Christ again, that receive it with a dead faith); can it seem any way inconsequent to the consecration thereof by virtue of the common faith of Christians, professing that which is requisite to make true Christians, whether by a living or a dead faith? Rather must we be to seek for a reason, why "he that eateth this bread and drinketh this cup unworthily," should be "guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ," as "not discerning" It;

[d] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Grace, c. vii.

according to St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29: unless we suppose the same sacramentally present, by virtue of that true Christianity, which the Church professing, and celebrating the sacrament, tendereth it for spiritual nourishment to a living faith, for matter of damnation to a dead faith. For if the profession of true Christianity be, as of necessity it must be, matter of condemnation to him that professeth it not truly (that is to say, who, professing it, doth not perform it); shall not his assisting the celebration and consecration of the eucharist produce the effect of rendering him condemned by himself (eating the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament out of a profession of Christianity, which spiritually he despiseth), for not fulfilling what he professeth? Or that living faith, which concurreth to the same as a good Christian should do, be left destitute of that grace, which the tender of the sacrament promiseth, because the faith of those who join in the same action is undiscernable? Certainly, if the sacramental presence of Christ's Body and Blood, tendering the same spiritually, be a blessing or a curse according to the faith which it meets with; it can by no means seem unreasonable, that it should be attributed to that profession of Christianity, which makes it respectively a blessing or a curse according to the faith of them for whom it is intended.

[Of the second opinion.] —The scriptures that are alleged for the dependence of it upon the communication of the properties. [Coloss. i. 14. 19—22.]

§ 7. As for that opinion, that makes this presence to proceed from the hypostatical union passed so long before; it stands upon those scriptures, which seem to signify, that those properties, wherein the majesty of Christ's Godhead consists, are really communicated to [His[e]] Manhood, in the doing and for the effecting of those works, wherein that assistance, and grace, and protection, which He hath promised His Church upon His exaltation, consisteth[f]. St. Paul writeth to the Colossians, that "it pleased, that all fulness should dwell in Christ" (in Whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," as he expresseth himself more at large, Col. ii. 9, that they by Him might be filled); "and by
19 Him to reconcile all things to Himself, making peace by the

[e] Misprinted "this," in folio edition.

[f] See e. g., for this (the Lutheran) doctrine, the authors cited below, § 10. note m, § 11. note n; and especially Chemnitius, De Hypostatica Duarum Naturarum in Christo Unione, de Communicatione Idiomatum, &c., cc. iv., sq. pp. 18, sq., in fin. Fundament. Sanæ Doctrinæ, &c. de SS. Cœna, fol. Witteb. 1610. The passages of Scripture referred to by Thorndike are cited by Chemnitius, ibid., c. xxiv. pp. 130, sq.

BOOK III.

Blood of His cross, by Him I say, whether things on earth or in the heavens: and you, being once estranged, and enemies in your mind, through evil works, yet now hath He reconciled through the Body of His Flesh, by death, to present you holy and without spot and blameless before Him." Here, it is plain enough, that our reconciliation is ascribed to the Flesh of Christ's Body (as to His Blood afore, "In Whom we have redemption, even the remission of sins, by His Blood;" Col. i. 14, 19—22); to wit, for "the fulness of the Godhead," dwelling "bodily" in Christ. When our Lord saith, "All things are delivered Me by My Father" (Matt. xi. 27), in order to the revealing of His Gospel, that is, to the making of it effectual; when He saith, "All power in heaven and earth is given Me" (Matt. xxviii. 18): a question is made[g], how given, if a necessary consequence of the hypostatical union? I answer: because the exercise thereof was limited by the appointment of God, and the purpose for which He caused the Word to dwell in our flesh; Which, though of force to do all things, should not have had right in our flesh to execute that, which God had not appointed. And therefore is our Lord Christ justly said to receive that power of God, which by degrees He receiveth commission to exercise. The sitting of Christ at the right hand of God, I have shewed[h], that the apostle makes an argument of Divine

[Matt. xi. 27, xxviii. 18.]

[Session of Christ at the right hand of God.]

g "Transylvani" (i. e. Georg. Blandrata, Franciscus David, and the extreme Socinians) "objiciunt illud Matth. ult., 'Data est,'" &c. "Inde enim sequi videtur, ut non ab æterno nec ex natura, sed dono gratiæ et ex tempore, Christus omnipotentiam quandam habeat." Bellarm., De Christo, lib. i. c. 8; Controv., tom. i. p. 320. B. —The Lutherans, as e. g. the Liber Concordiæ (see below, § 11) p. 780, lay down, that "ratione illius Hypostaticæ Unionis Christus dicit, etiam secundum Humanam Suam Naturam, 'Mihi data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.'" Chemnitius, however, ut supra, having treated in c. xx. pp. 99—102, "de donis hyperphysicis Humanæ Naturæ in Christo ex Hypostatica cum Divina Natura τοῦ Λόγου unione collatis," proceeds in c. xxi. pp. 103—107, to establish, "quod præter dona illa habitualia, de quibus dictum est, alius summus gradus κοινωνίας ponendus sit, quo, propter Hypostaticam eum Divinitate unionem, assumta Humana Natura in Christo communionem unioni correspondentem habet, cum attributis, quæ Divinæ Naturæ Verbi propria sunt:" which he calls "communicatio Majestatis:" so that "non esse quidem de essentia unionis hypostaticæ istam communicationem, . . sed tamen consequi ad unionem hypostaticam talem communicationem et quidem realem, ita ut Natura humana vere sit omnipotens et omnipræsens," &c. (Bellarm., De Christo, lib. iii. c. 9; Controv., tom. i. p. 478. A.). But Brentius (e. g. De Personali Unione Duarum Naturarum in Christo, &c. qua Vera Præsentia in Cœna explicata est, fol. 8. a. Tubing. 1561) and others appear to lay down the doctrine without any such qualifications.

h Bk. ii. Of the Cov. of Grace, c. xiv. § 5.

power and authority, dwelling in our flesh in the person of Christ: Hebr. i. 3; Acts ii. 33, v. 31; Eph. i. 20—22; where St. Paul ascribes the filling of the Church, a work of God alone, to It. And, as He sits on God's own Throne, so He shall judge all as man, saith our Lord; John v. 21—23, 26—30: and raise them up, and quicken them, to that purpose. For the throne of God, on which Christ is set down, is the seat of His judgment. And therefore, "As I live, saith the Lord" (God in the prophet, Esai. xlv. 23, Christ in the apostle, Rom. xiv. 11), "to Me shall every knee bow, and every tongue shall give glory to God." To the same purpose is all that you read of anointing our Lord Christ with the Holy Ghost, given Him by God "without measure," saith the Baptist; John iii. 34: if you understand it, not of the habitual graces poured forth upon the Manhood of Christ from the fulness of the Godhead dwelling bodily in It (of the truth whereof, nevertheless, there is no dispute), but of the very majesty of the Godhead, communicated unto It in the person of Christ; as of a truth I have said[1] that they are to be understood. In fine, not only the merit, but the application thereof, that is, the effecting of the cleansing of our consciences from sin, is ascribed unto the Blood of Christ; Hebr. ix. 14, 1 John i. 7. How, or in what regard, but because "by the eternal Spirit He offered up Himself blameless to God," as the apostle saith? In which regard only it is, that our nature in Christ is honoured with the worship due to God; because, being for ever inseparable from the Godhead of the Word, it is not to be apprehended or figured so much as in the imagination, but as the Flesh of the Word.

CHAP. III.

[John iii. 34.]

[Hebr. ix. 14, 1 John i. 7.]

§ 8. This is a brief of the scriptures which they allege[j]: to infer, that, seeing He hath promised to feed His Church with His Flesh and His Blood in the sacrament of the eucharist, which cannot be unless They be there; and seeing the like works are performed and executed by the Flesh, that is, the Manhood, of Christ, through the virtue of the Godhead united unto it; therefore it is to be believed,

[1] Ibid., § 10; and c. xv. § 5.

[j] So e. g. the Liber Concordiæ (as quoted below, § 11); and Chemnitius, De Duabus Naturis, c. xxiv. pp. 130, sq.

BOOK III.

that, by communication of the majesty of the Godhead to the Flesh of Christ, It becomes present, wheresoever His promise, and the comfort and strengthening of His disciples (which is the work of His Mediator's office, whereunto by sitting down at God's right hand He is installed), requires the presence of it.

[This opinion, as professed by those of the Confession of Augsburg, clear of Eutychianism.]

§ 9. If it be said, that, by this position, the attributes and properties of the Godhead are placed in the Manhood, as their own proper subject, into which they are transferred by the operation of the Godhead (not divesting Itself of them, but communicating them to the Manhood, to be thenceforth properties really residing in It, and therefore truly to be attributed to It); I must do them right, and acknowledge that they utterly disclaim this to be their meaning[k]: confessing thereby, that, if it were, they could not avoid the imputation of Eutyches his heresy, condemned by the great council of Chalcedon[l]; the confusion of the Natures remaining unavoidable, when the properties of the Godhead, being communicated to the Manhood, in this sense, can be no more said to remain the properties of It.

[Not so that of the

§ 10. I undertake not thus much for the rest of their

[k] "In hoc autem negotio nihil novi de ingenio nostro fingimus: sed amplectimur et repetimus declarationem, quam vetus et orthodoxa Ecclesia e Sacræ Scripturæ fundamentis desumptam, ad nos incorruptam transmisit: videlicet, quod Divina illa virtus, vita, potestas, Majestas, et gloria, assumtæ HUMANÆ naturæ in Christo data sit. Id vero non eo modo, sicut Pater Filio secundam Divinam Naturam essentiam Suam et omnes Divinas proprietates ab æterno communicavit: unde et unius cum Patre essentiæ et Ipsi æqualis est. Christus enim tantum secundum Divinam Naturam Patri æqualis est: secundum humanam vero naturam sub Deo est. Ex his manifestum est, nullam nos confusionem, exæquationem, aut abolitionem naturarum in Christo statuere. Etenim virtus vivificandi non eo modo est in carne Christi quo est in Divina Ejus natura: viz. ut essentialis proprietas. Communicatio autem illa non facta est per essentialem aut naturalem effusionem proprietatum Divinæ Naturæ in naturam humanam: quasi humanitas Christi eas per se et a Divina essentia separatas haberet; aut quasi per illam communicationem humana natura in Christo naturales ac essentiales suas proprietates prorsus deposuerit, et vel in Divinam naturam conversa, aut Divinæ Naturæ communicatis illis suis proprietatibus in seipsa et per se, exæquata sit: aut quod utriusque naturæ eædem, aut certe æquales naturales et essentiales proprietates et operationes sint. Hi enim et similes errores in vetustissimis et approbatis conciliis e fundamentis Sacræ Scripturæ merito sunt rejecti et damnati. Nullo enim modo vel facienda vel admittenda est, aut conversio, aut confusio, aut exæquatio, sive naturarum in Christo, sive essentialium proprietatum." Liber Concordiæ (see below, § 11, note n), art. viii. De Persona Christi, p. 777. Lips. 1606.—So also Chemnitius, as quoted in § 7. note f, c. xxii. pp. 107, sq. "in quo a communicatione Majestatis removetur confusio, conversio, abolitio, et exæquatio Naturarum," &c.

[l] Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451) Actio Vta; ap. Labb., Conc. tom. iv. pp. 565–568.

CHAP. III.

Ubiquitaries, according to their supposed teaching.]

divines; who are commonly called Ubiquitaries, because they are supposed to teach, that the omnipresence of Christ's Godhead is communicated to His Flesh by virtue of the hypostatical union, so that the Body and Blood of Christ, being every where present, necessarily subsisteth in the dimensions of bread and wine in the eucharist[m]. This opinion I hold not myself any way obliged here to dispute: further than by barring it with this exception, that it taketh away that supposition, upon which the whole question concerning the consecration of the eucharist standeth; to wit, that, seeing the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the sacrament cannot be attributed to the invisible faith of him that receives, it is necessarily to be attributed to the visible faith of the Church that celebrateth. For, according to this opinion, it is manifest, that the said presence can no way depend upon any thing done by the Church in celebrating the eucharist, being already brought to pass and in being, when the Church goes about it. And this is all the argument that I will use against this conceit;—that all the premisses require (and so will also all that which followeth) the presence of the Body and Blood in the eucharist to be of another nature, and otherwise effected, than can be understood to belong to the elements by virtue of the hypostatical union; though we suppose, that which cannot be granted, that by virtue thereof they are every where. Which, therefore,

[m] In the Liber Concordiæ (p. 787, see next note) the position is expressly condemned, "Quod humanitas Christi in omnia loca cœli et terræ localiter extensa sit; quod tamen ne quidem Divinitati tribui debet: quod autem Christus per Divinam omnipotentiam Suam, Corpore Suo .. præsens esse possit ubicunque voluerit" (the phrase is Chemnitius's limitation of the dogma also, De Duabus Naturis, c. xxx. p. 205): "ibique imprimis, ubi Suam præsentiam illam, ut in sacra Sua Cœna, in Verbo Suo promisit, hoc Ipsius Omnipotentia et Sapientia optime efficere potest sine transmutatione aut abolitione veræ Suæ humanæ Naturæ." And Bellarmine (De Christo, lib. iii. c. 1; Controv., tom. i. p. 448. A, B), stating the position of Luther's Confessio de Cœna Domini, scil. "Christi Corpus esse realiter præsens in Cœna, quia est ubique; esse autem ubique .. quia est in dextera Dei quæ est ubique;" but that there are "tres modos essendi in loco;" admits, that of these he denies the first, viz., "localiter, id est, circumscriptive," and the second, viz., "spiritualiter seu per penetrationem," and affirms only the third, viz., "cælestem et Divinum per unionem hypostaticam." And see also a careful statement of the various shades of the Ubiquitarian doctrine, in Le Blanc, Theses Theol., Append. lib. ii. c. 2. pp. 185—187. Even Brentius (De Personali Unione, &c., fol. 1. a), and Heshusius (Veræ et Sacræ Confessionis de Præsentia, &c., Defensio, Magd. 1562), protest against the terms "localis præsentia vel inclusio in pane." That their adversaries endeavoured to force it upon them, see e. g. Zuinglius, Ad Lutheri Confess. Respons. Duæ, Op., tom. ii. p. 492: or Beza's Κρεωφαγια, &c., pp. 28, sq. Genev. 1561.

BOOK III.

whether their divines do really believe, or only in words, I will not here dispute.

[The churches that pretend the Confession of Augsburg, clear of it.]

§ 11. Thus much I can say, that, by the agreement of the Churches pretending the confession of Augsburg concerning the articles once in difference among them, contained in the book known by the name of *Liber Concordiæ*[n], they are not tied to maintain so much. For it is there openly protested, not only in the Preface[o], but chiefly in the eighth article[p], concerning this point (pp. 769, 787); that they do not believe the properties of the Godhead to be transfused into the Manhood, nor that the Manhood of Christ is locally extended all over heaven and earth, but that Christ by His omnipotence is able to render His Flesh and Blood present where He please; especially, where He hath promised the presence thereof by instituting the sacrament of the eucharist. And Chemnitius therefore, one of the best learned of their divines, in a book writ on purpose to set forth the grounds of their opinion concerning the communication of attributes, expressly confineth himself to these terms; as you may see, cap. xxx. pp. 205, 206[q]: declaring his meaning by the com-

[n] The book so called was the work principally of James Andreæ and Chemnitius, and was drawn up by them and others at Torgau in 1576, 7, for the purpose of uniting the Lutheran body, on the subject especially of the eucharist. See Mosheim, Book iv. cent. xvi. sect. i. Pt. 2. c. 1. § 39. vol. iii. p. 344, note in Soames's edit. It is quoted in the present volume, and apparently by Thorndike himself, from the edition printed at Leipsic, 8vo. 1606, containing the Confession of Augsburg itself, the articles of Smalcald, the major and minor Catechisms of Luther, and other tracts, besides the proper book of Torgau itself; and is entitled, "Concordia: Pia et Unanimi Consensu repetita Confessio fidei et doctrinæ Electorum, Principum, et Ordinum Imperii, atq. eorundem Theologorum qui Augustanam Confessionem amplectuntur: cui e Sacra Scriptura, unica illa Veritatis norma et regula, quorundam articulorum, qui post D. Martini Lutheri felicem ex hac vita exitum in controversiam venerunt, solida accessit declaratio," &c.

[o] "Quod vero ad phrases et loquendi modos attinet, qui in hoc concordiæ libro, quando de Majestate humanæ naturæ in Persona Christi ad dexteram Dei collocatæ et evectæ agitur, usurpantur: ut omnes sinistræ suspiciones et offendicula, quæ ex varia significatione vocabuli Abstracti ... existere possent, e medio tollantur: Theologi nostri disertis et expressis verbis testatum volunt: Majestatem illam humanæ Christi naturæ extra unionem personalem nequaquam asscribendam esse; nec etiam concedendum, quod humana natura eam Majestatem, vel propriam, vel per se (etiam in unione personali), essentialiter, formaliter, habitualiter, subjective.. possideat. Nam si eam et dicendi et docendi rationem teneremus, Divina et humana Naturæ una cum proprietatibus suis confunderentur: humana etiam Divinæ ratione essentiæ et proprietatum exæquaretur, imo vero tota negaretur." Lib. Concord. Præfat., fol. b. 4.

[p] See the passages quoted above, § 10. note m, and § 9. note k.

[q] "Retineamus illud quod verissimum est, Christum Suo Corpore esse posse, ubicumque, quandocunque, et quomodocunque vult: de voluntate vero Ejus ex patefacto certo verbo judicemus." Chemnitius, De Duabus Na-

parison of iron red hot; which, though the fire be so in it that they are not discernable, much less separable, and though they may do the act of both natures at once upon the same subject by burning and cutting the same thing, remain notwithstanding distinct in their natures.

[What they really teach.]

§ 12. What then would they have? Why, this being set aside, they say nevertheless, most truly, that in the whole work of the Mediator's office the Divine nature communicateth with the Human; Which, understanding the necessities of Christ's members, both intercedes with God for supply, and supplies the same by the proper will of it, which His Divine will always concurring brings to effect[r]. In which regard it is also most truly said, that the properties of the Godhead do communicate with the Manhood, in regard of the concurrence of them, to execute that which It resolveth, being always conformable to the will and decree of the Godhead[s]. This indeed is no more than the faith of the Catholic Church importeth: nor inferreth the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's Flesh, as an endowment communicated to reside in it by virtue of the hypostatical union, as thenceforth the proper subject of it; but the concurrence of both Natures to the effecting of those works, wherein the Media-

turis, p. 205.—"In ferro enim ignito (quo exemplo tota vetus Ecclesia hypostaticam duarum naturarum in Persona Christi unionem declaravit) fit arctissima unio duarum naturarum, ipsius et ferri, per περιχώρησιν. Et ignis quidem proprietates ferri non assumit, ut fiat vel niger vel frigidus. Nec fit abolitio proprietatum ferri, manet enim corpus solidum. Quodque in illa unione et communicatione ferrum etiam naturalem suam nigredinem et frigiditatem (licet in ignitione non appareant) essentialiter retineat, nec per abolitionem amittat, ostendit separatio ignis a ferro ignito; tunc enim non de novo ab extra nigredo et frigiditas in ferrum introducuntur, sed ferrum ab igne separatum tunc ostendit se physicas suas proprietates in ipsa ignitione retinuisse et adhuc salvas habere. Nec ignis qualitatem tantum aliquam caloris efficit, et extra se in ferrum ignitum transfundit, sicut fit in aqua bulliente, vel si ignis in vase ferreo portetur. Sed ipsam essentiam suam, et essentiales suas proprietates, splendorem scilicet, vim lucendi et urendi, ignis per unionem communicat ferro ignito. Et modus communicationis fit et est pro ratione unionis; ut scil. ignis jam non seorsim aut absolute se solo luceat et urat, .. sed jam in ferro ignito, cum ferro, et per ferrum illud, splendeat, luceat, et urat. Et ipsum etiam ferrum, ex hac unione, igne illo per περιχώρησιν accensum, jam splendeat, candeat, et urat, non sua aliqua propria vel naturali vel adventitia essentiali virtute, sed ipsa substantiali virtute ignis, candeat et urat, quæ virtus solius ignis propria, naturalis, et essentialis est et manet," &c. "Et tamen in ferro ignito illa communicatione non fit, nec substantiarum nec essentialium proprietatum ignis vel ferri, vel confusio, vel conversio, vel abolitio, vel exæquatio," &c. Chemnit., ibid., c. xxii. p. 119.—See also the Liber Concordiæ, p. 779.

[r] So e. g. the Liber Concordiæ, art. de Persona Christi, pp. 773, 786: and see Chemnitius, De Duabus Naturis, cc. xi. p. 55, xvii. pp. 85, 86.

[s] See Chemnitius, ibid., c. xviii. pp. 92—95.

BOOK III.

tor's office is seen, whereupon depends that honour and worship, which the Manhood challenges in the person of Christ, as inseparable from the Godhead, to Which originally that honour is due.

[The scriptures alleged] conclude not the sense of them by whom they are alleged.

§ 13. And, therefore, I shall never go about to return any manner of answer to any of those scriptures which have been alleged for it, but only this, that they infer nothing to the purpose in hand. For if it could be said, that by virtue of the hypostatical union (that is, by the will of God effecting it) the immensity of the Godhead were so transfused into 21
the Manhood, as to make It present whersoever this sacrament is celebrated (and so in the elements of it); then were this an answer to the difficulty in hand, but such a one, as would engage him that affirms it in the heresy of Eutyches. But saying no more than this,—that the will of the Man Christ concurs with His Divine power, to do all that His promises to His Church import; and that (the effect of this sacrament importing the presence of His Flesh and Blood) it is necessary, that the will of the Man Christ, by the Divine power concurring to the works of It, should make the Flesh and Blood of Christ present, whersoever His ordinance requires;—they cannot say, that Christ's Flesh is present in the sacrament of the eucharist by virtue of the hypostatical union, upon those grounds; but that, by virtue of the hypostatical union, the will and promise of Christ is executed by the power of the Godhead concurring with it, and Which it acteth with. Which is to say, that [the effect takes place], not immediately by the hypostatical union, but by means of Christ's promise, which must come to effect by the power of the Godhead, Which the human will of Christ communicateth with. And truly, I conceive, no man ever was so impertinent, as not to suppose the hypostatical union, when there was question, how the promise of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the eucharist should come to effect. But, that being supposed and not serving the turn alone, it remains, that we judge it by the institution of the eucharist, and the promise which it contains; that is to say, by those scriptures, out of which the intent of them is to be had, and not by the hypostatical union, which being supposed, the question remains nevertheless. And by the hypostatical union, we doubt not,

but our Lord Christ hath power to represent His Body and Blood, that is, to make it present, where He please; but that must be not merely by virtue of the hypostatical union, but by doing the same miracle which transubstantiation imports, though it be the hypostatical union that enableth our Lord Christ to do it. For though there be a difference between the being of Christ's Flesh and Blood under the dimensions of the elements, the substance of them remaining, and being reduced by the power of God under those dimensions; and, the substance of them being abolished: yet I suppose all men of reason will say, that the hypostatical union contributes no more to that than to this. And therefore, not doubting, that the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist is a very great miracle (taking that to be miraculous, which requires the infinite power of God to effect it, not that, which contains a visible effect thereof, apt to bear witness to that truth, which it is done to confirm), I must remit you to that which hath been already said[1], to judge, whether the miracle consist in abolishing the substance of the elements, and substituting the Body and Blood of Christ in their stead; or in placing the substance of Christ's Body and Blood under the same dimensions, in which the substance of the elements subsisteth: or rather than either of both, that it be enough to engage the infinite power of God, that by His Spirit He tendereth the Flesh and Blood of Christ, so sacramentally present in the elements, that whoso receiveth them faithfully, thereby communicates as truly in the Spirit of God according to his spirit, as according to his body he communicates sacramentally in His Body and Blood.

How the Scripture confineth the Flesh of Christ to the heavens.

§ 14. Here is the place for me to allege those scriptures, which inform us of the true nature and properties of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, remaining in His Body, even now that It is glorified. For if in the proper dimensions thereof He "parted from" His disciples, and "went," was "carried," or lifted and "taken up, into heaven" (Acts i. 2, 9, 10; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Luke xxiv. 50, 51; Mark xvi. 19); if, in the same visible form and dimensions, He shall come again to judgment (Acts i. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 16); if "the heavens

[1] Above, c. ii. § 2, sq.

BOOK III.

must receive Him till" that time (for sure no man will be much tempted with that frivolous conceit[u], that St. Peter's words, Acts iii. 21, "Ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέξασθαι," are to be construed, "Whom it behoveth to contain the heavens," but, "Whom it behoveth that the heavens contain;" unless it could appear, how St. Peter should understand the Body of Christ to contain the heavens, not the heavens It), "sitting at God's right hand till His enemies be made His foot-stool" (Psalm cx. 1); if to that purpose He "leave the world" (John xvi. 28), "no more" to be "in" it (xvii. 11), so that we shall have Him no more with us (Matt. xxvi. 11): it behoveth us to understand, how we are informed, that the promise of His Body and Blood in the eucharist imports an exception to so many declarations, before we believe it. Indeed there is no place of God's right hand, by sitting down at which we may say that our Lord's Body becomes confined to the said place[x]: but, seeing the Flesh of Christ is taken up into heaven to sit down at God's right hand (though, by His sitting down at God's right hand, we understand the Man Christ to be put into the exercise of that Divine power and command which His mediator's office requires), yet His Body we must understand to be confined to that place, where the majesty of God appears to those that attend upon His throne. Neither shall the appearing of Christ to St. Paul (Acts xxiii. 11) be any exception to this appointment[y]. He that would insist, indeed, that the Body of Christ stood over Paul in the castle where then he lodged, must say, that It left heaven for that purpose. For that is the miracle which the text expresseth,—that He was there, Whose ascent into heaven it had reported afore. But seeing the very Body of Christ might, in a vision of prophecy, appear to Paul in the Spirit, without any contravention to that determination, which the Scripture otherwise had expressed; were it not madness to go

[u] So e. g. Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Lib. de Ascens. Domini: as quoted by Bellarm., De Christo, lib. iii. c. 12; Controv., tom. i. p. 487. A. And see the same Illyricus, De Mystica Sacramentalique seu Externa Præsentia et Manducatione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Sacra Cœna, p. 371. 12mo. 1574.

[x] The common argument of the Lutherans and Ubiquitarians: see e. g. the books cited above, in § 10. note m.

[y] It is instanced as such an exception by Chemnitius, De Duab. Naturis, c. xxx. p. 188. Compare also Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 3; Controv., tom. ii. p. 672.

about to limit the sense and effect of it, upon pretence of a promise altogether impertinent to the occasion in hand, and every whit as properly to be understood without so limiting the sense of it? CHAP. III.

§ 15. This is all the argument that I pretend to maintain upon this consideration: knowing well enough, that it is said indeed[z], that, the Flesh of Christ remaining in heaven in the proper dimensions thereof, which the exaltation allows, nothing hinders the same to be present under the dimensions of the elements; whether the substance of them be there, which consubstantiation allows, or whether they be abolished, as transubstantiation requires. Which he that would contradict, must enter here into a philosophical dispute, whether or no the infinite power of God can bring to pass either or neither of these effects: that is to say, whether it imply a contradiction, that the Body and Blood of Christ (Which is as sure in heaven as the faith of Christ is sure) should at the same time be present in the sacrament of the eucharist under the dimensions of the elements; whether we suppose the substance of them to be abolished, or to remain present. This dispute I am resolved not to touch at this time: partly for that reason which I have alleged upon other occasions[a],—because I desire to discharge this book, being written in our mother tongue, of all philosophical disputes, tending rather to puzzle than to edify the main of those that speak English;—partly for a reason peculiar to this point,—because it hath been argued, that, if we deny transubstantiation or consubstantiation as contradictory to reason, there can be no cause, why we should cleave to the faith of the Trinity; which every man sees to be no less contradictory to human reason than either of both[b]. For though I do no ways admit this consequence, because it is evident, that the nature of bodily substance is far better comprehended by man's understanding, than the incomprehensible Nature of God, which it is impossible to apprehend any thing of but under the resemblance of something belonging to sensible

[The philosophical dispute not here to be handled, respecting the possibility of a literal presence both in heaven and in the eucharist at the same time.]

[z] See, for the Romanist side, Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. cc. 3, 4; ibid., pp. 670. B, sq.: and for the Lutheran, Chemnitius, De Duab. Naturis, c. xxx. pp. 190, sq.

[a] E. g. Preface to the Epilogue, § 12.

[b] So e. g. Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 3; Controv., tom. ii. p. 675. B, C.—And see Jer. Taylor, Real Presence, sect. xi. § 28; Works, vol. vi. pp. 118, 119. ed. Eden.

BOOK III.

substance; yet I am willing to go to issue without drawing this dispute into consequence, referring to judgment, whether the evidence for consubstantiation or transubstantiation be such as for the Holy Trinity out of the Scriptures: that is to say, whether the presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the eucharist is so to be understood, as to void the confining of Them to those dimensions, which the Scripture allows Them in heaven (and this as necessarily, by the Scripture, as the Scripture necessarily obligeth to believe the Holy Trinity); whenas it may be, more properly to the nature of the business, understood mystically, as in a sacrament, intended to convey the communion of His Spirit: in the mean time allowing any man, that submits his reason to all that Christianity imports, the sober use of it, in disputing, whether the presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the eucharist, as consubstantiation or as transubstantiation requires, be contradictory to the evidence of reason or not.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OPINION WHICH MAKETH THE CONSECRATION TO BE DONE BY REHEARSING THE OPERATIVE WORDS. THAT OUR LORD CONSECRATED BY THANKSGIVING. THE FORM OF IT IN ALL LITURGIES, TOGETHER WITH THE CONSENT OF THE FATHERS. EVIDENCE THAT THERE IS NO TRADITION OF THE CHURCH FOR THE ABOLISHING OF THE ELEMENTS.

The opinion which maketh the consecration to be done by rehearsing the operative words.

COMING now to consider wherein the consecration of the eucharist consists, I find no opinion on foot, but that which hath taken possession by the authority of the school-doctors; —that it is performed by the recital of these words, "This is My Body, This is My Blood," in the canon (that is, the canonical or regular prayer for the consecration of the eucharist) of the mass[c]. For those that have set aside this prayer, and do not allow the opinion, that these words are

[c] "Prævalet tamen hodie opinio constituens in his solis verbis—Hoc est Corpus Meum, hic est Sanguis Meus—panis et vini consecrationem; adeo ut Bellarminus, Vasquez, Becanus, et alii, illam indigetent 'communem Scholasticorum sententiam.'" Albertinus, De Euch., lib. i. c. 4. p. 7. b: having just quoted from Christopher de Capite Fontium a list of seven different opinions held at various times on the point "inter scriptores Catholicos."—See Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iv. c. 12; Controv., tom. ii. p. 832. D: and Vasquez, In Tertiam P. D. Thomæ, Disp. clxxxxvii. art. i. c. 2. tom. iii. pp. 312, 313.

operative to the effecting of that which the institution of the eucharist promises, though they retain the recital of them in the action, yet have not declared any common agreement, wherein they intend to maintain the consecration of the eucharist to stand.

[It offereth violence to common sense.]

§ 2. And is it not then free for me to declare, that I could never rest satisfied with this opinion of the school-doctors; as finding it to offer violence to common sense, and the truest intention of that which we may see done in consecrating the eucharist? For when our Lord takes the elements in His hands and blesses them (or gives God thanks over them), then breaks the bread, and, delivering them, bids His disciples take and eat them, because they are His Body and Blood; is it not manifest, that they are so called in regard of something which He had already done about them, when, delivering them, He calls them at that present time of delivering them, that which He could not call them afore, His "Body and Blood?"

[The account given of it.]

§ 3. No, say they; that is easily understood otherwise, from the common customs which men use in civil conveyances: nothing being more usual, by several customs of several nations, than to convey the right and possession of house or land by delivering writings, testifying certain deeds done to that effect; to put in possession of a house by delivering the key, or the post to be held, or putting into the house; by delivering a turf of the land to be conveyed, to put into rightful possession of the same; adding the like words to these—"Here is this house or this land, take it for thine own."—But in vain.

[Insufficient.]

§ 4. Those that use this escape consider not, that our Lord said these words—"Take, eat, drink, This is My Body, This is My Blood,"—when He delivered them: so that, if by saying these words He made them that which the words signify, then by delivering them He made them that which they signify. For so the like words serve, in delivering possession, to express the intent of him that delivers it. To which overt act of delivering, the right of possession, and the conveying of it, is as much to be ascribed, as to the words which animate it by expressing the intent of it. Which if it be true, then were the elements, which our Lord delivered to

BOOK III.

His disciples, consecrated by delivering them. And therefore, by consequence, the eucharist is never consecrated but by delivering of it; seeing, of necessity, the eucharist is consecrated by the same means, as the first, which Christ communicated to His disciples, was consecrated. But this can by no means stand with the intent of them that maintain this opinion: supposing, as they do, that the sacrament is consecrated before it be delivered to them that receive it.

[Another argument against it.]

§ 5. And hence starts another argument. For these words, as they are used in consecrating the eucharist, are part of the rehearsal of that which our Lord Christ did, when He consecrated that eucharist which He gave His disciples. And will any reason endure this,—that the eucharist be thought to be consecrated by reciting what Christ said, when He delivered that eucharist which He had consecrated, and not by doing what Christ commanded to be done, when He appointed it to be celebrated? Certainly, he that says, Christ "took bread and blessed it and brake it, saying, Take, eat, This is My Body," says what Christ did and said, before, and when, He delivered it. He that says 21 further, that He said, "Do this in remembrance of Me," says, that Christ instituted this sacrament. But to say that Christ instituted this sacrament, is not to consecrate that sacrament which Christ instituted. That is not done but by doing that which Christ is said to have done.

That our Lord consecrated by thanksgiving.

§ 6. And is not Christ said to have "blessed" the elements? Is it not said, that, having "taken" and "blessed" and "broken" the bread, delivering it to His disciples, He affirmed it to be His Body at the present when He delivered it? Can the becoming of it His Body be imputed to the 'taking,' or 'breaking,' or 'delivering' of it? Doth it not remain then, that it be imputed to the 'blessing' of it?

["Blessing" and "giving of thanks" one and the same thing.]

§ 7. Here, finding it evident, by comparing the evangelists one with another and with St. Paul, that 'blessing' and 'giving of thanks,' in this case, are both one and the same thing signified by two words; I must needs infer, that blessing the elements is nothing else, but giving God thanks over them (which at the present our Lord had in hand), with intent to make them the sacrament of His Body and Blood. The people of God, in our Lord's time, were wont to tak

nothing for meat or for drink without first giving God thanks solemnly for it, as they had it in hand. You may see how scrupulous they were in this point by the title of "Blessings," the first of the Talmud[d]: where you have those forms of thanksgiving recorded, and the circumstances at which they were to be used, in receiving several kinds; which were, some of them, doubtless, more ancient than our Lord's time. A practice fitting for Christianity to continue; setting aside that "superstitious scrupulosity[e]" of forms and circumstances, wherein the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees consisted. Therefore St. Paul, withstanding those heretics, that taught "to abstain from meats, which God hath made to be participated with thanksgiving by the faithful and such as have known the truth" (1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, 5), adds for his reason,—"Because every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer:" the word of God enabling Christians to receive it with a good conscience, so as they may expect God's blessing, which they have desired by their prayers. For is it not manifest, that (having said, that "every creature is good" which a Christian "receives with thanksgiving"), when he adds that "it is sanctified by prayer," grounded on God's words[f], he includes in that thanksgiving, which he means, prayer to God for a blessing upon it? The creatures of God then are sanctified to the nourishment of our bodies by thanksgiving, with prayer for God's blessing; and shall we think, that that thanksgiving, wherewith they are sanctified to the nourishment of our souls, doth not include prayer to the effect intended, that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, Which God by this sacrament pretends to feed our souls with? And doth not the execution of our Saviour's institution, when He says, "Do this," consist in giving God thanks for the redemption of mankind, with prayer, that we may be fed by the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the eucharist? Certainly, the word, "Do this," is that which the whole action is grounded upon, as pretending to execute it: and therefore

[d] See Service of God at Relig. Assemblies, [illegible] § 18—23, x. § 49.

[e] See Ter[illegible] noted in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Grace, c. xxxii. § 13. note t.

[f] So in folio edition; qu. "word."

BOOK III.

the effect of it, so far as consecrating the eucharist, is already come to pass, when the Church may say, "This is our Lord's Body—This is His Blood;" as our Lord said, "This is My Body—This is My Blood."

[Of the consent of the Church in this point.]

§ 8. But the strength of this resolution, I confess, lies in the consent of the Church; and those circumstances visible in the practice thereof, which, to them that observe them with reason, are manifest evidences of this sense. I have observed, in a book of the Service of God at the Assemblies of the Church (pp. 349—370[g]), the passages of divers of the most ancient writers of the Church, in which "*εὐχαριστεῖν*," or "giving thanks," is put for "consecrating the eucharist;" unto which add the words of Irenæus in Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* v. 20[h]) concerning the then Bishop of Rome, Anicetus, when Polycarpus was there,—"*Παρεχώρησε τὴν εὐχαριστίαν Πολυκάρπῳ*·" that is, "He gave way to Polycarpus to celebrate the eucharist."—For seeing that this sacrament (that is, the elements consecrated) are called the eucharist all over the Church from this "thanksgiving," the act thereof passing upon them, to give them by way of metonymy this name; what can be more reasonable, than to grant, that it is this act (and not the rehearsal of the words of the Gospel, which relate what our Lord did and said, in instituting as well as celebrating it), by which the consecration is performed: though, on the other side, I insist, that these words have always been rehearsed by the Church in consecrating the eucharist, and ought still to be frequented; and, among them, those which our Lord said when He delivered it, "This is My Body—This is My Blood;" which now the whole School thinks to be the only operative words in that change, which the making of the elements to become the sacrament imports[i].

[Language of St. Paul to the same effect.]

§ 9. I have also shewed in the same place[k], that St. Paul, —when he saith (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17), "For if thou bless by the Spirit, he that fills the place of an idiot" (or private person),

[g] c. x. § 38—50.

[h] The passage is in c. 24. p. 193. D. In c. 20 is another passage of Irenæus respecting Polycarp upon a different subject.

[i] "Et quidem Ecclesia Catholica magno consensu docet, illa sola verba ad formam pertinere." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iv. c. 12; Controv., tom. ii. p. 832. D.

[k] Service of God at Relig. Assembl., c. x. § 38, 40.

"how shall he say the amen upon this thanksgiving? for he knoweth not what thou sayest; for thou indeed givest thanks well, but the other is not edified;"—by "blessing," and "giving thanks," means the consecrating of the eucharist (which those that had the grace of languages among the Corinthians, undertook then to do in unknown tongues, and are therefore reproved by the apostle): because it may appear by the constant practice of the whole Church, that it ended with an "amen" of the people; which St. Paul therefore calls "*the* amen"—"τὸ ἀμὴν," to wit, that was used in that case. And also[l], that, when he writeth to Timothy;—"I exhort therefore, first of all, to make supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, for all men; for kings, and all that are in eminence, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all piety and gravity;"—he intends to charge, that at the celebration of the eucharist (which here he calleth "thanksgivings") prayers be made, as for all states of men, so especially for public powers and princes: because St. Augustin[m], St. Ambrose[n], and the author *De Vocatione Gentium* ([lib.] i. [c.] 12[o]), do expressly testify unto us, that the custom which the Church then, and always afore and since, hath had to do this, came from this ordinance of St. Paul, and containeth the fulfilling of it: and because it is manifest by all the forms of liturgy in all Churches, that are yet extant, and by the mention made of the manner of it upon occasion in the writings of the fathers, that the eucharist was never to be celebrated without prayer for all states of Christ's Church. And this indeed is a great part of the evidence which I pretend.

The form of [consecration] in all liturgies.

§ 10. There are extant yet, in several languages, several liturgies (that is, forms of that complete service of God, by Psalms and lessons and sermons and prayers, the crown[p] whereof was the eucharist): as that of St. Mark, of St. James, of St. Peter, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom[q], which are the forms

[l] Ibid., § 63.

[m] See the passage quoted, ibid. § 60 and § 72.

[n] See the passage quoted, ibid. § 63.

[o] In fin. Op. S. Prosper., tom. i. p. 465. a.

[p] Altered in MS. into "the principal."

[q] Assemani, Cod. Liturg., tom. vii. pp. 34, 35; tom. v. pp. 40, 41: Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. Collectio, tom. i. pp. 3, 157: Goar, Ritual. Græc., pp. 77, 166: and for the Liturgy of St. Peter, see Serv. of God in Rel. Ass., c. x. § 37. note d. See also Palmer's Orig. Liturg., Dissert. on Prim. Liturgies.

BOOK III.

that were used in their Churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome, Cæsarea, Constantinople; though not as they had from the beginning appointed, but as prelates of authority and credit had thought fit to add to, or take from, or change, that which they from the beginning had appointed. There is besides the canon of the Roman Mass (that is, the canonical or regular prayer which the eucharist is consecrated with), which is the same in Latin with that of St. Peter in Greek upon the matter (as, of a truth, the Greek is but the translation of the Latin, it seems, for the use of these Greeks in Italy that follow the Church of Rome[r]); and that of St. Ambrose at Milan; three translated out of Arabic by the Maronites at Rome; the Ethiopic translated into Latin; many canons (called by them "*anaphora*") in the Maronites' Missal lately printed at Rome in the Syriac; one of the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies in Latin[s]. In all these, you shall observe a prayer to begin, where, the deacon formerly saying, "*Sursum corda*"—"Lift up your hearts," the people answered, "*Habemus ad Dominum*"—"We lift them up unto the Lord." The subject of it is (at least where any length is allowed it), to praise God for creating the world, and maintaining mankind through His providence with the fruits of the earth: then (after acknowledgement of Adam's fall) for using, first, those means of reclaiming mankind unto God, which we find by the Scriptures, that it pleased God to use; under the law of nature first, by the patriarchs; then, under the law of Moses, by the prophets; then sending our Lord Christ to redeem the world: upon which occasion, rehearsing how He instituted the eucharist at His last supper, prayer is made, that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, may sanctify them "to become the Body and Blood of Christ," so that they

[r] See Lindanus' Annotat. in Liturg. S. Petri, p. 47. Antv. 1589.

[s] The Missal of St. Ambrose was printed at Milan, folio, in 1522, 1560, 1692; and is also in Pamelius, Liturgic. Latinum, tom. i. pp. 293, sq.—Liturg. S. Basil. M., S. Greg. Theol., S. Cyril. Alex., ex Arabico conversæ a Victorio Scialach, Accurensi Maronita e Monte Libano, Aug. Vindel. 1604.—The Ethiopic Missal was printed at Rome 4to. 1548, and a Latin translation in 1549: which is also in the Biblioth. PP., tom. xv., and in Renaudot, tom. i.—The Liber Ministri Missæ juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Nationis Maronitarum (in Syriac and Arabic), Rom. 8vo. 1596: their Missal was printed there in 1594 in Syriac.—For the Liturgy of Malabar, first printed (in a Latin translation) by Abp. Menezes at Coimbra in 1606, see Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 42. note q.

which receive them may be filled with His grace[t]. This
26 being so visible in so many of these liturgies; shall we say, that all that follows after the deacon's warning ("let us give thanks"), makes up that which the ancient Church, after St. Paul, by a peculiar term of art, as it were, calls the "eucharist" or "thanksgiving?" Or that the sacrament, which taketh the name from it, is consecrated only by rehearsing those words which our Lord said, when He delivered it, "This is My Body—This is My Blood?" Especially, all reason in the world enforcing, that the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist (being that which God promiseth upon the observation and performance of His institution and appointment) cannot be ascribed to any thing else.

[With what variations in particular liturgies.]

§ 11. In the Latin Mass[u], before the rehearsal of the institution, they pray thus:—"*Quam oblationem Tu, Deus, in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris; ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi*"—"Which oblation, Thou, O God, we pray Thee, vouchsafe to make, in all respects, blessed, imputable, accountable, reasonable, and acceptable; that it may become to us the Body and Blood of Thy well-beloved Son our Lord Christ Jesus." Then, after the institution[x]:—"*Jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli Tui in sublime altare Tuum, in conspectu Divinæ Majestatis Tuæ; ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur*"—"Command them to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel unto Thine altar that is above, before Thy Divine Majesty; that as many of us as shall receive the holy Body and Blood of Thy Son by this communion of the altar, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace." These two parts of this prayer are joined into one in most of those forms which I have named, whether before the rehearsal of the institution or after it. Only, in those many forms which the Maronites' Missal[y]

[t] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 34, 37, 42.

[u] Missal. Rom., p. 224. fol. Antv. 1619. ex decreto S. Conc. Trid. restitutum &c.—See also Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 54—58.

[x] Ibid., p. 226.

[y] See above, § 10. note s. It contains fourteen liturgies (Le Brun, Explic. de la Messe, tom. iv. p. 637); most of which are translated by Renaudot, tom. ii.

BOOK III.

containeth, the rehearsal of the institution comes immediately after the peace: which was, in the apostles' time, that kiss of peace, which they command, going immediately before the deacon's warning to "lift up hearts" to the consecrating of the eucharist: though those words are not now found in any of these Syriac forms. For after the institution is rehearsed, it is easy to observe, that there follows constantly (though not immediately, but interposing some other prayers) a prayer to the same effect with these two; but in two several forms: for in all of them, saving two or three (which pray, that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ to the salvation of those that receive, by the Holy Ghost coming down upon them), prayer is made, "that this Body and this Blood of Christ may be to the salvation of the receivers;" which may be understood to signify the effect of both these prayers in so few words; but it may also be understood to signify, that whosoever framed them, conceived the consecration to be made by the rehearsal of the institution premised. Which if I did believe, I should not think them ancient; but contrived at Rome, where they are printed, upon the doctrine of the School now in vogue[z]. For in all forms besides, the effect of these prayers is to be found; without excepting any of those, which we may have any confidence of that they are come entire to our hands. I demand then, whether I have reason to attribute the force of consecrating the eucharist (upon which the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ depends) to the recital of what Christ said or did at His celebrating the eucharist, or instituting it for the future; or to the prayer, which all Christians have made, and all either do make or should make, to the express purpose of obtaining this sacramental as well as spiritual presence.

The consent of the fathers. [Justin Martyr.]

§ 12. Hear how Justin describes the action, *Apolog.* II.[a]:— "'Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν· ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ

[z] Le Brun, p. 640, admits the fact of alterations having been made in them with this view: and so also Renaudot, tom. ii. pp 48, 80. 81.

[a] S. Just. Mart., Apol. i. (formerly reckoned the second) § 65; Op., p. 82. D, E. ed. Bened.

δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' Αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων Ἀμήν"—"Having done our prayers, we salute one another with a kiss: then" (as I said, that the peace was next before the consecration) "is offered to the chief of the brethren bread, and a cup of water and wine mixed; which he takes, and sends up praise and glory to the
27 Father of all, through the name of the Son and Holy Ghost; giving thanks at large, that we are vouchsafed these things at His hands" (to wit, the means which God used to reclaim mankind under the law of nature and Moses, and, lastly, the coming of Christ and His death and the institution of the eucharist): "who having finished his thanksgiving and prayers" (for the making of the elements the Body and Blood of Christ by the Holy Ghost), "all the people present follow with an acclamation saying, Amen." Afterwards he calls the sacrament, "Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' Αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν"—"The food which thanks hath been given for, by the prayer of that word which came from Him[b]:" that is, which our Lord Christ appointed the eucharist to be consecrated with, when He commanded His disciples to do that which He had done.

§ 13. So Origen (*in Matt.* xv.)[c] calls the eucharist, "*Panem verbo Dei et per obsecrationem sanctificatum*" — "Bread sanctified by the word of God and prayer." And *Contra Celsum*, lib. viii.[d]; "*Oblatos panes edimus, Corpus sanctum quoddam per preces factos*"—"We eat the bread that was offered, made a kind of holy Body by prayer." Not that which is grounded upon that word of God, by which His creatures are our nourishment (as Justin saith afterwards[e], [Origen.]

[b] Id., ibid. § 66. p. 83. B.

[c] "Οὕτω δὲ οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγιασθέντος λόγῳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως ἄρτου, ὑστερούμεθα ἀγαθοῦ τινος, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ φαγεῖν περισσεύομεν ἀγαθῷ τινι." Origen., In Matth. c. xv. tom. xi. § 14; Op., tom. iii. p. 499. B.

[d] "Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς Δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιόν τι καὶ ἁγίαζον τοὺς μετ' ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους." Id., Cont. Celsum, lib. viii. § 33; Op., tom. i. p. 766. D, E.—"Valde dubium est, an in (hoc loco) de Eucharistia agat." Albertin., de Euchar., lib. ii. Exam. Testim. Origen. c. 2, p. 361.

[e] "Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὲ οἷς προσφερόμεθα, εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν Ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ

BOOK III.

that Christians bless God, by the Son and Holy Ghost, for all the food they take); but that word of Christ, whereby He commanded to do that which He had done.

[St. Cyril of Jerusalem.]

§ 14. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Mystag.* iii.[f]) saith, that "the bread is no more common bread after the calling of the Holy Ghost upon it[g];" because, he saith afterwards (*Catech. Mystag.* v.[h]), that the Church prays God to send the Holy Ghost upon the elements to make them the Body and Blood of Christ: as I said.

[St. Basil.]

§ 15. So St. Basil calls the form of consecration (which, I shewed you[i], he affirms to come by tradition from the apostles, as here I maintain it doth), "*τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ἐπικλήσεως*"—"the words of invocation;" to wit, whereby we call for the Holy Ghost to come upon the elements and consecrate them (*De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxvii.[k]).

[St. Gregory of Nyssa.]

§ 16. St. Gregory Nyssen (*De Vita Mosis*[l]) saith, the bread is sanctified by the Word of God, Which is His Son: but, to say further by what means, he adds, "In virtue of the blessing;" to wit, which the Church consecrates the eucharist with, as our Lord did.

τοῦ Υἱοῦ Αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου." S. Just. Mart., Apol. ii. § 67; Op., p. 83. C, D.

[f] "Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ."—S. Cyril. Hieros., Catech. xxi. (Mystag. iii.) § 4. pp. 316. D, 317. A. ed. Bened.

[g] See below, § 46.

[h] "Εἶτα . . παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεὸν, τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ παρακείμενα· ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸ δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ." Id., Catech. xxiii. (Mystag. v.) § 7. p. 327. C.

[i] Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Assemb., c. vii. § 11.

[k] "Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα; . . . οἷον . . . τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν κατέλιπεν;" S. Basil., De Spiritu Sancto, c. xxvii. § 66; Op., tom. iii. pp. 54. D, E, 55. A.—That *ἐπίκλησις* here is the prayer of consecration (not the address to the congregation), and *ἀνάδειξις* the consecration itself (not the exhibition of the host to the people), see the note on the passage of the Benedictine editors, Suicer (Thesaur. sub voce *ἀνάδειξις*), and Albertin. (De Euchar., lib. ii. Testim. S. Basil. M. c. 2. p. 446).

[l] The passage is not from the Vita Mosis, but from the Oratio Catechetica, c. xxxvii.; Op., tom. iii. p. 104. C, D. Paris. 1638: and runs thus.—"Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα ἄρτος τῇ δυνάμει ἦν· ἡγιάσθη δὲ τῇ ἐπισκηνώσει τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ σκηνώσαντος ἐν τῇ σαρκί· οὐκοῦν ὅθεν ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι μεταποιηθεὶς ἄρτος εἰς θείαν μετέστη δύναμιν, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν τὸ ἴσον γίνεται. Ἐκεί τε γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λόγου χάρις ἅγιον ἐποιεῖτο σῶμα, ᾧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἡ σύστασις ἦν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἄρτος ἦν· ἐνταῦθα τε ὡσαύτως ὁ ἄρτος, καθώς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἁγιάζεται διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως." And at the end of the chapter (ibid., p. 105. B.): "ταῦτα δὲ δίδωσι, τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν."

CHAP. IV.

§ 17. Optatus describes the altars or communion tables which the Donatists broke (for they were of wood, not of stone), "*Quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quo postulatus descend*[*er*]*it Spiritus Sanctus*"—"On which Almighty God was called to come down, on which the Holy Ghost upon demand did come down[m]." [Optatus.]

§ 18. St. Jerome describes the dignity of priests, Epist. lxxxv.[n]: "*Ad quorum preces Corpus Christi Sanguisque conficitur*"—"At whose prayers the Body and Blood of Christ is made;" to wit, by God. And *In Sophoniæ* iii.[o]: "*Impie agunt in legem* [*Christi*]*, putantes eucharistiam imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; et necessariam esse tantum solennem orationem,* [*et*] *non sacerdotum merita*"—"They transgress the law of Christ, thinking that the eucharist is made by the words, not the life of him that prays over it; and that only the customary prayer, not the works of the priest are requisite." [St. Jerome.]

§ 19. In fine, as often as you read "*mysticam precem*," or "*mysticam benedictionem*," when there is speech of the eucharist in the fathers; be assured, that which here I maintain is there understood[p]. ["Mysticam precem," or "benedictionem."]

§ 20. True it is, Irenæus ([lib.] v. [c.] 2.[q]) affirmeth, that the bread and the wine, receiving or admitting the word of [St. Irenæus explained.]

[m] "Quid enim tam sacrilegum, quam altaria Dei, in quibus aliquando et vos obtulistis, frangere, radere, removere? in quibus et vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt; quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit; quo postulatus descenderit Spiritus Sanctus; unde a multis et pignus salutis æternæ et tutela fidei et spes resurrectionis accepta est;" Optat., Cont., Parmenian., lib. vi. c. 1. p. 90. ed. Dupin.—Albertinus quotes the passage, De Euch., lib. i. c. 6. p. 21. a; misprinting "descendit" for "descenderit."

[n] "Quis patiatur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi Corpus Sanguisque conficitur?" S. Hieron., Epist. (ad Evagrium, Epist. lxxxv. edd. bef. Bened.) ad Evangelum, Epist. cii.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 802. ed. Bened.

[o] Id., In Sophon. Proph. cap. iii.; Op., tom. iii. p. 1671.

[p] E. g. "Prece mystica consecratur." Isid. Hisp., Orig., lib. vi. c. 19. p. 52. A. Col. Agrip. 1617.—"Per sacræ ordinationis mysterium." S. Ambros., De Fide, lib. iv. c. 10. § 124; Op., tom. ii. p. 543. E.—"Prece mystica consecratur." Raban. Maurus, De Instit. Cleric., lib. i. c. 32: Op., tom. iii. p. 13. A. Col. Agrip. 1626.—And in St. Augustin repeatedly.—And see Bingh. xv. iii. 12: and Albertin., De Euch., lib. i. c. 6. pp. 20. b, sq.

[q] "Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ" (εὐχαριστία αἵματος καὶ σώματος Χριστοῦ, is Grabe's reading, "ex versione et antecedentibus pariter ac consequentibus"). S. Iren., Adv. Hær., lib. v. c. 2. p. 397. ed. Grabe.—"Ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἐλθόντα ἀνθρώποις" (he is speaking of bread and wine), "καὶ προσλαμβανόμενα τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστία γίνεται, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ." Id., ibid. p. 400.—"Percipit," and "percipientia," are the words of the old Latin Version.

BOOK III.

God ("*accipientia*"), become the eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ. But what "word" this is, he declares himself further, when he saith ([lib.] iv. [c.] 34.[r]): "*Panis percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis est*"—"The bread that hath admitted the invocation of God, is no more common bread:" to wit, that word of institution, in virtue whereof the Church calleth upon God to make the elements His Body and Blood.

[And other fathers.]

§ 21. Some of them say, it is done by God's word, as the world was made by it[s]. But the world was made by the word of God's command: and in these words, "This is My Body—This is My Blood," command there is none; in these, "Do this in remembrance of Me," there is a command, which includes a warrant or promise: though the effect of it depend upon the execution of the command by the Church; whereas immediately upon God's word the world was made.

[And St. Augustin.]

§ 22. And this is that word St. Augustin meant, when he said; "*Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*"—"The word being applied to the element, the sacrament is made[t]." But this application is the execution of Christ's ordinance; not, saying that He said, "This is My Body—This is My Blood." For he saith, the Body and Blood of Christ is only that, "*Quod ex fructibus terræ susceptum, ac prece mystica consecratum, rite sumimus*"—"Which we duly receive, being taken out of the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystical prayer," which I speak of (*De Trinit.* iii. 4[u]). To the same purpose, Epist. lix.[x]

[And St. Chrysostom.]

§ 23. A saying or two of St. Chrysostom's indeed I remember; that name those words, speaking of the consecration, as by which the Flesh and Blood of Christ became

[r] "Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν" (lege ἐπίκλησιν) "τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκετι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα." S. Iren., ibid., lib. iv. c. 34. p. 327.

[s] See e.g. S. Chrysostom, as quoted below, § 23. note z.

[t] In Joh. Evang., c. xv. Tract. lxxx. § 3; Op., tom. iii. P. ii. p. 703. C. "Accedit," &c.

[u] lib. iii. c. 4. § 10; Op., tom. viii. p. 798. B.

[x] "Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici: *orationes*, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur; quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit." S. Aug., Epist. cxlix. (lix. edd. bef. Bened.), Ad Paulinum, § 16; Op., tom. ii. p. 509. C.

present in the eucharist. *In* ii. *ad Tim.*, hom. ii.[y]: that, "as the words which our Saviour then spoke are the same which the priest now uses, so is the sacrament the same, and consecrated by Christ," as that was. And *Hom. de Juda*[z] he [seemeth[a]] to infer the same:—"The words are pronounced by the mouth of the priest, but the elements are consecrated by the power and grace of God: 'This is,' saith He, 'My Body;' by this word the bread and wine are consecrated." Not by the rehearsing of these words, but by virtue of His command, "Do this;" and by virtue of that "blessing" or "thanksgiving," upon which our Lord affirms the elements which He had consecrated to be His Body and Blood. For the meaning may well be referred to the institution of Christ, and the execution thereof by the Church: which St. Chrysostom supposing, may well say, that upon this affirmative of our Lord, "This is My Body—This is My Blood," depends the consecration of the eucharist; not as that which effecteth it, but as that which evidenceth and assureth it, inasmuch as it was said by our Lord Christ, upon supposition of that blessing or prayer which He appointed it to be consecrated with. CHAP. IV.

§ 24. So the author *De Cœna Domini,* in St. Cyprian: that "since our Lord said, 'Do this in remembrance of Me'—'This is My Body—This is My Blood,' the bread and the cup, being consecrated by these words, become profitable to the salvation of man[b]." True it is indeed: inasmuch as the [And the author *De Cœna Domini.*]

[y] "Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα, ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἐφθέγξατο, τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν, ἅπερ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ νῦν λέγει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ ἡ αὐτή ἐστιν." S. Chrys., In ii. Epist. ad Tim. c. i. Hom. ii. § 4; Op., tom. xi. p. 671. E. ed. Montfauc.—"Καὶ τοῦτο τοίνυν σῶμά ἐστι, κἀκεῖνο· ὁ δὲ νομίζων τοῦτο ἔλαττον ἐκείνου εἶναι, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ νῦν πάρεστι καὶ νῦν ἐνεργεῖ." Id., ibid. pp. 671. F, 672. A.—See this, and the few other passages cited for a similar purpose, noticed and explained in Albertin., De Euchar., lib. i. c. 7. pp. 30—34; and in Bingham, xv. iii. 12.

[z] "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γένεσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ' Αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός· σχῆμα πληρῶν ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι· τοῦτό Μου ἐστι τὸ σῶμά, φησι· τοῦτο γὰρ ῥῆμα μεταρρυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα· καὶ καθάπερ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκείνη ἡ λέγουσα, Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε," κ.τ.λ., "ἐβρέθη μὲν ἅπαξ διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἔργῳ ἐνδυναμοῦσα τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιΐαν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἑκάστην πράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον, . . . τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται." S. Chrys., Hom. i. De Prodit. Judæ, § 6; Op., tom. ii. p. 384. A, B. The same words are repeated Hom. ii. De Prod. Jud., § 6; ibid., p. 394. A, B.

[a] "saith," in orig. text, by an obvious misprint.

[b] "Sed ex quo a Domino a dictum est, Hoc facite in Meam commemorationem, Hæc est caro Mea, et hic est Sanguis Meus; quotiescunque his ver-

BOOK III.

appointment of our Lord Christ is not completely executed by consecrating the eucharist, but by respectively delivering and receiving it; you may truly say, that by virtue of these words, "Take, eat, This is My Body, This is My Blood," that which every man receives becomes the Body and Blood to him that receives it. For as I have said, that it becomes the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, in order to our feasting upon it; so is that which I receive, completely and finally the Body and Blood of Christ to me, when I receive it. But this sense, supposing it already to be the Body and Blood of Christ to all that communicate in it according to Christ's ordinance, cannot be to the purpose of them, that would have it become such to all that receive it, by virtue of these words, by which it becomes so finally to him that finally receives it.

[And St. Gregory the Great.]

§ 25. An objection indeed there is (but which lies against the other opinion as much as against this) out of St. Gregory, Epist. vii. 64. Indict. ii.[c]: "*Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent; et valde mihi inconveniens visum est, ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super Ejus Corpus et Sanguinem taceremus*"—"But the Lord's Prayer we therefore say straight after the prayer, because the custom of the apostles was to consecrate the sacrifice of oblation with that alone; and it seemed to me very inconvenient, that we should say over the oblation the prayer which a school-doctor had composed, and silence the tradition which our Redeemer composed, over His Body and Blood." For if the apostles consecrated the eucharist by saying the Lord's Prayer, as St. Gregory here seems to affirm, then can there be no tradition of the apostles, whereby a certain prayer is prescribed, as that wherein the consecration of the eucharist consisteth. Therefore, if it should appear, that St. Gregory did indeed believe, that the apostles used the Lord's Prayer

bis et hac fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis, et calix benedictione solenni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit." Auctor de Cœna Domini, ad calc. S. Cyprian. Op., ed. Fell, p. 39. b.

[c] The passage is from S. Greg. M., Epist. lib. ix. Indict. ii. Ep. 12: Op., tom. ii. pp. 940. D, 941. A: in edd. before Bened. lib. vii. Indict. ii. Ep. 64. The last words should run thus, "Sanguinem *non diceremus*."

in celebrating the eucharist with an intent to consecrate the sacrament by the same; I confess, I should rather adhere to St. Basil[d], affirming the apostles to have delivered certain words (that is, the meaning of certain words), to call upon God, for the consecrating of the elements into the Body and Blood with. For in so doing I should not prefer St. Basil, but the whole Church (the practice whereof, so general and so original as hath been declared[e], could have no beginning
29 but that which our common Christianity pretendeth, from the apostles), before St. Gregory. And truly, that the consecration should end with the Lord's Prayer, I do easily believe to come from the practice of the apostles; so ancient and so general I find that custom, which St. Gregory maintains. Nor is it any more that St. Jerome hath said in his third Book against the Pelagians[f], though he is sometimes alleged for that which St. Gregory saith; "*Sic docuit apostolos Suos, et quotidie in Corporis Illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster Qui es in cœlis*"—"So taught He His disciples, that believers dare say every day at the sacrifice of His Body, Our Father Which art in heaven[g]." By and by: "*Panem quotidianum, sive super omnes substantias, venturum apostoli deprecantur, ut digni sint assumptione Corporis Christi*"—"The apostles pray for daily bread (or above all substances) to come, that they may be worthy to receive the Body of Christ[h]." All this concerns the concluding of the consecration with the Lord's Prayer, as it did always conclude. For straight he allegeth, that as soon as a man is baptized, coming to the communion, he is to say, "Forgive us our trespasses[i]." But before that form was made which St. Gregory saith Scholasticus composed (whether he mean a man of that name, or, as I conceive, some doctor that professed the Scriptures[k]), if St. Gregory should tell me that

[d] See above, § 15.

[e] Above, § 8—11.

[f] "Hieronymus etiam ait lib. iii." &c., "apostolos quotidie orationem Dominicam solitos dicere in sacrificio; sed non addit solam." Card. Bona, Rer. Liturg., lib. ii. c. xv. § 1; Op., p. 575. b: and see Bingham, XIII. vii. 3, XV. iii. 28.

[g] Dial. Adv. Pelag., lib. iii.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 543.

[h] Id., ibid.

[i] "De baptismatis fonte surgentes, et regenerati in Dominum Salvatorem; impleto illo quod de se scriptum est, 'Beati quorum remissæ sunt .. iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata:' statim in prima communione Corporis Christi dicunt, 'Et dimitte nobis debita nostra;' quæ illis fuerant in Christi confessione dimissa." Id., ibid.

[k] "Miras nugas de hoc Scholastico quidam scribunt, præsertim Eterodoxi Misoliturgi; cum manifestissimum sit

BOOK III.

some other form to the same effect was not in use, I could not believe him, believing the premisses. The substance and effect whereof (under the name of "*eucharistia*," or "the thanksgiving") is that which the Church from the beginning consecrated the eucharist with, by the appointment of our Lord, and according to the practice of His apostles. So Rabanus (*De Institutione Clericorum*, i. 32[l]) affirms, that "the whole Church" consecrates "with blessing and thanksgiving," the apostles having taught them to do that, which our Lord had done. Walafridus Strabus (*De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. xxii.[m]) relates two several opinions concerning this business, as it appears by his discourse: "*Et relatio majorum est, ita primis temporibus missas fieri solitas, sicut modo in parasceve Paschæ* (*in quo die apud Romanos missæ non aguntur*) *communicationem facere solemus; id est, præmissa Oratione Dominica, et* (*sicut Ipse Dominus noster præcepit*) *commemoratione passionis adhibita, eos Corpori Dominico communicasse et Sanguini, quos ratio permittebat*"—"And there is a relation of our predecessors, that in the first times mass was done, as now on Good Friday (on which day mass is not said at Rome) the communion is wont to be made; that is, that, the Lord's Prayer premised, and the commemoration of His death applied, those whom reason allowed did communicate in the Body and Blood of our Lord." The practice of the Church of Rome here mentioned is that which still continues, not to consecrate the eucharist either on Good Friday or the Saturday following. For then mass is said so late, that it belongs to Easter day. And on Maundy Thursday the eucharist is consecrated and reserved to be received on Good Friday[n].

in prædicta Gregorii Epistola nomen scholastici non esse proprium alicujus hominis, sed accipi pro viro docto et erudito." Card. Bona, De Reb. Liturg., lib. ii. c. 11, num. 2. p. 557. Antv. 1677: quoted by the Bened. editors on the above cited passage of S. Gregory.

[l] "Cum benedictione enim et gratiarum actione primum Dominus Corporis et Sanguinis Sui sacramenta dedicavit et apostolis tradidit: quod exinde apostoli imitati fecere et successores suos facere docuerunt; quod et nunc per totum orbem terrarum generaliter tota custodit ecclesia." Raban. Maurus, De Instit. Cleric., lib. i. c. 32; Op., tom. iii. p. 13. C. Col. Agrip. 1626.

[m] Walafridus Strabo, Lib. de Reb. Eccles., c. xxii.: in Bibl. PP., tom. ix. p. 959. D, E. Col. Agrip. 1618.

[n] "In hac die" (scil. Parasceve or Good Friday) "sacramenta penitus non celebrantur; sed eucharistiam in Cœna Domini" (i. e. Maundy Thursday) "consecratam, peracto officio lectionum et orationum et sanctæ crucis salutatione, resumunt: quia, ut Innocentius Papa testis est, ex eo quod apostoli et amatores Christi eo biduo quo crucifixus et sepultus Salvator est, in mœrore constituti, ab omni cibo abstinuerunt se, hinc traditio ecclesiæ habet, biduo memorato sacr[illegible]

CHAP. IV.

That any commemoration of Christ's death is made at the receiving of it, as Rabanus saith[o], I find not. This is certain, that no man imagines that the eucharist is consecrated by any thing that is said or done at the receiving of it, but at the mass on the day before. And this, in the Greek Church, is called "*Λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων*"—"The liturgy of the elements that were consecrated afore;" which they use on other days besides[p]. Therefore this opinion, that the apostles should celebrate so, would import, that they celebrated the eucharist without consecrating of it; that is, that they never appointed how it should be consecrated: which neither Rabanus, nor any of these whose opinion he relates, can maintain; nor, supposing the premisses, is it tenable. And, therefore, I take the true meaning of St. Gregory's words to be laid down in another opinion, related afore by Rabanus[q]:—"*Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, cantilenarum, et consecrationum officio, totum hoc apostoli, et post eos proximi, ut creditur, orationibus et commemoratione passionis Dominicæ faciebant simpliciter*"—"That which we act by an office compounded of many and divers prayers, Psalms, and consecrations; all that the apostles, and the next after them, did plainly with prayers and the commemoration of our Lord's passion, as it is thought." For the consecration may well be understood to be made "plainly, by prayer, with commemoration of our Lord's passion;" in opposition to that solemnity of lessons, Psalms, and prayers, which at the more solemn occasions of the Church it was afterwards celebrated with: though we suppose it to conclude always with the Lord's Prayer, as St. Gregory requires. And herewith the words of St. Gregory seem to agree, when he saith, "*Ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem*"—"To consecrate at" (or "with) it alone[r];" not *by* it alone. But if this opinion cannot pass (having indeed no constraining evidence), but that St. Gregory's words will needs require, that they consecrated the

celebrari; sed magis sanctam resurrectionis noctem expectari; et in ipsa cum lætitia et gaudio speciali sacrificium offerri." Raban. Maurus, De Instit. Cleric., lib. ii. c. 37: Op., tom. iii. pp. 23. H, 24. A.

[o] See the passage quoted in the text to note m: and for Rabanus in the text, read Walafridus Strabo.

[p] See Goar, Rit. Græc., pp. 187—205: Leo Allat., De Eccl. Occ. et Orient. Perp. Cons., Append. pp. 1531, sq.: and Bingham, XV. iv. 12.

[q] The passage is in Walafridus Strabo as before quoted, p. 959. D:—"post eos proxi*mus* . . . Dominicæ (*sicut Ipse præcepit*) *agebant* simpliciter."

[r] See above, text to note c.

BOOK III.

eucharist by the Lord's Prayer alone: I will then say, that the apostles understood the petition of "our daily bread," as St. Cyprian upon the Lord's Prayer[s] doth; to wit, of the bread and drink of the eucharist, daily celebrated and received. For, supposing this intent and meaning, there is nothing pretended to be done by the consecration, which that petition signifieth not; praying, that God will "give us this day the daily" food of our souls by the elements presently provided for that purpose. And all this will no way prejudice that which hath been said of the matter and form of the consecration, derived by tradition from the apostles, to be frequented at more solemn occasions of Christian assemblies[t]. For [that[u]] that assembly, which (believing that Christians are justified by undertaking to profess the faith, and to live according to it, and that our Lord hath left us His Body and Blood of the eucharist to convey the Holy Ghost to our souls, that they may be able to perform what they undertake) should pray the Lord's Prayer over the elements proposed with that intent,—I cannot doubt of their receiving the Body and Blood of Christ: provided that, where the occasion will bear more solemnity, the order[x] of the Church received from the apostles be not neglected. Whereas, supposing Christians to believe, that they are justified by believing that they are justified, or predestinate, in consideration only of Christ's sufferings, and that the eucharist is instituted only for a sign, to confirm this faith: though they should regularly use that form of consecration, which I maintain to come by tradition from the apostles; I would not therefore grant, that they should either consecrate the eucharist, or could receive the Body and Blood of Christ by it. Sacrilege they must commit, in abusing God's ordinance[y] to that intent, for which He never appointed it; but sacrament there would be none, further than their own imagination.

That there is no tradition of the Church for the abolishing of the elements.

§ 26. And upon these premisses I am content to go to issue, as concerning the sense of the Catholic Church in this

[s] Op., pp. 146, 147. See below, § 32.

[t] Above, § 8—11.

[u] Added from MS.

[x] "What order? that order, which I maintain by the reasons premised to be their order, containing more than the Lord's Prayer." Added in MS. in the margin, against the word "order" above in the text.

[y] Corrected from MS.; "ordinances," in orig. text.

point. If it can any way be shewed, that the Church did ever pray that the Flesh and Blood might be substituted instead of the elements under the accidents of them, then I am content, that this be counted henceforth the sacramental presence of them in the eucharist. But if the Church only pray, that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit; then is it not the sense of the Catholic Church, that can oblige any man to believe the abolishing of the elements in their bodily substance: because, supposing that they remain, they may nevertheless become the instrument of God's Spirit, to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than His Flesh and Blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth. And that, I suppose, is reason enough to call it the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally, that is to say, as in the sacrament of the eucharist.

Evidence [of the tradition of the Church for the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the eucharist].

§ 27. It is not here to be denied, that all ecclesiastical writers do with one mouth bear witness to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist. Neither will any one of them be found to ascribe it to any thing but the consecration; or that to any faith, but that upon which the Church professeth to proceed to the celebrating of it. And upon this account, when they speak of the elements, supposing the consecration to have passed upon them, they always call them by the name, not of their bodily substance, but of the Body and Blood of Christ which they are become.

[Justin Martyr.]

§ 28. Justin in the place afore quoted[z]—"*Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' Αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, Ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν*
31 *εἶναι*"—"For we take them not as common bread and drink; but, as our Saviour Jesus Christ, being incarnate by the word of God, hath both flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught, that this food, which thanks have been given for by the pr of that word which came from Him, by the

[z] Above, § 12, notes a, b.

BOOK III.

change whereof are our blood and flesh nourished, is both the Flesh and Blood of that incarnate Jesus." Where, by comparing the eucharist with the Flesh and Blood of Christ incarnate (wherein divers of the fathers have followed him[a]), he justifies that reason of expounding "This is My Body—This is My Blood," which I have drawn from the communication of the properties of the several Natures in our Lord Christ incarnate[b]. But chiefly, you see, the elements are made the Body and Blood of Christ by virtue of the consecration; as by the incarnation human flesh became the Flesh and Blood of Christ.

[St. Irenæus.] § 29. So Irenæus, [lib.] iv. [c.] 34[c]: "*Quemadmodum qui [est] a terra panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti; sic et corpora nostra, percipientia eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia*" —"As the bread that comes from the earth, receiving the invocation of God upon it, is not now common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the earthly and the heavenly; so also our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are not now corruptible, having the hope of rising again." For he had argued afore[d], that, because our flesh is nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ (which, if They were not in the eucharist, it could not be), therefore they shall rise again. By virtue therefore of the consecration they are there, not by the faith of him that receives, according to Irenæus.

[Tertullian.] § 30. Tertullian (*De Resurr.*, cap. viii.[e]); "*Caro Corpore et Sanguine Christi vescitur, ut [et] anima de Deo saginetur*"—"The flesh feeds on the Body and Blood of Christ, that the soul may be fattened with God."

[Origen.] § 31. Origen (*In Divers. Loc.*, hom. v.[f]) is the first, that

[a] E. g. Gelasius (see above, c. ii. § 25. note k), and S. Hilary (see below, § 34), and Theodoret in his Dialogues, and many others.

[b] Above, c. ii. § 24.

[c] See the passage above, § 20. note r.

[d] "Πῶς τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος Αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην; Ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλαξάτωσαν, ἢ τὸ προσφέρειν τὰ εἰρημένα παραιτείσθωσαν. Ἡμῶν δὲ σύμφωνος ἡ γνώμη τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία βεβαιοῖ τὴν γνώμην. Προσφέρομεν δὲ Αὐτῷ τὰ Ἴδια, ἐμμελῶς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἕνωσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἔγερσιν. Ὡς γὰρ," κ.τ.λ. Iren., Adv. Hær., lib. iv. c. 34. p. 327.

[e] Tertull., De Resurr. Carnis, c. viii.: Op., p. 330. C. Venet. 1744.

[f] "Quando sanctum cibum illudque incorruptum accipis epulum, quando vitæ pane et poculo frueris, manducas et bibis Corpus et Sanguinem Domini; tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingre-

advises to "say with the centurion" (when thou receivest the eucharist), "Lord I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof:" for "then the Lord comes under thy roof," saith Origen. CHAP. IV.

§ 32. St. Cyprian upon the Lord's Prayer[g], having said, that Christ is our bread, makes that the "daily bread" which we pray for; to wit, in the eucharist: and in his book *De Lapsis*[h], makes it to be invading and laying violent hands upon the Body of Christ, for them who had fallen away in persecution, to press upon the communion without penance going afore. [St. Cyprian.]

§ 33. The council of Nicæa, in Gelasius Cyzicenus ii. 30[i]: "*Μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, πίστει νοήσωμεν κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν Ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν αἴροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀθύτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων θυόμενον· καὶ τὸ τίμιον Αὐτοῦ Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα ἀληθῶς λαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς*"—"Let us not basely consider the bread and the cup set before us, but lifting up our minds, let us conceive by faith, that there lies upon that holy table the Lamb of God That takes away the sin of the world, sacrificed without sacrificing by priests: and that we receiving truly His precious Body and Blood"— [The Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325.]

§ 34. St. Hilary (*De Trin.* [lib.] viii.[k]), censuring the [St. Hilary of Poitiers.]

ditur. Et tu ergo humiliâns temetipsum imitare hunc centurionem, et dicito, 'Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum.'" Pseudo-Origen, In Divers. Hom. v.; Op., tom. iii. fol. cxxiv, G. Navarr. 1512.—not in the Bened. edition.

[g] "Panem nostrum quotidianum," &c. "Quod potest et spiritaliter et simpliciter intelligi: quia et uterque intellectus utilitate Divina proficit ad salutem. Nam panis vitæ Christus est; et panis hic omnium non est, sed noster est. ... Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a cœlesti pane prohibemur, a Christi Corpore separemur." S. Cypr., De Orat. Domin.; Op., pp. 146, 147.

[h] "Spretis his omnibus atque contemtis, vis infertur Corpori Ejus et Sanguini; et plus modo in Dominum manibus atque ore delinquunt, quam cum Dominum negaverunt. Ante expiata delicta, ante exomologesin factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, ante offensam placatam indignantis Domini et minantis; pacem putant esse, quam quidam verbis fallacibus venditant." Id., De Lapsis; ibid., p. 128.

[i] Constitutiones Concil. Nicæni, ap. Gelas. Cyzic., Hist. Conc. Nic., lib. ii. c. 30; in Labb., Concil., tom. ii. p. 233. C, D.

[k] "Eos nunc, qui inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis ingerunt unitatem, interrogo utrumne per naturæ veritatem hodie Christus in nobis sit an per concordiam voluntatis? Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et vere nos Verbum carnem cibo Dominico sumimus: quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, Qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam insepara-

BOOK III.

Arians, who would have the Son to be one with the Father as we are, maintains, that we are not only by obedience of will but naturally united to Christ; because, as He truly took our nature, so we truly take the Flesh of His Body in the sacrament: Our Lord having said, "My Flesh is truly meat, and My Blood truly drink;" and, "He that eats My Flesh, and drinks My Blood, dwells in Me, and I in him." And much more to the same purpose[l]. Which could signify nothing; did not our bodies, feeding upon the elements, feed upon that which is truly the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament or mystically, not by virtue of our feeding which follows, but by virtue of the consecration which goes before. For this natural union of the body with that which feeds it, serves St. Hilary for the argument of that unity, which the Son hath with the Father by nature; being the union of our flesh with the Flesh of Christ, by virtue of our flesh united to the Word incarnate.

[St. John vi. 55, 56.]

[St. Cyril of Jerusalem.]

§ 35. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Mystag.* iv.[m] *et* v.[n])

bilem Sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis Suæ ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandæ carnis admiscuit? Ita enim omnes unum sumus: quia et in Christo Pater est, et Christus in nobis est. . . . Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et vere homo Ille, Qui ex Maria natus fuit, Christus est, nosque vere sub mysterio carnem Corporis Sui sumimus, et per hoc unum erimus, quia Pater in Eo est, et Ille in nobis: quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas, perfectæ sacramentum sit unitatis? . . . De naturali enim in nobis Christi veritate quæ dicimus, nisi ab Eo didicimus, stulte atque impie dicimus. Ipse enim ait, 'Caro Mea vere est esca, et sanguis Meus vere est potus: qui edit carnem Meam et bibit sanguinem Meum, in Me manet, et Ego in eo.'" S. Hilar. Pictav., De Trin., lib. viii. § 13. pp. 954. C, 955. B, § 14. pp. 955. C, 956. A.

[l] See S. Hilar., ibid., § 15, 16; pp. 956. B, sq.

[m] "Αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποφηναμένου, καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, Τοῦτό Μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· τίς τολμήσει ἀμφιβάλλειν λοιπόν; καὶ Αὐτοῦ βεβαιωσαμένου καὶ εἰρηκότος, Τοῦτό Μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα· τίς ἐνδοιάσει ποτὲ, λέγων μὴ εἶναι Αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα; Τὸ ὕδωρ ποτὲ εἰς οἶνον μεταβεβλήκεν, οἰκεῖον αἵματι, ἐν Κανᾷ τῇ Γαλιλαίας· καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόπιστός ἐστιν, οἶνον μεταβάλων εἰς αἷμα; εἰς γάμων σωματικὸν κληθεὶς, ταύτην ἐθαυματούργησε τὴν παραδοξοποιΐαν, καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ νυμφῶνος οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Αἵματος δωρησάμενος ὁμολογηθήσεται; Ὥστε μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ. Ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου δίδοταί σοι τὸ Σῶμα· καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοταί σοι τὸ Αἷμα· ἵνα γένῃ, μεταλάβων σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος Αὐτοῦ." S. Cyril. Hieros., Catech. xxii. (Mystag. iv.) § 1—3; Op., p. 320. A—C.—"Μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· Σῶμα γὰρ καὶ Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω. Μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γεύσεως κρίνῃς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνενδοιάστως, Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιωθείς." Id., ibid., § 6; p. 321. B.

[n] "Εἶτα, ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον," κ.τ.λ. Id., Catech. xxiii. (Mystag. v.) § 7; ibid., p. 327. C.—See the rest of the passage above, in § 14. note h.

argueth, that, Christ having said of the bread and of the cup, "This is My Body—This is My Blood," Who otherwhiles changed water into wine, we are not to doubt, that we receive His Body and Blood under the form of bread and wine; and, therefore, we are not to look on them as "plain bread and wine, but as the Body and Blood of Christ," He having declared it: all this, by sanctification of the Holy Ghost, according to the prayer of the Church.

32 § 36. But I will go no further in rehearsing the texts of the fathers, which are to be found in all books of controversies[o], concerning this; for the examination of them requires a volume on purpose. It shall be enough, that they all acknowledge the elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; though as in a sacrament, that is, mystically; yet, therefore, by virtue of the consecration, not of his faith that receives.

Evidence, that there is no tradition of the Church for the abolishing of the elements. [The fathers just quoted.]

§ 37. On the other side, that this change is to be understood with that abatement, which the nature and substance of the elements requires, supposing it to remain the same as it was; I will first presume from those very authors which I have quoted.

§ 38. For would not Justin have us take that for bread, which he saith we are not to take for "common bread;" when he saith further, that our bodies are nourished by it, which by the Flesh of our Lord they are not[p]? Would not Irenæus have us think the bread to be the earthly thing, as well as the Body the heavenly, when He says the eucharist consists of both[q]? Tertullian (*Ad Uxorem* ii. 5[r]) persuades his wife not to marry a Gentile when he is dead; because, when he perceives her to receive the eucharist, and knows it to be bread, he believes it not to be that which Christians call it. Origen, when he tells (upon Matt. xv. 11[s]) that it was called the bread of our Lord, gives no man in his wits occasion to think that the elements vanish. When he saith further,

[o] See e. g. the second books of Albertinus, and of Cardinal Perron (De l'Eucharistie), respectively.

[p] Above, in § 28. note z.

[q] Above, in § 29. note c.

[r] "Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes? et si scierit panem, non i[illegible]redit esse qui dicitur? Et hæc, ignorans quisque rationem, simpliciter sustinebit? sine gemitu? sine suspicione panis an veneni?" Op., p. 169. B.

[s] "Ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος ἄρτος τοῦ Κυρίου." Origen, in Matth. xv. 11, tom. xi. § 14; Op., tom. iii. p. 498. E. ed. Bened.

BOOK III.

that it is not the bread, but that which was said upon it, which profits him that worthily receives it[t]: he would have us take it for what it was, whatsoever it is become. St. Cyprian saith expressly, that it was wine which our Lord calls His Blood; and that the wine of the chalice (to wit, already consecrated) "demonstrates" His Blood: in his epistle against those who consecrated in water alone[u]. The council of Nicæa calls it "bread, which the eye of faith discerns to be the Lamb of God[x]." St. Hilary will have us truly to receive the Body and Blood of Christ[y] (as Justin saith, that our bodies are nourished by it[z]); but he adds, "*in sacramento*," to signify the abatement which I speak of, that is, mystically and as in a sacrament[a]. St. Cyril[b], when he saith, we are not to look upon the elements as "plain," or "bare," or "simple" bread and wine, saith, that we may look upon it as bread and wine; though that is not it which profits him that worthily receives it, as Origen said[c].

[Other fathers.]

§ 39. There are a great many more, that have named and described the elements after consecration by the name of their nature and substance; and say, that the bread and the wine become and are the Body and Blood of Christ. Ignatius, *Ep. ad Philadelph.*[d]—Irenæus, v. 2.[e]—Clemens, *Strom.*

[t] "Εἰ δὲ πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχήν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτιον διαβλέψεως," κ.τ.λ. Id., ibid., In Matth. xv. 17; ibid., p. 499. C, D.

[u] "Sanguis Christi non aqua est utique sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis Ejus, quo redemti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice: quando vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui Scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio effusus prædicatur." S. Cypr., Epist. lxiii., Ad Cæcilium, Epist. p. 148.

[x] See above, § 33, note i.

[y] See above, § 34, note k.

[z] See above, § 28, note z.

[a] See above, § 34, note k.

[b] See above, § 35, note n.

[c] See above, note t.

[d] "Μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἓν Αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθὲν εἷς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διανεμήθη." S. Ignat., Epist. ad Philadelph., c. iv.; ap. Coteler., PP. Apostol., tom. ii. pp. 76, 77. In Jacobson's edition the shorter reading is adopted as the genuine one, and the passage stands thus: "Σπουδάσατο οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος Αὐτοῦ." PP. Apost., tom. ii. p. 378. ed. Jacobson. See Albertinus, De Euch., lib. ii. Testim. S. Ignatii c. i., p. 184. b.

[e] "Ὅτοτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία Σῶμα Χριστοῦ," κ.τ.λ. S. Iren. Adv. Hær., lib. v. c. 2. p. 397.—"Καὶ ὕπερ τρύπον τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου κλιθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῷ ἰδίῳ καιρῷ ἐκαρποφόρησεν, καὶ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ διαλυθεὶς πολλοστὸς ἠγέρθη διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ συνέχοντος τὰ πάντα, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἐλθὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσλαμβανόμενος τὸν λόγον

i.[f]; *Pædag.* ii. 2.[g]—Tatian, before Irenæus, *in Diatessaron*[h].—*Constitutiones Apostol.* viii. 12.[i]—Tertullian, *De Oratione* cap. vi.[k]; *Contra Marcionem*, iv. 40[l], iii. 19[m].—Gregory Nyssen, *De Baptismo*[n].—Origen, *Contra Celsum* viii.[o]—Athanasius, *in Synopsi*[p].—Eusebius, *in Parallelis Damasceni*[q].—St. Cyril, *Catech. Mystag.* i. *et* iii.[r]—Macarius, *Hom.* xxvii.[s]

τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστία γίνεται, ὅπερ ἐστὶ Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὕτως καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα ἐξ αὐτῆς τρεφόμενα καὶ τεθέντα εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ διαλυθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀναστήσεται ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ καιρῷ," κ.τ.λ. Id., ibid., pp. 399, 400.—See Albertin., ut supra, Testim. S. Irenæi c. ii., pp. 307. b, 308. a.

[f] "Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἄρτον λαβὼν πρῶτον, ἐλάλησεν καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν· εἶτα κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον προσέθηκεν, ἵνα δὴ φάγωμεν λογικῶς." S. Clem. Alex., Strom. lib. i. c. 10; Op., tom. i. p. 343. ed. Potter.

[g] "Καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, Λάβετε, πίετε· Τοῦτό Μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου. . . . Ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθὲν, ἀπέδειξε πάλιν, πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων· Οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης," κ.τ.λ. Id., Pædag., lib. ii. c. 2; ibid., p. 186.

[h] "Et mox accepto pane, deinde vini calice, Corpus esse Suum et Sanguinem testatus, manducare illos jussit et bibere, quod ea sit futuræ calamitatis Suæ mortisque memoria." Tatian., Evang. Quatuor Harmonia, c. xv., in Tertio Anno Dominicæ Prædic.; ap. Biblioth. PP., tom. vii. p. 86. A, B. Paris. 1654: falsely ascribed to Ammonius: see Cave; and Albertin., De Euch., lib. ii. Testim. Ammonii Alex. seu potius Tatiani Syri, p. 349. It is very questionable whether the work be genuine: see Cave.

[i] "Καταπέμψῃς τὸ Ἅγιόν Σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, . . ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου," Const. Apost., lib. viii. c. 12; ap. Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 407.—See Albertin., lib. ii. Testim. Author. Constit. c. iii., p. 280. b.

[k] "Tum quod et Corpus Ejus in pane censetur." Op., p. 131. D.

[l] "Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, Corpus illum Suum fecit, Hoc est Corpus Meum dicendo, id est, figura Corporis Mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus." Id., Cont. Marc., lib. iv. c. 40; ibid., pp. 457. D, 458. A.

[m] "Venite, mittamus lignum in panem Ejus. Utique in Corpus. Sic enim Deus in Evangelio quoque vestro revelavit panem Corpus Suum appellans, ut et hinc jam eum intelligas Corporis Sui figuram pani dedisse, Cujus retro Corpus in panem Prophetes figuravit, Ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo." Id., ibid., lib. iii. c. 19; ibid., p. 408. C.

[n] "Ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ λεγεταί τε καὶ γίνεται." S. Greg. Nyss., In Bapt. Christi; Op., tom. iii. p. 370. A.

[o] See above, § 13, note d.

[p] The only passage at all answering to the text in S. Athanasius's Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ is in the synopsis of the Gospel of St. Matthew:—"Παραδίδωσι τὸ μυστήριον· ἔνθα λέγει· Οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης" (Op., tom. ii. p. 180. A). And similarly in the Expositiones in Psalmos, In Ps. lxxiv. 9; Op., tom. i. P. ii. pp. 1135. F, 1136. A.

[q] "Πολλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ πρεσβύτεροι ὄντες προσφέρουσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ Ἁγίῳ ἁγιάζει τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται Σῶμα τίμιον τοῦ Κυρίου, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Κυρίου." Euseb., ap. Joh. Damasc., Sacra Parallela, Lit. Π. tit. xxix.; Op., tom. ii. p. 666. D. ed. Lequien. It is doubtful who this Eusebius was: but Lequien decides him to have been later than both Eus. of Cæsarea and Eus. of Alexandria: see his note on the passage here cited.

[r] "Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός· ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται Σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος Αἷμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον," κ.τ.λ. S. Cyril. Hieros., Catech. xix. (Mystag. i.) c. 7; Op., p. 308. D.—For the third Catechesis, see above, § 14. note f.

[s] "Κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἱ μεγά-

BOOK III.

—Gaudentius Brixiensis, *In Exodum Serm.* ii.[t]—St. Augustin, *De Civitate Dei* xvii. 5[u]; *De Diversis* Serm. xliv. cap. xxviii.[x]; *Sermone* lxxxiv.[y]; *Sermone* lxxxvii.[z]; *Sermone ad Baptizatos*[a].—St. Jerome, *In Esaiæ lxvi.* lib. ult.[b]; *In Jeremiæ xxxi.* lib. vi.[c]—Isidore, *De Offic. Eccles.* i. 18[d].

[The canon of the mass itself.]

§ 40. In fine, the canon of the mass itself[e] prays, that the Holy Ghost[f] coming down may make this bread and this cup

λοι," κ.τ.λ. "*οὔτε ἤθεισαν οὔτε ἤκουσαν*," κ.τ.λ., "*ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς Αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι.*" Macar., Hom. xxvii. § 17; Homil., p. 386. ed. Pritius, Lips. 1714.

[t] "Cum panem consecratum et vinum discipulis Suis porrigeret (Dominus), sic ait, Hoc est Corpus Meum, hic est Sanguis Meus." Gaud. Brix., In Exod. tract. ii.: in Bibl. PP. tom. iv. p. 807. B. Col. Agripp. 1618.—"Ipse Dominus, . . Qui producit de terra panem, de pane rursus . . efficit proprium Corpus; et Qui de aqua vinum fecit, et de vino Sanguinem Suum." Id., ibid., p. 806. E.—"In eo (pane) figura accipitur Corporis Christi." Id., ibid., p. 807. E.

[u] "Quod ergo addidit, 'manducare panem'" (scil. in 1 Sam. ii. 36), "etiam ipsum sacrificii genus eleganter expressit, de quo dicit Sacerdos Ipse, 'Panis quam Ego dedero, Caro Mea est pro sæculi vita.'" S. Aug., De Civ. Dei, lib. xvii. c. 5. § 5; Op., tom. vii. p. 466. F.

[x] "Nam et ipsi" (scil. mali) "habent et participant sacramentis: et quod norunt fideles, a tritico et vino." Id., Serm. iv. c. xxviii. § 31; Op., tom. v. p. 24. C: edd. bef. Bened. Serm. xliv. de Diversis.

[y] "Panis ille quem videtis in altari, sanctificatus per verbum Dei, Corpus est Christi. Calix ille, immo quod habet calix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, Sanguis est Christi. Per ista voluit Dominus Christus commendare Corpus et Sanguinem Suum, quem pro nobis fudit in remissionem peccatorum." Id., Serm. ccxxvii.; ibid., p. 973. C: edd. bef. Bened. Serm. lxxxiii. (not lxxxiiii. which appears to be a mistake) de Diversis.

[z] "Norunt Christum in fractione panis. Non enim omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem Christi, fit Corpus Christi." Id., Serm. ccxxxiv. § 2; ibid., pp. 987. G, 988. A: edd. bef. Bened. Serm. lxxxvii. de Diversis.

[a] "Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnæ rei sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis. Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est Corpus Christi, calix Sanguis Christi." Id., Serm. cclxxii. Ad Infantes de Sacramento; ibid., pp. 1103. F, 1104. A.

[b] The only passage in S. Jerome's Comment. in Isai. lxvi., lib. xviii., bearing at all on the sacrament, is the following—"Secundum tropologiam possumus dicere: omnes voluptatis magis amatores quam amatores Dei, sanctificari in hortis et in liminibus, quia mysteria veritatis non valent introire, et comedere cibos impietatis, dum non sunt sancti corpore et spiritu: nec comedunt carnem Jesu nec bibunt sanguinem Ejus:" Op., tom. iii. p. 506. And a little lower, "Christus, Qui non foris sed in domo una et intus comeditur:" Id., ibid. Quoted by Albertin., lib. ii. Testim. Hieron. c. i., p. 586. a.

[c] "Exponens hæc prophetæ verba, 'Confluent ad bona Domini super frumento et vino et oleo,' subjungit; 'De quo conficitur panis Domini, et sanguinis Ejus impletur typus et benedictio sanctificationis ostenditur.'" Albertin., ibid., p. 586. b: from S. Hieron., in Jerem. c. xxxi.; lib. vi. Op., tom. iii. p. 678.

[d] "Panis enim quem frangimus, Corpus Christi est, Qui dicit, 'Ego sum panis vivus,' &c. Vinum autem Sanguis Ejus est; et hoc est quod scriptum est, 'Ego sum vitis vera.' Sed panis, quia confirmat corpus, ideo Corpus Christi nuncupatur. Vinum autem, quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad Sanguinem Christi refertur." Isid. Hispal., De Offic. Eccles., lib. i. c. 18: Op., p. 395. A.

[e] See above, § 11.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "Holy Ghost's," in orig. text.

the Body and Blood of Christ. And, certainly, the Roman mass expresses a manifest abatement of the common and usual sense of the Body and Blood of Christ unto that sense, which is proper to the intent and subject of them who speak of this sacrament; when the Church in the consecration prays, "*ut nobis Corpus fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi*"—"that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord Christ Jesus, to us[g]." No man, that understands Latin and sense, will say, it is the same thing for the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ, as to become the Body and Blood of Christ to those that receive; which imports no more than that which I have said. And yet there is no more said in those liturgies, which pray, that the Spirit of God may make them the Flesh and Blood of Christ to this intent and effect, that those which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit. For the expression of this effect and intent limits the common signification of the words to that which is proper to this action of the eucharist; as I have delivered it.

33 § 41. In the words of St. Ambrose (*De iis qui initiantur myst.*, cap. xi.[h]), "*Ante consecrationem alia species nominatur, post consecrationem Caro et Sanguis Christi appellatur*"—"Before the consecration it is named another kind, after the consecration it is called the Flesh and Blood of Christ,"—no man that understands Latin, can conceive the word "*species*" to signify "the outward appearance," but the substance and nature of those kinds. For so we call outlandish kinds "species[i]," not the appearance of their outward accidents. And, in the Roman laws, "*species annonariæ*[k]" are the kinds that are stored up; for men cannot live upon the outward accidents of them. Therefore, when St. Augustin saith, that the eucharist consists of two things, "*visibili elementorum specie et invisibili D. N. J. C. Carne et Sanguine*[l];" he means, [St. Ambrose.]

[g] See above, § 11.

[h] De Mysteriis (entitled by Erasmus and Gillotius, "De iis qui initiantur mysteriis"), c. ix. § 54; Op., tom. ii. p. 339. E. Thorndike appears to have quoted from memory. c. xi. should be c. ix.: and the passage itself should run thus,—"Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem Corpus significatur."

[i] Misprinted "spices," in folio edition.

[k] So corrected in MS. from an unmeaning misprint in orig. text.—See Facciolati sub voce "*species*," quoting from "Impp. Valent. Theodos. et Arcad., lib. 11. tit. 9. leg. 1."

[l] Cited as from S. Augustin "in libro sententiarum Prosperi," in Gratian,

BOOK III.

that it consists of "the nature and substance of the elements, which is visible," as of "the Body and Blood of our Lord Christ Which are invisible." Again, when St. Ambrose says, that "they are called the Body and Blood of Christ," he signifies that abatement in the property of his words, that requires not the absence of the elements. As when St. Augustin says (in Gratian, *De Consecratione*, distinct. ii. can. *Hoc est*[m]); "*Cœlestis panis, qui est Caro Christi, suo modo vocatur Corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum Corporis Christi*" — "That heavenly bread, which is the Flesh of Christ, is after the manner of it called the Body of Christ, whereas it is indeed the sacrament of the Body of Christ."

[The elements distinguished by the fathers from the things they signify.]

§ 42. The same abatement it is, that St. Cyril afore (*Catech. Myst.* iv.[n]), the Council of Nicæa[o], Victor Antiochenus (*In Marci* xiv. 22[p]), and Theodoret (*Dial.* iii.[q]), signify; when they will us not to consider the elements, but the things which they signify. For does he, that wills us not to consider the bread and wine, intend to say, that there is no such thing there? Or that our interest lies not in them, but in the Body and Blood of Christ which they tender us? Well and good; so said Origen afore[r].

[Of the words,

§ 43. The same abatement is signified evidently by abun-

De Consecrat. Dist. ii. can. 48. Hoc est; but really from Lanfranc against Berengarius, Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. x.; Op. Lanfranci, p. 175. a. ed. Dacher. Venet. 1745.

[m] In Gratian as above in the text, except the unimportant variation of "qui vere," (or "quæ vera) Christi caro est." But the passage is in the main from Lanfranc (as before quoted, c. xiv. p. 179. a); where it runs thus—"Sicut ergo cœlestis panis, quæ vera Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur Corpus Christi, Illius videlicet quod visibile, palpabile, mortale, in cruce est suspensum, vocaturque" &c.—omitting wholly the important clause in Gratian, "cum revera sit sacramentum Corporis Christi." S. Augustin in his Epistle to Boniface (Ep. xcviii. § 9, Op., tom. v. p. 267. F.), upon which passage Lanfranc is commenting, merely says,—"Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum Corporis Christi Corpus Christi est, sacramentum Sanguinis Christi Sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est."

[n] See above, § 35. note m.

[o] See above, § 33. note i.

[p] "Cum autem (Dominus) ad apostolos dicit, Hoc est Corpus Meum, item, Hic est Sanguis Meus; certe apud se statuant vult, posteaquam benedictio et gratiarum actio ad panem vel calicem propositum accesserit, per panis quidem symbolum, Corporis Christi, per calicem vero Ejusdem Sanguinis, participes se fieri." Victor. Antioch., In Marc. xiv. 22, as transl. by Peltanus; in Biblioth. PP., tom. iv. p. 330. F. Col. Agrip. 1618.—See Albertin., De Sacr. Euch., lib. ii. Testim. V. A., p. 831.

[q] "Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο" (scil. Corpus Christi) "σοι νομίζεται μικρόν τε καὶ εὐτελὲς, πῶς τὸν τούτου γε τύπον σεπτὸν ἡγῇ καὶ σωτήριον; οὗ δὲ ὁ τύπος προσκυνητὸς καὶ σεβάσμιος, πῶς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον εὐκαταφρονητὸν καὶ σμικρόν;" Theodoret., Dial. iii. Impatibilis; Op., tom. iv. p. 127. A. B. See Albertin., ibid., Testim. Theodor. c. vii., pp. 822. a, sq.

[r] See above, § 38. note t.

dance of their sayings, importing them to be called the Body and Blood of Christ, as "types" or "antitypes" (for type and antitype differ not but as relative and correlative); that is, "figures, symbols, images, similitudes, representations, patterns, pledges," and "riddles;" in fine, as "figures" or "sacraments" of the same: not as if they contained not the thing signified (which I have already settled), but because the heavenly grace hinders not, nor destroys, the earthly nature. This language then is used by St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* xlii.[s], calling the Passover "a more obscure type of a type:"—by Ephrem, *De Inscrutabili Natura Dei*[t]:—by Theodoret, *Dial.* i. *et* ii. *et* iii.[u]:—by the Constitutions of the Apostles, v. 13; vi. 29; vii. 26[x]:—by St. Basil's liturgy[y]:—

CHAP. IV.

"type," "figure," &c., applied by the fathers to the eucharist.]

[s] "Τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν πάσχα, τολμῶ καὶ λέγω, τύπου τύπος ἦν ἀμυδρότερος." S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xlv. (alias xlii.) § 22; Op., tom. i. p. 863. B. ed. Bened.

[t] "Quin et diligenter intuere, quomodo in manibus panem accipiens benedixit ac fregit in *figuram* immaculati Corporis Sui, calicemque in *figuram* pretiosi sanguinis Sui benedixit deditque discipulis Suis." S. Ephr. Syrus, De Natura Dei curiose non scrutanda, as edited in Latin by Ger. Voss, Op. S. Ephrem., tom. iii. p. 182. A. Rom. 1589-98.—In the edition of his works by Assemani this sermon occurs in Greek, tom. iii. p. 423. C. Rom. 1732—46. ("ἐν τύπῳ Σώματος—Αἵματος").

[u] "Ὁ δέ γε Σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ τῷ μὲν Σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ σύμβολῳ τὸ τοῦ Σώματος. Οὕτως ἄμπελον Ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, αἷμα τὸ σύμβολον προσηγόρευσεν." Theodoret., Dial. i. Immutabilis; Op., tom. iv. p. 17. D. And a little lower, "τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς." Id., ibid., p. 18. A. And again, "σύμβολόν τε καὶ τύπον." Id., ibid. p. 18. B.—"Εἰπὲ τοίνυν, τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα παρὰ τῶν ἱερωμένων τῷ Θεῷ προσφερόμενα, τίνων ἐστὶ σύμβολα; τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ Σώματός τε καὶ Αἵματος. Τοῦ ὄντως Σώματος ἢ οὐκ ὄντως; Τοῦ ὄντως. Ἄριστα· χρὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἀρχέτυπον· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ζωγράφοι τὴν φύσιν μιμοῦνται, καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων γράφουσι τὰς εἰκόνας. Ἀληθές. Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ὄντος Σώματος ἀντίτυπά ἐστι τὰ Θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τοῦ Δεσπότου τὸ Σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς Θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ Θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν." Id., Dial. ii. Inconfusus; ibid., p. 84. C, D. And the word σύμβολα again, p. 85. A, B. And see below, § 54. notes y, z.—For the third Dialogue, see above, § 42. note q.

[x] "Παραδοὺς δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀντιτύπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ Αἵματος." Const. Apost., lib. v. c. 14; ap. Cotel., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 320:—"Ἀντὶ θυσίας τῆς δι' αἱμάτων (δοὺς) λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν, ἥτις εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου συμβόλων χάριν ἐπιτελεῖται, τοῦ Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Αἵματος." Ibid., lib. vi. c. 23; ibid., p. 356:—"Τὴν ἀντιτύπον τοῦ βασιλείου Σώματος Χριστοῦ δεκτὴν εὐχαριστίαν προσφέρετε." Ibid., c. 30. p. 361.—"Ἔτι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου Αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· καὶ τοῦ τιμίου Σώματος· Οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν." Ibid., lib. vii. c. 25. p. 371.—Albertin., lib. ii., Testim. Auth. Const. c. i., p. 273. E, quotes these passages, misciting the first (as above in the text) as from c. 13, the third as from c. 29, the last as from c. 26.

[y] "Προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ Ἁγίου Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου." S. Basil. Liturg., ap. Goar, p. 166; who has a long note on the word ἀντίτυπα, p. 186. See Albertin., lib. ii. Testim. S. Basil. c. i., pp. 442. b, sq.: and below, § 63.

BOOK III.

by Gregory Nazianzen again, *In Gorgoniam*[a]:—by Eusebius, *De Demonstrat. Evang.*, i. 10; v. 3; viii. 1[a]:—by St. Chrysostom, *In Matt.*, Homil. lxxxii.[b]:—by Palladius, in the life of St. Chrysostom, chap. vii., viii., ix.[c]:—by Victor, *In Marci* xiv.[d]:—by Dionysius, *Eccles. Hierarch.*, cap. iii.[e]:—by Origen, *In Matt.*, Hom. xxxv.[f]:—by Pope Gelasius, *De Duabus Naturis Christi*[g]:—by St. Ambrose, *De iis qui initiantur mysteriis*, cap. ix.[h]; *De Sacramentis*, iv. 4, vi. 1[i]:—by Tertullian, *Contra*

[a] "Καὶ εἴπού τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου Σώματος ἢ τοῦ Αἵματος ἡ χεὶρ ἐθησαύρισεν, τοῦτο καταμιγνῦσα τοῖς δάκρυσιν," κ.τ.λ. S. Greg. Naz., Orat. viii. (alias xi.) § 13; Op., tom. i. p. 229. D: being the funeral Oration for his sister Gorgonia.

[a] "Οὐκ ἔθ' ὅσιον ἡγούμεθα καταπίπτειν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀσθενῆ στοιχεῖα, σύμβολα καὶ εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴν ἀλήθειαν περιέχοντα." Euseb., Dem. Evang., lib. i. c. 10; p. 37. B, C. Paris. 1628.—"Τοῦτον δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνημὴν ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων, τοῦ τε Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου Αἵματος." Id. ibid., p. 39. A.—"Πρῶτος μὲν Αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ, . . ἔπειτα οἱ ἐξ Αὐτοῦ πάντες ἱερεῖς, . . . οἴνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ, τοῦ τε Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου Αἵματος αἰνίττονται τὰ μυστήρια." Id., ibid., lib. v. c. 3. p. 223. C.—"Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας." Id., ibid., lib. viii. In Genesin xlix. 12; p. 380. D.

[b] "Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα;" S.Chrys., In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. alias lxxxiii. § 1; Op., tom. vii. p. 783. C. ed. Bened. —In the same homily (§ 4. p. 787. E) occur the well-known words,—"πόσοι νῦν λέγουσιν, ἐβουλόμην Αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν μορφὴν, τὸν τύπον, τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰ ὑποδήματα; ἰδοὺ Αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς, Αὐτοῦ ἅπτῃ, Αὐτὸν ἐσθίεις· . . . Αὐτὸς Ἑαυτόν σοι δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἰδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅψασθαι καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ἔνδον." — with several other passages to the same effect.

[c] "Κοινωνήσας τῶν Δεσποτικῶν συμβόλων." Pallad., Vit. Chrys., c. xi.: inter Op. S. Chrys., tom. xiii. p. 40. B. ed. Bened.—There appears to be no other passage in the tract bearing upon the point.

[d] See above, § 42. note p.

[e] "Τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ μετέχεται." Pseudo-Dionys. Areop., Lib. de Eccl. Hier., c. iii.; Op., p. 99. C. Paris. 1615.—"Θεῖα σύμβολα." Id., ibid., p. 89. B.—"Συμβολικῶς." Id., ibid., p. 103. D.—"Ἱερῶν προκειμένων συμβόλων." Id., ibid. C.

[f] "Non enim panem illum visibilem quem tenebat in manibus, Corpus Suum dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum in cujus *mysterio* fuerat panis ille frangendus. Nec potum illum visibilem Sanguinem Suum dicebat, sed verbum in cujus *mysterio* potus ille fuerat effundendus." Origen., In Matt. Comment. Series, § 85 (aliter Tract. xxxv. in Matt.); Op., tom. iii. p. 898. 2. C, D.

[g] "Certe *sacramenta*, quæ sumimus, Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Divina res est, propter quod et per eadem Divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe *imago* et *similitudo* Corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur," &c. Gelasius, De Duab. Naturis; ap. Routh, Scriptt. Eccles., tom. ii. p. 139. Ox. 1840.

[h] "Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est. Vere ergo Carnis illius *sacramentum* est." S. Ambros., De Myst., c. ix. § 53; Op., tom. ii. p. 339. D. And see above, § 41. note h.

[i] "Sed forte dicis, speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet *similitudinem*: sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumsisti, ita etiam *similitudinem* pretiosi Sanguinis bibis." Ambros., De Sacr., lib. iv. c. 4. § 20; Op., tom. ii. pp. 370. G, 371. A.—"Ideo in *similitudinem* quidem accipis sacramentum, sed vere naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris." Id., ibid., lib. vi. c. 1. § 3; ibid., p. 380. B.—See Albertin's argument on both passages, lib. ii. Testim. Pseudo-Ambros. c. ii., pp. 509. a, sq.: who denies the tract to be S. Ambrose's. The Benedictine editors decide in favour of its genuineness.

Marc., iii. 19; iv. 14, 40[k]:—by St. Augustin, *Contra Adimantum*, cap. xii.[l]; *In Psalmum* iii.[m]; *Epist.* clxiii.[n]; *De Trinitate* iii. 4°:—by Facundus, bishop of Hermiana in Africa, *Pro Tribus Capitulis* [lib.] ix. [cap.] ult.[p]

[Ancient customs proving the same thing.]

§ 44. And, truly, the ancient Christians, when they made a scruple of receiving the eucharist when they were to fast, lest they should break their fast by receiving it (as we understand by Tertullian, *De Oratione* cap. xiv.[q]), must needs understand the nature of bread and wine to remain; unless they thought they could break their fast upon the accidents of them. Nor would it have been a custom, in some places, to burn the remains of the sacrament (as Hesychius, *In Levit.* viii.[r], witnesseth); or at Constantinople to give them to schoolboys[s]: had they not conceived the change of the elements to be in order to the use of them, and that this use, and that which is done in order thereunto, expireth, when the occasion of giving them to those for whom the Church intendeth them ceaseth.

§ 45. And upon these premisses I conclude, that, as it is

[k] For the first and third passages, see above, § 39. notes l, m, and below, § 57. note e.—In the second (Cont. Marc. lib. iv. c. 14) there is nothing to the purpose. It should probably be lib. i. c. 14. p. 372. B;—"panem quo Ipsum Corpus *repræsentat*:"—which is cited by Albertin, lib. ii., Testim. Tertull. c. i., p. 321. a.

[l] "Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est Corpus Meum, cum *signum* daret Corporis Sui." S. Aug., Cont. Adim., c. xii. § 3; Op., tom. viii. p. 124. D, E.

[m] "Convivium in quo Corporis et Sanguinis Sui *figuram* discipulis commendavit et tradidit." Id., In Ps. iii., c. 1; Op., tom. iv. p. 7. E.

[n] "*Sacramentum* Corporis et Sanguinis Sui, nondum illo" (Juda) "excluso, communiter omnibus dedit." Id., Epist. xliv. (clxiii. edd. bef. Bened.), Ad Eleusium, &c., c. v. § 10; Op., tom. ii. p. 105. B.

[o] "Illud tantum (Corpus Christi et Sanguinem dicimus), quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritalem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis: quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducatur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum *sacramentum*, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei." Id., De Trin., lib. iii. c. 4. § 10; Op., tom. viii. p. 798. B, C.

[p] See below, § 55. note c.—"*Pignus* (Christi) Ipsius." S. Aug., Serm. cccxxxiv. § 2; Op., tom. v. p. 1299. A. And in the canon of the mass.—Several passages of the fathers to the same purpose with those in the text, are cited in Bramhall, Answ. to La Millet., Works, vol. i. p. 10. note r. Oxf. 1842: and see Suicer, Thesaur., sub vocc. ἀντίτυπον, εἰκὼν, σύμβολον, τύπος.

[q] "Similiter et stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto Corpore Domini." Tertull., De Orat., c. xiv.; Op., p. 135. B.

[r] "Sed hoc quod reliquum est de carnibus et panibus, in igne incendi præcepit (Deus). Quod nunc videmur sensibiliter etiam in ecclesia fieri, ignique tradi quæcumque remanere contigerit inconsumta, non omnino ea, quæ una die vel duabus aut multis servata sunt." Hesych., In Levit. lib. ii. c. viii.: in Biblioth. PP., tom. vii. p. 35. B.—See Albertin., lib. ii., Testim. Hesych. c. ii., pp. 851. b, sq.

[s] Evagrius, Hist. Eccles., lib. iv. c. 35: in Biblioth. PP., tom. vi. P. ii. p. 673. F.—See Bingham, XV. vii. 4.

BOOK III.

by no means to be denied, that the elements are really changed, translated, turned, and converted into the Body and Blood of Christ (so that whoso receiveth them with a living faith, is spiritually nourished by the same, he that with a dead faith, is guilty of crucifying Christ), yet is not this change destructive to the bodily substance of the ele- 34 ments, but cumulative of them with the spiritual grace of Christ's Body and Blood; so that the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament turns to the nourishment of the body, whether the Body and Blood in the truth turn to the nourishment or the damnation of the soul.

[St. Cyril's words explained.]

§ 46. And upon these terms, if I read in St. Cyril of Jerusalem (where afore[t]), that the elements in the eucharist are not bread and wine, I should think myself very simple to imagine, that therefore St. Cyril believed transubstantiation; knowing (as any man that pretends to understand the nature and use of language ought to know), that any thing may be absolutely denied to be that, which in some sort it is[u], when a man intends to contest, that in some sort it is not. For so St. Cyril saith, that the elements are not bread and wine: to signify, that they are not bare bread and wine, but mystically the Body and Blood of Christ; that is, as in the sacrament of it.

[Transubstantiation not a "change" of the elements, properly speaking.]

§ 47. And, to speak properly, whoso believes transubstantiation, ought not to believe, that the elements are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist. For wheresoever there is a change, there something of the subject that is changed ought to remain, though it be not sensible: whereas, in transubstantiation, the whole subject of Christ's Body and Blood is imagined to be substituted instead of bread and wine, under their dimensions and accidents; which is the absolute ceasing of them to be, and the beginning of the thing signified, not absolutely to be, but to be under those dimensions: so that there remains no subject for that change, which the fathers understand; the accidents remaining unchanged, the substance of the terms having nothing common, to bear the passion of that change which must be attributed to it.

[Tradition of fathers,

§ 48. But what can be said to them, that affirm in express

[t] See above, § 14. [u] Corrected from MS.; "it is not," in orig. text.

terms, that the substance of the elements remains unchanged? Who are so many, as may very well serve to interrupt and defeat any pretence of tradition for the ceasing of them. For there can be no pretence, that any thing should belong to the common faith of the Church, the contrary whereof it hath been free for men of note and rank in the Church to profess.

CHAP. IV.

[that the substance of the elements remains unchanged.]

§ 49. The author *De Sacramentis* in St. Ambrose, iv. 4[v]:— "*Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut incipiant esse quæ non erant; quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur*"—"If then there is that force in the word of the Lord Jesus, that those things should begin to be which were not; how much more is it so operative, that, remaining what they were, they be changed into what they were not?" Lanfranc, I see, *Contra Berengarium*[x], hath questioned the reading of these words; by saying, that other copies read, "*ut quæ erant in aliud commutentur.*" But I see also, that he had so little confidence in those copies, that he held himself obliged to expound the other reading; and say, that they remain what they were in their accidents[y] (which whether it serve the turn, let common reason judge). I see also, that Guitmund bishop of Aversa hath owned Berengarius his reading, *De Sacram.* iii.[z]: and therefore have no reason to distrust those[a], who affirm that

[St. Ambrose *De Sacramentis.*]

[v] § 15; Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. p. 369. A. For "incipiant" read "inciperent." The Bened. editors give the reading as above; adding in a note, that "ita vet. edit. ac Mss., excepto cod. Illid., ubi 'quanto magis . . . quæ erant,' totum omittitur: ultimam vero partem Rom. edit. his verbis effert, 'ut quæ erant, in aliud commutentur.'" Lanfranc appears to be the sole authority for the change.

[x] "In quibusdam tamen codicibus præfata sententia verbis aliis invenitur hoc modo: 'Si igitur . . . ut quæ erant in aliud commutentur.' Quæ literatura plurimum concordat in sententia cum ea, quæ in libro, ab eodem de mysteriis sive initiandis edito, in hæc verba reperitur: 'Sermo ergo Christi potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea, quæ sunt, in id mutare quod non erant?'" Lanfr., Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. ix.; Op., p. 175. a.

[y] "Esse quidem secundum visibilem speciem testatur quæ erant, commutari vero secundum interiorem essentiam in naturam illarum rerum quæ antea non erant." Id., ibid.

[z] De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate in Euchar., lib. iii.: in Biblioth. PP., tom. xi. p. 396. A: where the passage of S. Ambrose is quoted as above in the text.

[a] "Ut omittam in vetustioribus Lanfranci editionibus (vid. edit. Basileens. apud Henric. Petri anno 1555) simpliciter negari tale quid ab Ambrosio dictum, ac in recentioribus tantum, quibus undecim lineæ ex nescio quorum codicum fide adjectæ sunt, hanc objectionem haberi, quod fraudis etiam suspicione laborat; quis Lanfranco credat, cum Guitmundus, Algerus, Yvo, Gratianus, Anselmus, et alii innumeri, omniaque exemplaria tam manuscripta quam edita, excepta Romana editione nupera et sequentibus ad ipsius normam depravatis, constanter et unifor-

BOOK III.

it is owned by Algerus[b], Paschasius[c], Bertram[d], Ives of Chartres[e], Gratian[f], and P. Lombard[g], in their quotations of it.

[St. Chrysostom's Epistle to Cæsarius.]

§ 50. The words of St. Chrysostom (*Epistola ad Cæsarium contra Apollin.*[h]) are these:—"*Sicut, antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, Divina autem* [*illum*] *sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus quidem est ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione, etsi natura panis in ipso permansit; . . . Divina mundante natura*"—"As, before the bread be consecrated, we call it bread, but when the grace of God hath sanctified [it[i]], by the means of the priest, it quitteth the name of bread, and is held worthy of the title of the Lord's Body, though the nature of bread remain in it; so also here, the Divine nature cleansing," &c. Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Euchar.* [lib. ii. c.] 22[k]) allegeth, that there is no such epistle of St. Chry-

miter legunt, 'ut sint quæ erant et in aliud commutentur?'" Albertin., lib. ii., Testim. Pseudo-Ambros. c. ii, p. 510. a.

[b] De Sacr. Corp. et Sanguinis, lib. i. c. 7: ap. Biblioth. PP., tom. xii. P. i. p. 416. H.

[c] Paschasius Radbertus (De Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. i. Op., pp. 1556. E, 1557. A. Paris. 1618), whom Albertinus does *not* quote, does not cite S. Ambrose expressly: and if he alludes to the passage here in question, which seems improbable, would appear to be (if anything) rather in favour of Lanfranc's reading. His words are—"Enucleatius obsecro considera, utrum ex sese in sua natura fiunt singula; vel *quæ demutantur in aliud quod non erant*, utrum per ordinem sui juris ut sint mirabilia, aut certe (quod magis fatebere) et illa quæ sunt quasi naturalia, et ista quæ quasi contra naturam veniunt, prorsus omnia in voluntate Dei esse," &c. The important words are the same in the edition of Martene and Durand; see below, § 61. note l.

[d] Bertram (or Ratramn) does not cite the passage; neither does Albertinus mention him: nor can his words, pp. 114, 115 (as publ. at Rouen 1673), be considered an allusion to it. He quotes (pp. 157, 158) from the De Mysteriis, c. ix. (§ 52. Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. p. 339. C), "Sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt in id mutare quod non erant?"

[e] Ivo Carnotensis, Decret. Part ii., De Sacram. Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. 7: Op., P. i. p. 47, b: quoting the passage.

[f] De Consecrat., Distinct. ii. can. 55. Panis est: quoting the passage (with its context).

[g] Sentent., lib. iv. dist. 10. lit. D: quoting the passage:—cited by Albertin as above, in margin.

[h] S. Chrys., Op., tom. iii. p. 744. C. ed. Montfaucon. Read "habitus Dominici," omitting "est:" and for the last clause (where "mundante" is a confusion of Thorndike's from Martyr's incorrect reading "inundante"), "permansit, et non duo corpora sed unum Corpus Filii prædicamus: sic et hic Divina insidente corpori natura," &c. This epistle is extant, except some fragments, only in Latin. Whether it be S. Chrysostom's, see Albertin., lib. ii., Testim. S. Chrys. c. i., pp. 532. a, sq. Harduin published it as genuine, Le Quien denied its genuineness, Montfaucon publishes it in S. Chrysostom's works, but pronounces it spurious. There certainly was *an* Epistle of S. Chrys. ad Cæsarium: see below, notes n, o. And the objections to it seem to turn mainly on the style: which is rather a feeble ground for denying the genuineness of a work known almost wholly through a translation.

[i] Added from MS.

[k] "Respondeo, nihil ejusmodi unquam scripsisse Chrysostomum; neque enim in toto Chrysostomi opere ullus est liber vel epistola ad Cæsarium." Controv., tom. ii. p. 627. A.

sostom's; neither is it found in his works[l]. Peter Martyr[m] reports it, as he found it in a written copy of the library at Florence. And it is found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*[n], and in several pieces collected by Canisius[o]. What would it then avail, that it were not St. Chrysostom's, but some other ancient Church-writer's? For neither the matter of the comparison between the incarnation and the eucharist, nor the terms in which it is delivered, will ever render it suspicious to any man, that observes those conceptions and expressions of the fathers, which I have reported in the premisses. CHAP. IV.

§ 51. Gelasius, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*[p]:—"*Certe sacramenta quæ sumimus Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Divina res est; propter quod et per eadem Divinæ efficimur consortes Naturæ: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini*"—"Certainly the mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we receive, is a thing Divine; therefore by the means of them we become also partakers of the Divine nature: and yet ceaseth not to be the nature and substance of bread and wine." By and by[q]: "*Sicut in hanc transeunt, scilicet* [Gelasius.]

[l] It is neither in Savile's edition, nor in Morell's, nor in that of Fronto Ducæus: and Montfaucon's was not published until 1718-38. The tract was really not in print at all in Thorndike's time; see below, notes n, o.

[m] P. Martyr, Defens. ad Gardiner. de Euchar., P. i. Object. cxxx. p. 285. fol. 1562, quotes the Epist. ad Cæsarium: and ibid., Object. cci. pp. 368, 369, answers Gardiner's reply, that "non est hoc Joannis Chrysostomi, sed Joannis cujusdam Constantinopolitani." The MS. which P. Martyr used was given by him to Abp. Cranmer, but appears to have been lost upon the Abp.'s death: see Montfaucon's Monitum prefixed to the tract.

[n] This is a mistake, arising from a misapprehension of Albertin's reference, p. 532. a. margin. The *Collectanea contra Severianos*, which quotes a short passage from "Chrys. ad Cæsarium Monachum," are cited by Albertin as in "Biblioth. Patr. edit. 4. tom. 4. ad finem" (it is in tom. viii. p. 336. D. ed. 1618): but the Epistle of St. Chrysostom itself is *not* in the Bibliotheca Patrum at all. It was first published at length (but was immediately suppressed) by Bigot in 1680; then by Le Moyne in his Varia Sacra in 1685, then by Basnage at Rotterdam in 1687, then by Harduin at Paris in 1689, then by Montfaucon in his edition of St. Chrysostom, tom. iii., in 1721: see Montfaucon's Monitum in Epist. ad Cæsarium, and Fabricius, tom. viii. p. 581. ed. Harles.

[o] A mistake also, arising from a similar cause. The tract of S. Joh. Damasc. contra Acephalos, which cites the passage immediately following that above in the text as from "Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Epistola ad Cæsarium Monachum," is in, and is quoted by Albertin from, Canisius, Antiq. Lectt., tom. iv. p. 211. Ingolst. 1603. (as are also the Collectanea cont. Severianos, referred to above, ibid., p. 238): but the Epistle to Cæsarius itself is not in the 1st edition of Canisius; which was the only one existing in Thorndike's time. It was published by Basnage in his edition of the Antiq. Lectt., tom. i. pp. 226, sq. Antv. 1725.

[p] ap. Routh, Scriptt. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 139.

[q] Ibid.—"Sicut in hanc, scilicet *in* Divinam, transeunt, Sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanen*te* tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ."—For "permanente" Routh suggests

BOOK III.

Divinam, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam, permanent tamen in sua proprietate naturæ"—"As by the operation of the Holy Ghost they pass into this, to wit, a Divine substance, and yet remain in the property of their own nature."

[St. Ephrem.]

§ 52. Ephrem, patriarch of Antiochia, in Photius, *Cod.* ccxxix.[r]—"*Οὕτω καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικὸν, ὅλον γενόμενον καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν*"—"So also the Body of Christ, Which believers receive, neither departs from the sensible substance, nor is divided from the intelligible grace; and spiritual baptism, which becometh and is one whole, preserves the property of the sensible substance, the water I mean, yet loses not that which it is become."

[Theodotus.]

§ 53. This comparison makes me add here that passage of those extractions out of Theodotus, which is found at the end of Clemens Alexandrinus[s]:—"*Καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἁγιάζεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Ὀνόματος, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον* [*οἷα ἐλήφθη*], *ἀλλὰ δυνάμει εἰς δύναμιν πνευματικὴν μεταβέβληται· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ ἐξορκιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα γενόμενον, οὐ μόνον χωρεῖ τὸ χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁγιασμὸν προσλαμβάνει*"—"And the bread" (of the eucharist) "and the oil" (of the chrism, which comparison St. Cyril of Jerusalem[t] uses in this case) "is sanctified by virtue of the Name" (of Christ); "remaining the same for sensible substance" (for I confidently maintain, that the negative *οὐ* destroys the sense, as the comparison justifies; for who says, that the oil of the chrism or the water of baptism is changed for substance?), "but for force changed into a spiritual virtue: so also the water, both that [which] is exorcised, and that which baptism is done with, not only retains the worse, but also receiveth sanctification."

"permanen*tia*," but retains "su*æ*." According to Albertin. (lib. ii., Testim. Gelas. c. i., p. 858. b), "evidenter legendum su*a*," and he retains "permanen*te*."

[r] p. 793. ed. Hoeschel. et Schott. Aug. Vind. 1612.

[s] *Ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους Ἐπιτομαί*, in fin. S. Clem. Alex. Op. ed. Heins. Paris. 1629, p. 800. 2. C, D.—The Theodotus in question is Theodotus the heretic: see Cave, art. Theodotus, in sæc. II.

[t] "*Ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὑπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ*," κ. τ. λ. as above, § 14. note f.

§ 54. Theodoret, *Dial.* I.[y]:—"*Ἠβουλ[ήθη] τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετέχοντας μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς, πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος [γεγενημένῃ] μεταβολῇ· Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν Ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, Οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ Αἵματος καὶ Σώματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς*"—"Our Lord would have those, that receive the Divine mysteries, not regard the nature of the things they see, but upon the change of their names believe the change which grace effecteth; for He Who called His natural body corn and bread, and again named Himself the vine, honours the visible symbols with the name of His Body and Blood, not changing the nature, but adding His grace to it." And *Dial.* II.[z]: "*Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως, μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτὰ· οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν*"—"For neither do the mystical signs after consecration depart from their own nature, but remain in the same substance, and figure, and form, and may be seen and touched, as afore." The preface to the Roman edition of these dialogues, saith, that Theodoret uses this language, because the Church had as yet decreed nothing in this point[a]. An excuse, much like the censure of the Epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, printed at Antwerp; which are licensed as containing nothing contrary to faith or good manners[b].

[Theodoret.]

["Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος."]

[y] Theodoret., Dial. i. Immutabilis; Op., tom. iv. p. 18. A, B. "Ἠβουλήθη" was misprinted "ἠβούλετο," and for "μετέχοντας" read "μεταλαγχάνοντας;" besides the trifling alterations marked above in the text and margin.

[z] Id., Dial. ii. Inconfusus; ibid., p. 85. B, C.

[a] "Ac primum quod de sacrosanctæ eucharistiæ mysterio dicit charta viii. p. ii." &c., "dictum esse videtur ex eorum sententia, qui falso asseruerunt esse in eo pane Corpus Christi remanente tamen panis substantia: quod quidem falsum est, cum Ecclesia," &c., "pronunciavit substantiam panis in Corpus Christi transubstantiari. Quamquam Theodoretus hoc fortasse nomine aliqua venia dignus videatur, quod de ea re ejus tempore ab Ecclesia nondum fuisset aliquid promulgatum." Theodoriti Dialogi Tres contra quasdam Hæreses, Pref., 4to. Rom. 1547. per Stephanum Nicolinum Sabiensem, Chalcographum Apostolicum, cum privilegio.

[b] A supplementary volume of Isidore's Epistles was published at Frankfort by Schottus in 1629, the "Approbatio" of which is dated at Antwerp, to which latter place Schottus belonged. If this is the edition to which Thorndike refers, his remark is hardly justified by the words of the licenser, who merely describes the Epistles as "partim morales partim sacras, ad S. Scripturæ loca explicanda idoneas." There does not appear to have been any other

BOOK III. For if the Church is able to make new articles of faith, then may whosoever licenses books pass this censure; because by the act of the Church, making that faith which was not so afore, the dead might incur the contrary censure. But, supposing that the Church is not able to do such an act, that, which was not contrary to the faith when Theodoret writ it, can never be contrary to it.

[Facundus.] § 55. I will end with Facundus [c], because the formal terms of my opinion are contained in his words:—"*Sicut sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, Corpus Ejus et Sanguinem dicimus: non quod proprie Corpus Ejus sit panis, et poculum Sanguis; sed quod in se mysterium Corporis Ejus Sanguinisque contineant: hinc et Ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, Corpus et Sanguinem Suum vocavit*"—"As we call 36 the sacrament of His Body and Blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, His Body and Blood; not because the bread is properly His Body, and the cup His Blood, but because they contain in them the mystery of His Body and Blood: whereupon our Lord Himself also called the bread and cup, which having blessed He delivered to His disciples, His Body and Blood." This is, in few words, the sense of the whole Church concerning this business.

[St. Ignatius.] § 56. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna [d], saith, that the Gnostics "forebore the eucharist, because they believed not the eucharist to be the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which the Lord raised again by His goodness." But why believed they not this? Because they would not believe transubstantiation? or because they would not believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ had flesh?

[Tertullian.] § 57. Let Tertullian speak; *Contra Marc.* iv. [e]:—"*Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis Corpus Suum illum fecit, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum' dicendo; id est, figura Corporis*

edition of Isidore's Epistles that had any connection with Antwerp: see Cave, in Isid. Pelusiota.

[c] De Trib. Capitulis, lib. ix. c. 5; in Biblioth. PP. Max., tom. x. p. 79. G.

[d] "Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται" (scil. the Gnostics), "διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτίων ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ Πατὴρ ἤγειρεν." S. Ignat., Ep. ad Smyrn., c. vi.; in PP. Apost. p. 412. ed. Jacobson.

[e] Lib. iv. c. 40; Op., pp. 457. D, 458. A: "Corpus illum Suum."

Mei: figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus; cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset"—"That bread which He took and distributed to His disciples, He made His Body, saying, 'This is My Body;' that is, the figure of My Body: but the figure it had not been, if the truth of His Body were not; otherwise, an empty thing, such as an apparition is, had not been capable of a figure."

§ 58. For, as Maximus saith (in the third of those Dialogues against the Marcionists, that go under Origen's name[f]), "What Body and Blood was that, whereof He ministered the bread and the cup for signs and images, commanding the disciples to renew the remembrance of them by the same?" [Maximus.]

§ 59. As for that which is alleged out of Irenæus i. 9[g], of Marcus the magician and heretic:"—"*Pro calice enim vino mixto fingens se gratias agere, et in multum extendens sermonem invocationis, purpureum et rubicundum apparere facit, ut putetur ea gratia ab eis quæ sunt super omnia, suum sanguinem stillare in illius calicem*" (lege *illum*[h]) "*per invocationem ejus*"—"Making as though he would give thanks for the cup mixed with wine, and enlarging the word of invocation" (by which I said the eucharist is consecrated[i]) "to much length, he makes it to appear purple and red; that men may think, that grace drops the blood thereof from the powers over all into that cup by the means of his invocation." For had Irenæus said, that this magician turned the wine into the substance of blood (in truth or in appearance), it [St. Irenæus.]

[f] The passage is in the *fourth* section of the Dialogus Adamantii de Recta in Deum Fide, inter Op. Origen; tom. i. p. 853. E. ed. Bened.:—"Ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ τίνος σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας δίδοὺς, ἄρτον τε καὶ ποτήριον, ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν Αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι;"—The Benedictine Delarue decides positively, that the tract is not Origen's. Tillemont (tom. iii. art. Origene, note 13) is equally positive, and also assigns it to an Adamantius living in the fourth century. Huet (Origen. lib. iii. Append. § 9. p. 326 in fin. Op. Origen. ed. Bened.) assigns it to Maximus, who flourished about 196. Cave (artt. Max. and Origen) inclines to think it Origen's.

[g] "Ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ." S. Iren., Adv. Hæres., lib. i. c. 9. p. 57.—Thorndike quotes the old Latin translation, which, says Grabe, "videtur legisse, ποτήριον οἴνῳ κεκραμένον." The Greek is preserved in Epiphanius.

[h] The Greek (see note g) proves the correctness of the emendation.

[i] See above, § 7, 11, sq.

BOOK III.

might have been alleged, that the Christians (whose sacrament this magician counterfeited, though other Gnostics, as Ignatius saith [k], quite balked the eucharist, and used it not) believed that to be bodily blood which is in the chalice; and that therefore he did it. But when he saith only, that he "made it appear purple and red;" perhaps he used white wine, which by juggling he made seem red. However, there is no appearance, that, because he made that look red which was in the cup, therefore those Christians, whom he laboured thereby to seduce, did believe the bodily substance of Christ's Blood to be in the eucharist, instead of the substance of wine and under the dimensions of it.

[Of the contentions about transubstantiation in the western Church.]

§ 60. It remains, that I take notice (in as few words as is possible) of those contentions that have passed about this presence, and the difficulties which transubstantiation hath found in getting the footing which it hath in the western Church.

[Paschasius Radbertus.]

§ 61. The book which Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corby near Amiens, writ, under the sons of Charles the Great, to prove, that the Body of Christ in the eucharist is that same which was born of the Virgin, is yet extant [l]. Though the more curious find no such thing as transubstantiation in it, but rather a conceit of the "impanation" of Christ's Body (if such a hideous term may pass); that is, that, the Godhead of our Lord Christ being by the operation of the Holy Ghost united to the elements, the Body and Blood of Christ is by the same means united to the same [m].

[k] Above, § 56, note d.

[l] De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, written A. D. 818: Op. S. Paschas. Radberti, pp. 1551, sq. ed. Sirmond. fol. Paris. 1618. A correcter edition is in the Amplissima Collectio of Martene and Durand., tom. ix. pp. 367, sq. Paris. 1733. He is claimed by Bellarmine (De Scriptor. Eccles., in Paschasio Ratberto, p. 244. Lugd. 1675) and Sirmondus (Vit. Paschasii, edit. Paris. præfixa, p. 2.) as the first who expressly taught transubstantiation.

[m] "Unde nec mirum, si Spiritus Sanctus, Qui Hominem Christum in utero Virginis sine semine creavit, etiam Ipse panis ac vini substantiam carnem Christi et sanguinem invisibili quotidie potentia per sacramenti Sui sanctificationem operatur." Paschas., ibid., c. iii. p. 1563. A, B. Martene and Durand (p. 391. C) omit "si" after "mirum;" and read, "etiamsi Ipse panis ac vini substantia."—"Difficile dictu est quisnam ipsius" (scil. Paschasii) "sit sensus, cum tot pugnantia et implicantia proferat. Nam quandoque transubstantiationem, quandoque potius consubstantiationem; interdum autem impanationem quamdam statuere videtur, quando ait, 'Attende Verbum Quod caro factum est" (lege "Verbum Patris Quod caro est"), "et Quod semel factum est, quotidie fieri non dubites.' Quid enim aliud hæc verba designare possunt, quam panis

CHAP. IV.

[Rupertus Tuitiensis.]

§ 62. A conceit not far wide of that, which Rupertus, abbot of Duitsh near Cullen about the year 1110, teacheth [n]; that the bread is assumed by the Word of God to be His Body, as that is His Body which was formed of the flesh of the Virgin. Nor is there in effect much difference between this conceit and that of consubstantiation [o] (at least according to those, that ground it not upon the ubiquity of our
37 Lord's Body, but upon His will, executed by celebrating the sacrament [p]), or that of some later Greeks.

[Damascene and some other later Greeks.]

§ 63. Damascene (*De Fide Orthod.* IV. 14 [q]), to contradict the Council of Constantinople against images under Copronymus (which had recommended the eucharist for the true image of our Lord [r]), maintaineth, that it is not to be called, nor is called in St. Basil's liturgy, after the consecration, the "type, figure, image," or "antitype" of the Body and Blood of Christ. Which, nevertheless, Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Euchar.* ii. 15 [s]) judgeth not tenable. The se-

et vini a Verbo assumptionem, ut sic Corpus Christi et Sanguis evadant!" Albertin., lib. iii. p. 922. b; quoting from Paschasius, ibid., c. xii. p. 1589. D. Martene and Durand. (p. 428. C) read, "quotidie fieri in mysterio non dubites."

[n] "De sancto altari panem ipsum et vinum in Corpus et Sanguinem Suum transferendo suscipit, eadem virtute, eadem potentia vel gratia, qua nostram de Maria Virgine carnem suscipere potuit quomodo voluit." Rup. Tuitiensis (abbot of Tuy or Tuit or Duits near Cologne), De Officiis, lib. ii. c. 2: Op., tom. ii. p. 615. a. Col. Agrip. 1602: (written A.D. 1111): quoted with several other passages to the same purport by Albertin., lib. iii. p. 960. a. And see Bellarm., De Script. Eccl., in Rupert. (pp. 286—288); and De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 11; Controv. tom. ii. p. 721. B—D.

[o] Compare e. g. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 617. a:—"Verbum Patris carni et sanguini, quem de utero Virginis assumpserat, et pani et vino, quod de altari assumpsit, medium interveniens, unum sacrificium efficit:"—and just before,—"Verbum Quod humanam acceperat naturam, id est, in carne manens, panis et vini accipiebat substantiam. Vita media, panem cum Sua carne, vinum cum Suo jungebat Sanguine."

[p] See above, c. iii. § 8, sq.

[q] "Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον, Αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος, Τοῦτό Μου ἐστὶ (οὐ τύπος τοῦ Σώματος ἀλλὰ) τὸ Σῶμα· καὶ (οὐ τύπος τοῦ Αἵματος ἀλλὰ) τὸ Αἷμα." Joh. Damascen., De Fide Orthod., lib. iv. c. 13; Op., tom. i. p. 271. A, B. ed. Le Quien.—"Εἰ δὲ καί τινες ἀντίτυπα τοῦ Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς ὁ θεοφόρος ἔφη Βασίλειος, οὐ μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἁγιασθῆναι, αὐτὴν τὴν προσφορὰν οὕτω καλέσαντες." Id., ibid., p. 273. A.

[r] Our Lord, says the Council, instituted the eucharist, "ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου εἴδους ἐπιλεχθέντος παρ' Αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἢ τύπου, εἰκονίσαι τὴν Αὐτοῦ σάρκωσιν δυναμένου:" with a good deal more to the same purpose. Act. Conc. Constantin. A.D. 754, tom. iii.; ap. Act. Conc. Nicæn. II. Act. vi.: in Labb., Concil., tom. vii. p. 446. E.

[s] "Altera solutio est aliorum, vocari a S. Basilio panem eucharistiæ antitypon Corporis Domini, sed ante consecrationem, non postea. Ita respondit olim Joan. Damascenus, . . et Epiphanius" (scil. Diaconus) "in vii. Synodo" (scil. Conc. Nic. II. ap. Labb., tom. vii. p. 450. B, C.), "act. vi. tom. iii. Sed hæc solutio multas habet difficul-

BOOK III.

cond Council of Nicæa, that decreed for images, taking up this man's doctrine [t], seemeth to have obliged those that follow to the same terms: that is (as he there expresseth himself), "that God joins His Godhead to the elements, to make them His Body and Blood; and that by the operation of the Holy Ghost, Which took Him flesh of the Virgin; so that they are no more two, but one and the same [u]." Thus he expresseth the change he pretendeth; which transubstantiation admits not. The Greeks at Venice, in their answer to the first of twelve questions proposed them by the Cardinal of Guise, published by Lionclavius [x], will, hereupon, have neither the substance nor the accidents of the elements to remain the same as they were, but to be "transelemented," say they, into the Divine substance. It would be great skill to reconcile this with transubstantiation.

[Opponents of Paschasius.]

§ 64. But, for the opposition made to Paschasius at the time, the book of Bertram (or Ratran [y]) yet extant, the re-

tates. Nam in Liturgia Basilii invenimus panem eucharistiæ vocari antitypon Corporis Domini post recitationem verborum illorum, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum.' Quocirca oporteret Damascenum et Epiphanium existimasse, non consecrari eucharistiam illis verbis," &c. Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. ii. c. 15; Controv., tom. ii. p. 610. A, B.

[t] See Conc. Nic. II. Act. vi., in confut. Act. Conc. Constantin. tom. iii. (ap. Labb. Concil., tom. vii. pp. 448. D—449. D): arguing, that "*οὔτε ὁ Κύριος, οὔτε οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἢ πατέρες, εἰκόνα εἶπον τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἱέρεως προσφερομένην ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ Σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ Αἷμα.*"

[u] "*Καὶ νῦν ἐρωτᾶς, πῶς ὁ ἄρτος γίνεται Σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ Αἷμα Χριστοῦ; Λέγω σοι κἀγώ. Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἐπιφοιτᾷ, καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν. Ἄρτος δὲ καὶ οἶνος παραλαμβάνεται.* Joan. Damasc., De Fide Orthod., lib. iv. c. 13; Op., tom. i. p. 269. B.—"*Σῶμα ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἡνωμένον Θεότητι, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου Σῶμα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἀναληφθὲν Σῶμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος μεταποιοῦνται εἰς Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον ζητεῖς, πῶς γίνεται, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου Ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν Ἑαυτῷ ὁ Κύριος σάρκα ὑπεστήσατο.*" Id., ibid., pp. 269. D, 270. A.—"*Καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἕν, καὶ τὸ αὐτό.*" Id., ibid., p. 270. B.

[x] "Claudii Guisii, Cardinalis Lotharingiæ, Interrogationes Duodecim de Orthodoxa Fide pro Latinis, et Zachariæ Sacerdotis Cretensis Responsiones totidem pro Græcis," are mentioned by Nessel., Catal. MSS. Biblioth. Cæsareæ, P. i. p. 443. Vindob. 1690, as existing in MS. in that library. He quotes the first question and answer (ibid.)—"*Ἆρα πιστεύουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου οὐσίαν μεταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸ Σῶμα καὶ τὸ Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μόνων τῶν τοῦ ἄρτου συμβεβηκότων χωρὶς τῆς οὐσίας ὑποκειμένης σωζομένων; Πιστεύοντες ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος μεταβάλλεται εἰς τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὁμοίως εἰς τὸ Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ σωζομένων τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῦ ἄρτου οὔτε τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ Θείᾳ οὐσίᾳ μεταστοιχειοῦται· καὶ ἄκουσον μαρτυρίαν,*" κ.τ.λ. A Latin translation, published by Leunclavius, is mentioned by Fabricius, lib. vi. c. 10. § 41 (tom. xiii. p. 809. Hamb. 1726), but is not in the Bodleian Library. For the word *μεταστοιχείωσις*, or "transelementation," as used by the fathers, see Albertin, lib. ii., Testim. S. Greg. Nyss. c. ii., pp. 488. a, sq.

[y] Ratramn, also called Intramn, and Bertram, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, written about A.D. 848 or 9; first printed Colon. 1532, and after that

membrance of John the Irish Scot [a], one of the learned men of that time (who is thought, for the hatred of his opinion, to have died by the hands of his scholars the monks of Malmesbury), the opposition of Amalarius of Triers and Rabanus of Mentz (expressed by their sense in the works extant, *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* [a], and *De Institutione Clericorum* [b]), are sufficient witnesses. CHAP. IV.

§ 65. The recantation of Berengarius, indited by Cardinal Humbertus at Rome [A.D.] 1059, comes not yet home to the business; as it lies in the canon, "*Ego Berengarius* [c]." For the gloss of the canon law is fain to advise, that, if it be not well understood, it creates as great a heresy as that of Berengarius [d]; in that it says, that "the Body and Blood of [Berengarius.]

repeatedly: see Cave for its several editions. It was printed also, with a French translation, at Rouen, 12mo. 1673: and in an English translation, at Dublin, 1753, and at Oxford in 1838. Dr. Boileau also in France, and Dr. Hopkins in England, published it, with Prefaces &c., and translations, in 1686, 1688, 1712; and at Amsterd. 1717. Three editions (1542, 1549, 1582) exist in the Bodleian Library, of an early English translation; and a French translation in 1619. See also the art. Ratramn in the Biog. Univ., and Albertin., lib. iii. pp. 929. a, sq.

[a] That Johannes Scotus or Erigena (A.D. 858) wrote a tract on the holy eucharist, disagreeing with that of Paschasius, and substantially agreeing with those of Ratramn before, and Berengarius afterwards, rests on the testimony of Lanfranc (De Corp. et Sang. Dom., c. iii. Op. p. 171. b), condemning him, of the Synod of Vercelli in Piedmont, A.D. 1050, mentioned by Lanfranc (ibid), also condemning him (Labb., Conc., tom. ix. pp. 1055, sq.), and of a letter of Berengarius first published by Albertin., lib. iii. p. 952. b, and since by D'Achery in his Spicilegium and also in his Vita Lanfr. (Op., p. 18. a). Petrus de Marca and Cossart go so far as to fancy the tract of Scotus to be identical with that just mentioned of Ratramn's (see Labb., Conc., tom. ix. p. 1053. C). He was slain by his scholars on account of his "inflexam morum duritiem et gravitatem," according to Cave, art. Joan. Erigena. Others give the account adopted above in the text: see Biogr. Brit., art. Erigena.

[a] Written A.D. 830, 1: in Biblioth. PP., tom. ix. P. i. pp. 300, sq. See Albertin., lib. iii. pp. 925. b, sq.

[b] Written about A.D. 819: publ. in his works, Colon. 1627. See Cave; and Albertin., lib. iii. pp. 922. b, sq.

[c] "Ego Berengarius," &c. "Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedi, et ore et corde profiteor, de sacramentis Dominicæ mensæ eam fidem me tenere, quam Dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta Synodus autoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit: .. scil. panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri." Bereng., Retract., ap. Gratian., De Consecr. Distinct. ii. c. 42. Ego Berengarius.—This is the *first* retractation of Berengarius, and is far harsher in its terms than the two later retractations imposed upon him. See Mosh., Eccl. Hist., Bk. III. Cent. xi. Pt. ii. c. 3. § 13—18, with notes in Soames's edition.

[d] "Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim quam ipse habuit." Joan. Semeca, seu Gloss. in Gratian, as above quoted. On c. 72. Utrum sub figura, the same Glosser adds, that Berengarius "ibi hyperbolice locutus est, et veritatem excessit." And see Bramhall, Answ. to La Millet., Works, vol. i. p. 13. note o, and Cosin, Hist. of Transubst., c. vii. § 10: for other schoolmen holding similar language.

BOOK III.

Christ are managed by the hands and broken by the teeth of believers, not only in the sacrament, but in the truth :" which, Mirandula in his Apology[e] saith, cannot be clearly understood but in the way of Damascene and Paschasius. And yet (understanding the sacrament to consist as well of the thing signified, as of the sign), though the Body of Christ is not touched nor broke, because the sacrament is not the Body of Christ according to the sensible substance which we touch and break, yet is it truly touched and truly broken as in the sacrament, because the eucharist is truly the Body and Blood of Christ; as the sacrament is, and ought to be, truly that which it signifies and conveys. But as it is hereupon no marvel, that he was brought to a second recantation, in a council at Rome under Gregory VII.[f]; so is that a presumption, that transubstantiation was not yet formed.

[Ælfric archbishop of Canterbury.]

§ 66. And truly for England, the Paschal homily of Ælfric archbishop of Canterbury[g], together with those extractions

[e] "Quæ verba" (Berengarii) "videntur non posse plane accipi in sensu claro et expedito, qualis debet esse verborum confessionis, sic solenniter approbatæ, nisi per substantiationem paneitatis in supposito Dei, cum Corpore Christi, modo prædicto: ita quod sit idem Corpus Christi hominis et panis, et ita sit integrum in quantum Corpus hominis, et atteratur in quantum panis; sicut Christus in cruce moriebatur et vivebat, sed hoc ut homo et illud in quantum Deus." Joan. Picus Mirandula, Apol., c. de Euchar. Sacram.; Op., tom. i. pp. 122, 123. Basil. 1601. In the end of the chapter (ibid., p. 131) he adopts the words of John Semeca cited above in note d.

[f] See Cosin, Hist. of Transubst., c. vii. § 12.

[g] Translated from Latin into Saxon by Abp. Ælfric about the end of the 10th century: see Twysden's Histor. Vindic. of the Ch. of Engl., c. ix. § 23—27. pp. 189—193; and Soames, Bampton Lectures, pp. 422, sq. First printed (with an English translation) by order of Abp. Parker, by Day, Lond. 8vo. about 1566: thence by Foxe, Acts and Monum., bk. viii. pp. 1142, sq. ed. of 1583: then by Lisle, Anc. Mon., 4to. Lond. 1623 and 1638: and by Wheloc (see next note). It is entitled by Day, "A Sermon of the Paschal Lambe, and of the Sacramental Body and Bloud of Christ our Saviour, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reigne of the Saxons to be spoken to the people at Easter," &c. And it teaches, that "Nos quidem nunc *spiritualiter* Corpus Christi gustamus Ejusque sanguinem bibimus" (ap. Wheloc, p. 469); and again, "Sunt tamen *vere* post consecrationem Corpus Christi et Sanguis Ejus per *spirituale* sacramentum" (ibid., p. 470); and again, "Multum distat inter virtutem sacræ hujus eucharistiæ invisibilem, et visibilem propriæ naturæ speciem; naturâ panis est corruptibilis, et vinum corruptibile; et per Divini verbi virtutem *vere* Christi Corpore et Sanguis Ejus, *non tamen corporaliter sed spiritualiter:* multum distat inter Corpus illud in Quo Christus passus est, et Corpus illud quod in eucharistiam consecratur: corpus quidem illud in Quo Christi passus est de carne Mariæ nascebatur, cum sanguine, ossibusque," &c.; "Corpus autem Suum *spirituale*, quod vocamus eucharistiam, de granis multis absque sanguine et osse, absque membro et anima, colligitur: nihil autem inest propterea intelligendum *corporaliter*, verum omne est *spiritualiter* intelligendum" (ibid., p. 471); and so throughout. The homily agrees closely with the tract of Ratramn above cited.

which you read out of him in the annotations upon Bede, [p]p. 332—335 [h], are sufficient evidence of a difference between the sense of that time, and after that Lanfranc [i], Berengarius his adversary, was archbishop of Canterbury.

[Innocent III. and the Lateran council.]

§ 67. And, Pope Innocent III. having inserted the word transubstantiation in the seventy articles, which he proposed to the council of Lateran in 1215 [k], what is the reason why they passed not the council, as Matthew Paris [l] with others [m] testify, but that they were found "burdensome?"

[Gregory IX.]

§ 68. And, Gregory IX., the nephew of Innocent, having contrived these articles into his decretals (though not under the name of the council, but of "Innocent III. in the general council" [n]), though the school doctors, depending on the pope for the most part, not on the council, were content to own them [o], yet have we no decree of any council for them, till that of 1555 under Leo X. [p]

[The Armenians

§ 69. For as for the institution of the Armenians in the

[h] Sc. in Wheloc's annot. upon Bede's Hist. Eccl. Gent. Angl., lib. iv. c. 24. Cantab. 1644: where are two fragments of a letter from Ælfric to Wulfine Bishop of Sherborne, to the same effect with the homily; published also by Lisle. And see also his annot. upon lib. v. c. 22. ibid. pp. 462, sq., where he prints the homily itself both in Latin and Saxon.

[i] See above, § 41. notes l, m; and 49. notes x, y.

[k] "Cujus Corpus et Sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis* pane in Corpus et vino in Sanguinem." Decreta Concil. Later. IV. sub Innoc. III. Papa, A. D. 1215, c. i. De Fide Catholica; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xi. P. i. p. 143. B.

[l] "His omnibus congregatis," &c. "recitata sunt in pleno concilio capitula Ix.; quæ aliis placabilia aliis videbantur *onerosa*." Matt. Par., Hist. Angl. Maj., in ann. 1215, p. 272: quoted (as are also the authorities below in note m) by Albertin, lib. iii. p. 972. b.

[m] "Venere multa tum quidem in consultationem" (sc. at the Lateran council)," nec decerni tamen quicquam apte potuit, quod et Pisani et Genuenses," &c. "bello inter se certabant. Editæ tamen nonnullæ constitutiones referuntur, e quibus una existit, ut quoties orbis principes alter in alterum deliquerint, correctionem ad Romanum Pontificem spectare." Nauclerus, Chron., Gener. xli., ad ann. 1215; p. 914. Colon. 1579.—"Nihil dignum memoriæ, quod commendari possit, ibi" (i. e. in the Lateran Council of 1215) "actum est nisi quod Orientalis Ecclesia (quod antea inauditum fuit) se subditam Romanæ Ecclesiæ exhibuit." Godefridus, Annal. ab ann. 1162 ad ann. 1237, in ann. 1215; ap. Freher., Scriptt. Rer. German., vol. i. p. 383. ed. Struvius.—Platina, in Vit. Innoc. III. (p. 165. cum annot. &c. Onuphr. Panvin. fol. Lovan. 1572) has precisely the same words as Nauclerus above quoted, from "Venere" to "certabant:" and adds afterwards, that Innocent among other writings "decreta pleraque retulit."

[n] Decretal. D. Greg. Papæ IX. Compilatio, lib. i. c. 1. Firmiter credimus: being c. i. of the 70 articles of Pope Innocent, and headed "Innocentius III. in Concilio Generali cap. 1."

[o] See Cosin, Hist. of Transubst., c. vii. § 27; and below, § 70. notes s, u, b, d, e.

[p] This appears to mean the 13th Session of the Council of Trent, A.D. 1551 (can. 4. ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 806. C), which was the first *Council* after the time of Innocent III. which sanctioned and enforced the term transubstantiation. But Leo X. died in 1521; and the Pope in 1551 was Julius III. (1550-1555).

BOOK III.

in the council of Florence.]

council of Florence[q] (which, though it use not the term of transubstantiation, seemeth to come up to the sense), being advanced after the departure of the Greeks, and not voted by the council, but only published as the act of the pope in the council, it cannot be called the decree of the council; though done in a public session of the council in the great church at Florence[r].

[Admissions of school doctors and

§ 70. Certainly, adding to the opinions of the school doctors, Scotus[s], Durandus[t], Ockam[u], Cameracensis[x], Basso- 38

[q] Decretum Eugenii Papæ IV., sive Instructio ad Armenos, post Concil. Florentin. A.D. 1439:—"Datum Florentiæ in publica sessione synodali solenniter in ecclesia majori celebrata, anno Domini 1439, decimo Kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri" (sc. Eugenii IV.) "anno nono:" ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. pp. 529. sq.; and the date, p. 540. D. The Greeks left Florence, with the patriarchs of the Armenians, "anno Domini 1439, circa diem mensis Julii 22 vel 23:" Labb., ibid., p. 1278. B. in fin. compendii Sess. Synod. Florent. a Surio.—The Instructio speaks thus of the Presence in the eucharist—"Ipsorum verborum virtute substantia panis in Corpus Christi et substantia vini in Sanguinem convertuntur" (Labb., ibid. p. 537. D).

[r] See the last note; and Cosin's Schol. Hist. of Canon of Scripture, § clviii., and Hist. of Transubst., c. vii. § 30.

[s] "Pro opinione secunda" (scil. "non manere panem nec converti sed desinere per annihilationem") "potest argui, ... quia ista *transubstantiatio* non videtur magis probari ex Scriptura quam panem non manere, imo minus. ... Principaliter autem videtur movere, quod de sacramentis tenendum est sicut tenet sancta Romana Ecclesia. ... Et si quæras quare voluit Ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possent salvari secundum intellectum facilem, et veriorem secundum apparentiam de hoc articulo: dico, quod eo Spiritu expositæ sunt Scripturæ quo conditæ: et ita supponendum est, quod Ecclesia Catholica eo Spiritu exposuit quo tradita est nobis fides." Scotus, In IV. Sentent., dist. xi. qu. 3. § 7, 13, 15: Op., tom. viii. pp. 607, 616, 619. Lugd. 1639.—See Albertinus and from him Cosin, as quoted above, c. ii. § 31. note t, for these and the following citations, with some other admissions besides them to the same effect, e. g. from Cardinals Contarenus and Perron. And others may be found in Forbes, Consid. Mod. et Pac., De Euch., lib. i. c. 3. § 16—29. pp. 404—411. Lond. 1658.

[t] "Item illud solum efficitur in hoc sacramento quod exprimitur per formam verborum; sed per hæc verba, Hoc est Corpus Meum, solum exprimitur existentia vel præsentia Corporis Christi in hoc sacramento, et in nullo penitus fit mentio de desitione substantiæ panis vel de conversione ejus in Corpus Christi; ergo istud non est ponendum:" to which the sole answer given, is, "quod illud solum efficitur in hoc sacramento *principaliter* quod significatur per formam verborum; sed secundario efficitur quicquid ad illud antecedit, vel illud concomitatur; ad existentiam Corporis Christi in hoc sacramento antecedit transubstantiatio, concomitantur autem Divinitas unita corpori," &c. Durandus de S. Portiano, In IV. Sentent., dist. xi. qu. 1. Argum. 2. et Resp. ad arg. 2: fol. 360. F, 361. F. Paris. 1508.

[u] "Hoc" (scil. transubstantiation) "non potest probari naturali ratione nec authoritate Bibliæ sed tantum per dicta sanctorum et determinationem Ecclesiæ." Occam, Quodlibet., lib. iv. qu. 29. 4to. Paris. 1487; and similarly, but at greater length, De Corp. Christi, cc. ii. et iii. 8vo. Paris. 1513.—"Est communis opinio theologorum quam teneo propter determinationem Ecclesiæ, et non propter aliam rationem." Id., Quodlibet., ibid. qu. 30.—"Hæc opinio" (scil. "substantiam panis et vini manere") "esset multum rationabilis nisi esset determinatio Ecclesiæ in contrarium, .. nec contrarium illius habetur ex canone Bibliæ, nec includit aliquam contradictionem." Id., ibid.

[x] "Licet ita esse" (scil. "substan-

lis[y], and Gabriel[z] (besides those, who, living since Luther, have acknowledged the same; Cajetan[a], Fisher[b], Canus[c], Suarez[d], Vasquez[e], and Bellarmine[f]),—that it is not to be proved

other Romanists, that transubstantiation is not in Scripture.]

tiam panis non remanere sed simpliciter desinere esse") "non sequatur evidenter ex Scriptura, nec etiam (videre meo) ex determinatione ecclesiæ, quia tamen magis favet ei et communi opinioni sanctorum et doctorum, ideo teneo eam." Petrus de Alliaco, Card. Camerac., In IV. Sentent., qu. 6. art. 2; fol. 265. H. 8vo. Paris.—"Patet quod ille modus" (scil. pane remanente) "est possibilis, nec repugnat rationi, nec authoritati Bibliæ, imo est facilior ad intelligendum et rationabilior quam aliquis aliorum." Id., ibid., F.

[y] "Adducitur ab aliis illa authoritas Christi, Hoc est Corpus Meum: sed non cogit, quia dato quod maneret substantia panis, ita bene verificaretur ista, quia hoc non demonstrat substantiam panis." Bassolis, In IV. Sentent., dist. xi. qu. 3. § quantum ad 2. artic.; fol. 56. a. 1. folio Paris 1517.

[z] "Circa quod notandum, quod quamvis expresse tradatur in Scriptura quod Corpus Christi veraciter sub speciebus panis continetur et a fidelibus sumitur, tamen quomodo ibi sit Christi Corpus, an per conversionem alicujus in Ipsum, an sine conversione incipiat esse Corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in Canone Bibliæ." Gabr. Biel, In Canon. Miss., lect. xl. p. 85. a. Lugd. 1542. This book was not written by Biel himself, but by one Eggeling: see Cave in art. Gabriel Biel. It was however adopted and sanctioned by him.

[a] See the passages cited above, in c. ii. § 31. note t.

[b] "Nisi ritus ecclesiæ tot seculorum usu pariter et Patrum assertionibus esset comprobatus, nec Lutherus neque alius quisquam ex Evangelii nudis verbis adversus protervientem evinceret Corporis Christi præsentiam in sacramento fieri per cujusvis sacerdotis consecrationem." Fisher, Bp. of Rochester, Cont. Captiv. Babyl., c. ix. num. 1; Op., p. 220. Wirceb. 1597.—"Illud aggrediamur et doceamus, quod citra Patrum interpretationem et usum nobis ab eisdem traditum, nemo probabit ex ipsis nudis Evangelii verbis sacerdotum quempiam his temporibus veram Christi carnem et sanguinem consecrare. Non quod res hæc jam ambigua sit, sed quod ejus certitudo non tam habeatur ex verbis Evangelii quam ex Patrum (ut diximus) interpretatione, simul et usu tanti temporis quem illi posteris relinquerunt." Id., ibid., c. x. num. 2. p. 227.—"Neque ullum hic verbum" (scil. in S. Matthew) "positum est quo probetur in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi presentiam." Id., ibid. And so also of S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. Paul (ibid.).

[c] Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canaries, wishing to prove, "non omnia quæ ad Christianam doctrinam pertinent, esse etiamnum in Sacris Literis expressa," reckons among the rest, "conversionem panis et vini in Corpus et Sanguinem Christi." Loc. Comm., lib. iii. c. 3. fundam. 2: Op., p. 151. Col. Agripp. 1605.

[d] "Dico ergo primo sacramentum Eucharistiæ confici per veram conversionem," &c. "Hæc assertio est de fide. Nam licet sub his verbis non habeatur in Scriptura, ea tamen docet ecclesia ab Apostolis edocta." Suarez, In III. Part. D. Thomæ, Disp. i. sect. 1; tom. iii. p. 729. 1. D.

[e] Vasquez, In Tert. Part. D. Thom., Disp. clxxx. c. 5. § 44—56; tom. iii. pp. 132—135, is occupied in *refuting* the "Catholici, qui ex verbis consecrationis desitionem et conversionem panis et vini colligi negant." But his own conclusion is simply this—that the words of our Lord taken by themselves might have two senses, a literal and a figurative sense: but inasmuch as only one of these is *the* sense *really intended by them*, and inasmuch as the Church has solemnly pronounced the figurative to be that one sense, *therefore* they do prove transubstantiation.

[f] "Scotus . . . dicit, non exstare locum ullum Scripturæ tam expressum ut sine ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat transubstantiationem admittere. Atqui id non est omnino improbabile. Nam etsi Scriptura . . videatur nobis tam clara ut possit cogere hominem non protervum, tamen, an ita sit, merito dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi," &c., "contrarium sentiant." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii. c. 23; Controv., tom. ii. p. 760. C, D.

BOOK III.

by express text of Scripture, nor by reason grounded upon the same,—that which hath been alleged; if this be not enough, to evidence [an [g]] interruption of [that [h]] tradition[i], which is pretended for transubstantiation, nothing is. For that which Church writers declare that they did not believe when they writ, that they cannot declare, that they received of their predecessors for matter of faith. And that which at any time was not matter of faith,—how far soever the decree of the Church may oblige particular sons of the Church not to contradict it, for the peace of the Church,—yet at no time can ever become of force, to oblige a man to believe or to profess it for matter of faith.

CHAPTER V.

IT CANNOT BE PROVED BY THE OLD TESTAMENT THAT THE EUCHARIST IS A SACRIFICE. HOW BY THE NEW TESTAMENT IT MAY BE SO ACCOUNTED. FOUR REASONS THEREOF, DEPENDING UPON THE NATURE OF JUSTIFYING FAITH PREMISED. THE CONSENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE CONCURRENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO THE PREMISSES.

[In what sense the eucharist is a sacrifice.]

I COME now to the question of the sacrifice; the resolution whereof must needs proceed according to that which hath been determined in the point now despatched. For having shewed the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist, because it is appointed, that in it the faithful may feast upon the sacrifice of the cross; we have already shewed by the Scriptures, that it is the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross in the same sense, and to the same effect, as it containeth the Body and Blood of Christ, which it representeth; that is, mystically and spiritually and sacramentally (that is, as in and by a sacrament) tendereth and exhibiteth. For seeing the eucharist not only tendereth the Flesh and Blood of Christ, but separated one from the other, under and by several elements, as His Blood was parted from His Body by

[g] Corrected from MS.; "all" in orig. text.

[h] Added from MS.

[i] "De transubstantiatione panis in Corpus Christi rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio." Alphon. a Castro, Adv. Hær., lib. viii. fol. 247. B. cap. de Indulgentiis, fol. Antv. 1565: quoted by Cosin, Hist. of Transubst., c. vi. § 17.

the violence of the cross; it must of necessity be as well the sacrifice, as the sacrament, of Christ upon the cross.

It cannot be proved by the Old Testament, that the eucharist is a sacrifice.

§ 2. And, without all doubt, it is against all the reason of the world to think, that any more can be proved by any scriptures of the Old Testament, that are or can be produced to depose for the sacrifice of the eucharist, than the sense of those scriptures of the New Testament already handled (which are in a manner all that have any mention of it) will infer and allow.

[The priesthood of Melchisedec.]

§ 3. There is much noise made with the priesthood of Melchisedec[k]: of whom we read (Gen. xiv. [18,] 19); "And Melchisedec king of Salem brought forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the most high God; and he blessed him, saying, Blessed be Abraham of the most high God, Which owneth heaven and earth:" in reference whereunto the psalmist, speaking of Christ (Psal. cx. 4), "The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec;" and the apostle, taking for granted that he is a figure of Christ in the mystical sense (Hebr. vii. 17), argueth the voiding of the Levitical law from the purpose of setting up another priesthood declared by the psalm; but nowhere, in all that chapter, which is all spent about the exposition of it, so much as intimateth the priesthood of Christ to consist in any thing but in offering up to God in heaven His own Body and Blood sacrificed upon the cross, to make expiation for the sins of His people, and to obtain of God that grace and assistance, that comfort and deliverance, which their necessities from time to time may require. Be it granted nevertheless, that, seeing of necessity Melchisedec is the figure of Christ, those things which Melchisedec is related to have done are also necessarily figures of things done by our Lord Christ[l]. For, otherwise, were not the mystical sense of the Old Testament a laughing stock to unbelievers, if it should hold in nothing but that which the Spirit of God hath expounded in the New Testament by our Lord and His apostles? I have therefore, to the best advantage, translated the

[k] Bellarm., De Sacr. Euchar., lib. i. c. 6; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 955. D—973. B: in which chapter "In missa verum sacrificium offerri probatur ex primo testimonio Scripturæ et ex sacerdotio Melchisedech."

[l] So Bellarmine, ibid., p. 956. A—D.

BOOK III.

words of Moses;—"For" (not, "and[m]) he was the priest of the 39
living God:"—that whoso will may argue thereupon, that his bringing forth bread and wine was an act of his priesthood; which if I would deny, no man can constrain me by virtue of those[n] words to acknowledge[o]. But I cannot therefore allow that translation, which says, "*Obtulit panem et vinum*[p];"—that, as priest, he "*offered* bread and wine" in sacrifice to God:—the Hebrew word הוציא so evidently signifying "*protulit*," not "*obtulit*;" he "brought forth," not that he "offered:" that he "brought forth bread and wine," to refresh Abraham and his people, "returning" weary "from the slaughter of the kings" (not that he "offered" them in sacrifice to God as His priest, the mention of his priesthood rather advancing the reason why he blessed them, than why he fed them): as both Moses in the words next afore, and the apostle also (Hebr. vii. 1), intimateth or declareth the intent why he "brought them forth." Though, if I should grant that custom, which was common to all idolaters, to have been in force under the law of nature (because we see it

[m] "Erat *enim* sacerdos Dei altissimi." Gen. xiv. 18. Vulg.—"וְהוּא כֹהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן." Gen. xiv. 18. Hebr. —"*And* he was the priest," &c. Eng. vers.—See below, note o.

[n] Corrected from MS.; "these" in orig. text.

[o] "Sed occurrit Kemnitius, et rursus editionem Latinam accusat, quod posuerit particulam caussalem pro conjunctiva; non enim in Hebræo est כִּי caussalis, sed וְ conjunctiva. Quare sic ipse vertit, Calvinum sequens, 'Erat autem,'" &c. "Et sic distinguit actiones ipsius Melchisedech regis et sacerdotis, ut adductio panis et vini ad munificentiam regis pertineat, benedictio autem ad sacerdotem. At frustra," &c.; because "illa particula conjunctiva apud Hebræos frequentissime locum obtinet caussalis, et verti debet per 'enim,' si sententia eleganter Latina phrasi exprimenda sit." Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. i. c. 6; Controv., tom. ii. p. 959. A, B.

[p] "Hic primum queritur Kemnitius, in Vulgata editione legi, 'Melchisedech *obtulit* panem et vinum;' et addit editionem Hebræam, Chaldæam, et Græcam, non habere verbum sacrificatorium, 'obtulit,' sed verbum quod simpliciter significat educere vel depromere, nimirum, 'protulit;' quomodo etiam legisse Cyprianum. Et nos verius querimur de Kemnitio, quod tam aperte de nostra editione mentiatur. Nec enim in ulla editione Latina legi unquam, 'obtulit,' sed constanter video omnes habere 'proferens.'" Bellarm., ibid., p. 958. A, B.—"הוֹצִיא." Gen. xiv. 18. Hebr.—"אָפַיִק." Chald. Paraphr. —"Ἐξήνεγκεν." LXX.—"Proferens." Vulg. No translator appears to have employed the word "obtulit." But several of the fathers use it in expounding or referring to the passage. E. g. S. Cypr., Ep. lxiii. Ad Cæcil., p. 149: S. Augustin, De Div. Quæst., Qu. lxi. § 2; Op., tom. vi. p. 34. C: Epist. Paulæ et Eustoch. ad Marcellam, in Op. S. Hieron., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 547. And Tertullian, Adv. Jud., c. iii. Op., p. 185. C, has "Ipsi . . Abrahæ obtulit." The word occurs also in the Canon of the Mass; see below, § 12, note n.—See Forbes, Consid. Pac. et Mod., De Euch., lib. iii. c. 1. § 4. pp. 446, 447. Lond. 1658: and Picherell., De Missa, c. ii. pp. 116. sq. inter Opusc. Theol. Lug. Bat. 1629, quoted by Forbes.

CHAP. V.

retained and enacted by the law of Moses), not to taste of any thing till some part of it had been dedicated to God in the nature of first-fruits to the sanctifying of the whole, till when it was not to be touched[q]; I say, though I should grant this, for a reason why he may be thought to have "offered bread and wine" to God, not why הוציא should be translated "*protulit*"—"he brought forth," no man would have cause to thank me for any advantage from thence. For still the correspondence between Melchisedec and our Lord Christ would lie in this:—that our Lord, by appointing this sacrament, brings forth bread and wine to strengthen the people of Abraham in their warfare against the powers of darkness; as, "in the days of His Flesh," He fed those that attended upon His doctrine, "lest they should faint" in their travail. Now this will first infer, that it is bread and wine which our Lord feeds us with in the eucharist; and again, that it hath the virtue of sustaining us by being made the Body and Blood of Christ, as in a sacrament, by virtue of the consecration passed upon it: which is all that which I say to a hair;—that, by being made a sacrament, it becomes the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, to be feasted upon by Christians.

[Heb. v. 7.] [Matt. xv. 32; Mark viii. 3.]

§ 4. In like manner be it granted, that the words of the prophet Malachi[r] (i. 11),—"From the rising of the sun to his going down My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to My name, and a pure meat-offering; for My name shall be great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts;"—is a prophecy of the institution of this sacrament, because it is contained in those kinds of bread and wine which served for meat and drink

[Of the "pure offering" in Malachi.]

[q] "Neque tamen improbabilis sententia factum hoc sacrificio præcedente. Ἐπινίκια ἔθυε, ait Philo. Nam et e simila oblatio Hebræis מנחה, Græcis θυσία, dicitur Lev. 2. . . Et vinum ante mensam Deo libare mos omnium gentium." Grot., in Gen. xiv. 18.—"Proferens panem et vinum—non ad cibum militum vel ad epulum victoriale, ut vult Calvinus et Kemnitius: jam enim ex præda saturi erant milites, ut patet v. 24; sed ad sacrificium pacificum, in gratiarum actionem pro victoria Abrahæ a Deo concessa offerendum. . . Nota, Melchisedec prius panem et vinum Deo obtulit in sacrificium, scilicet partem panis cremando, partem vini libando, id est, effundendo Deo in gratiarum actionem pro victoria Abrahæ; deinde reliquam panis et vini partem in milites Abrahæ libandam, id est, participandam et comedendam distribuit: hoc enim moris erat in sacrificio pacifico." Corn. a Lapide, in Gen. xiv. 18.—See especially Cudworth, De Vera Ratione Cœna Domini, c. i. § 10. in Mosheim's transl., vol. ii. p. 841.

[r] Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch., lib. i. c. 10; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 986. A—995. D.—It is the text also to Mede's Discourse on the Christian Sacrifice, Works, pp. 451, sq.

BOOK III.

offerings in the law of Moses. But, this being granted, what shall we do with the incense and the meat-offering which the prophet speaks of; unless we say, that they signify that which corresponds to the meat and drink offerings of the Law, and their incense, under the Gospel? And will not that prove to be the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which God under the Gospel is served with by all nations? Though those prayers and praises of God being by the institution of the eucharist limited and determined to be such as the celebration thereof requires, it is no inconvenience, nay, it will be necessary to grant, that the sacrifice thereof is foretold by these words; not signifying nevertheless the nature of it to require any thing more than is expressed by the premisses. Be the same therefore said, if you please, of all the sacrifices of the old law, of all the prophecies, in which the service to be rendered to God in the New Testament is described by the offering of sacrifices.

[Of worshipping God "in spirit and in truth."]

§ 5. As for the words of our Lord to the woman of Samaria[a] (John iv. 23[, 24]);—"The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him: God is a Spirit, and those that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and truth:"—though I grant, as afore, that this is fulfilled by the celebration of the eucharist, when once we suppose our Lord to have limited the worship of God under the Gospel to the form of it, yet there can be no consideration of a sacrifice signified by these words, which neither suppose nor express the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the eucharist no way bearing the nature of a sacrifice but as it is the same with it.

How by the New Testament [the eucharist] may be accounted [a sacrifice].

§ 6. But for the same reason, and by the same correspondence between the sacrifices of the Law and that of Christ's cross, it may be evident, that it is not nor can be any disparagement to the sacrifice of our Lord Christ upon the cross, to the full and perfect satisfaction and propitiation for the sins of the world which it hath made, that the eucharist should be counted the sacrifice of Christ crucified, mystically, and as in a sacrament, represented to, and feasted upon by, His people. The apostle saith, that "Christ is gone into no

[a] Bellarm., ibid., c. 11; pp. 995. D—998. A.

holy place made with hands, figurative of the true, but into heaven itself, to be presented [now] before God for us: nor to offer Himself many times, as the high-priest goes once a year into the holy places with that blood which is not his own; for then must He many times have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now once in the end of times is He manifested, by the sacrifice of Himself, to the voiding of sin: and as it is appointed for men once to die, and after that judgment; so Christ, once offered to take away the sins of many, shall appear the second time without sin, to those that look for Him to salvation:" Hebr. ix. 24—28. But have I said any thing to cause any man to imagine, that I suppose Christ to be crucified again as often as the eucharist is celebrated? Do I say those that celebrate it are those Jews that crucified Him once? Or do I or can I imagine them to be Jews at all, that would have the sacrifice of our Lord Christ upon the cross repeated again and again, as legal sacrifices are? Certainly, I will speak freely, neither can they that hold transubstantiation be truly said to stand obliged to any such consequence, so long as they acknowledge with all Christians that the covenant of grace is for once settled by the one sacrifice of our Lord upon the cross[t]. Why? Because, though they believe the natural Flesh and Blood of Christ as crucified to be there, yet not naturally but sacramentally (that is, in their sense, under the accidents of bread and wine, which is indeed and in the sense of the Church

[t] Compare even Bellarmine's words, De Missa, lib. ii. c. 4; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1061. D, 1062. A.—"Hinc tria sequuntur. . . Primum est, discrimen esse inter sacrificium missæ et sacrificium Crucis, quatenus a Christo utrumque oblatum est. Nam sacrificium Crucis fuit meritorium, satisfactorium, et impetratorium, *vere et proprie*, quia Christus tunc mortalis erat, et mereri ac satisfacere poterat: sacrificium missæ . . proprie solum est impetratorium, quia Christus nunc immortalis nec mereri nec satisfacere potest. Cum autem dicitur propitiatorium vel satisfactorium, id est intelligendum ratione rei quæ impetratur. Dicitur enim propitiatorium, quia impetrat remissionem culpæ; satisfactorium, quia impetrat remissionem pœnæ; meritorium, quia impetrat gratiam benefaciendi ac merita acquirendi. Quanquam non negaverim, dici etiam satisfactorium, quod ex Christi institutione per sacrificium hoc applicetur Ejusdem Christi passio ad pœnas tollendus seu viventium seu mortuorum," &c.—And Estius more plainly: "Quod autem negat apostolus Christum sæpius offerre Seipsum, de ea dicit oblatione quæ per se valeat ad propitiandum Deum; *qualis sola est illa qua Seipsum obtulit in cruce:* ab hac enim sicuti sacramenta, sic et missæ sacrificium vim suam omnem recipit." In Epist. ad Hebr., c. ix. v. 25; p. 1011. a. Paris. 1640.—And see Forbes, Consid. Pac. et Mod., De Euchar., lib. iii. c. 2. § 2—5. pp. 460, 461: quoting Estius as above, and others of the "*saniores* Romanenses."

BOOK III.

under the species or kinds): which difference is so great an abatement of that common and usual sense, in which all Christians understand that Christ was sacrificed upon the cross, that all that know it to be their profession (which all must know, that will not speak of they know not what), must acknowledge, that the repeating of the sacrifice of Christ crucified by the eucharist is not the repeating of that sacrifice by which mankind was redeemed, otherwise than as a sacrament is said to be that whereof it is a sacrament. What ground and advantage this gives me, and any man of my opinion, to argue from those things which themselves acknowledge, that there is no cause why they should insist upon the abolishing of the substance of the elements in the eucharist; I leave to them, that shall think fit to consider the premisses, to judge. But for me, who demand no more than this,—that, in as much as the Body and Blood of Christ is in the eucharist, in so much it is the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross,—I cannot foresee what occasion slander can have to pick any such consequence out of my sayings. Certainly the sacrifices of the old law ceased not to be sacrifices, because they were figures and prophecies of that one sacrifice upon the cross which mankind was redeemed with. And why should the commemoration and representation (in that sense of this word "representation" which I determined afore[u]) of that one sacrifice of Christ upon the cross which mankind was redeemed with, be less properly a sacrifice, in dependance upon and denomination from that one, which the name of "sacrifice upon the cross" was first used to signify? For all conceit of legal sacrifice is quite shut out, by supposing that sacrifice past, which the sacrifice of the eucharist represents and commemorates; whereas all sacrifices of the old law are essentially (at least to Christians) figurative of the sacrifice of Christ to come.

[It is of the nature and kind of peace-offerings.]

§ 7. Indeed, by that which I have said concerning the nature of a sacrifice in the eucharist, as it is intended for Christians to feast upon, it is evident, that this commemorative and representative sacrifice is of the nature and kind of peace-offerings; which, by the Law, those that offered were to feast upon. "I will take the cup of salvation, and call

[u] Above, c. ii. § 20.

upon the name of the Lord; I will pay my vows now in the presence of all His people; right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints:" saith the Psalm, cxvi. 12, 13. And that, in answer to the question made, "What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the [Prayer Bk. vers.] 41 benefits that He hath done unto me?" At feasting upon the parts or remains of peace-offerings, the master of the sacrifice began the cup of thanksgiving for deliverance received, in consideration whereof he pays his vows; and the sacrifices which he pays are called "σωτήρια," or "sacrifice of thanksgiving for deliverance received[x]." Is not this the same that Christians do in celebrating the eucharist, setting aside the difference between Jews and Christians? Wherefore I have shewed[y], that it is celebrated, and is to be celebrated, with commemoration of and thanksgiving for the benefits of God, especially that of Christ crucified. Which thanksgiving as it tends to the consecrating thereof, so (inasmuch as the consecration tends to the receiving of it) another thanksgiving, at the receiving of it, becomes also due; as at feasting upon peace-offerings. And hereupon I have shewed[z], that it is called by the apostle "the sacrifice of praise, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to" God: and that, having shewed that Jews have no right to it as a propitiatory sacrifice (that is, not to it, because not to the propitiatory sacrifice which it representeth); but therefore that Christians have right to feast upon it, as the Jews upon their peace-offerings. But if it be true, as I have shewed[a], that the celebration of the eucharist is the renewing of the covenant of grace, which supposeth propitiation made for the sins of mankind by that one sacrifice which it commemorateth and representeth; the

[Hebr. xiii. 15; and see Hebr. xiii. 10.]

[x] See Grot., ad Levit. iii. 1: Spencer, De Legg. Hebr., lib. iii. c. iii. § 2; tom. ii. pp. 765, 766: Cudworth, De Vera Ratione Cœnæ Domini, c. i.: ad calc. Intell. Syst. a Moshem. Latine redd., tom. ii. pp. 830, sq. with Mosheim's notes to his translation. Cudworth's doctrine is, in short, that "Sacra . . cœna *epulum* est *sacrificiale*, seu *epulum ex oblatis*;" but that, whereas the Jewish sacrifices were typical of the future sacrifice of the cross (which, once made, "repeti et instaurari nequit"), and therefore with their attendant feasts were perpetually repeated, with Christians on the contrary "typicis sacrificiis nullus amplius locus est, verum *epulæ* tantum *sacrificiales* semper *symbolice* celebrantur, et in memoriam magni illius et unius sacrificii repetuntur." Cudworth, ibid., § 11. p. 842. See a defence of his doctrine in Waterland's Review of the Doctr. of the Euchar., c. xi.; Works, vol. vii. pp. 325—336.

[y] Above, c. iv. § 10: and Right of Ch. in Chr. State, c. iii. § 27, 28.

[z] Right of Ch., &c. c. iii. § 28: and above, c. ii. § 18.

[a] Above, c. ii. § 13, 14.

BOOK III.

celebration thereof being commanded, as a condition to be performed on our part to qualify us for the promise, which it tendereth to those that are qualified as it requireth: shall it be a breach upon Christianity to say also, that it is such a sacrifice whereby we make God propitious to us, and obtain at His hands the blessings of grace, which the covenant of grace tendereth?

Four reasons [why the eucharist is a sacrifice], depending on the nature of justifying faith premised.

§ 8. This indeed requireth yet further consideration, for what reasons the sacrament of the eucharist may be accounted and called a sacrifice; that we may be able to judge, in what sense and for what reason it may be accounted propitiatory and impetratory without prejudice to Christianity.

[1. In the oblation of the elements before their consecration.]

§ 9. First, then, let it be remembered, that by the institution and ordinance of God, those that dedicate themselves to the service of God in the faith of Christ by baptism, are to dedicate their goods to the maintenance of the communion of the Church in the said service; the chief office whereof is the celebration of the eucharist, proper to Christianity, as I shewed a little afore[b]. Then be it observed, that there were two sorts of oblations commanded by the Law, and practised by God's ancient people. For first-fruits, tithes, and accursed things (that is, things dedicated to God under a curse upon them that should convert them to any other use, Levit. xxvii.), were not dedicated to be spent upon the altar in sacrifices; but to the maintenance of the temple, or of them that attended upon the service of it. But, seeing we have now shewed that the eucharist is a sacrifice, it followeth, that those oblations, which are dedicated to God to be spent in the celebration of the eucharist (in reference whereunto I have already shewed[c], that all oblations of Christians are consecrated to God, because dedicated to maintain the communion of His Church, whereof the eucharist is that office which is peculiar to Christianity), are not barely consecrated to God, but to the service of God by sacrifice. For those things, which under the Law were consecrated to God to be sacrificed upon the altar, were not then first offered to God when they were killed and the parts of them burnt upon the altar, but from the time that they were declared God's goods for that purpose: as by the Law itself may appear, in

[b] Above, c. i. § 2.

[c] Above, c. ii. § 18.

the precept of the second tithe, which, for two years belonging to the poor, the third year was to be spent in sacrificing at Jerusalem, and so by the law, and by no man's act, consecrate to the altar; Deut. xiv. 22—29. In as much then as I have shewed that the eucharist is a sacrifice, in so much, and for that very reason, that which Christians offer to God for the celebration of the eucharist is no otherwise a sacrifice, than those things which were appropriated to the altar under the Law were sacrifices, from the time that they were dedicated to that purpose; saving always the difference between sacrifices figurative of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross (such as Christianity supposeth all the sacrifices of the
42 old law to be), and the commemoration and representation of the same past, which I have shewed that the eucharist pretendeth. And truly, having shewed that this representative and commemorative sacrifice is of the nature and kind of peace-offerings, inasmuch as it is celebrated on purpose to communicate with the altar in feasting upon it; and knowing, that every beast that was sacrificed for a peace-offering was attended with a meat-offering of flour and a drink-offering of wine, which are the kinds in which the eucharist is appointed to be celebrated: I must needs say, that those species, set apart for the celebration of the eucharist, are as properly to be called sacrifices of that nature which the eucharist is of (to wit, commemorative and representative), as the same are to be counted figurative under the Law, from the time that they were deputed to that use. This is then the first act of oblation by the Church, that is, by any Christian that consecrates his goods, not at large to the service of God, but peculiarly to the service of God by sacrifice; in regard whereof the elements of the eucharist, before they be consecrated, are truly counted oblations or sacrifices.

[Levit. vii. 11—13.]

§ 10. After the consecration is past, having shewed you[d], that St. Paul hath appointed, that at the celebration of the eucharist, "prayers, supplications, and intercessions, be made for all" estates of the world, and of the Church; and that the Jews have no right to the eucharist (according to the Epistle to the Hebrews), because, though eucharistical, yet it is of that kind, the blood whereof is offered to God within

[2. In the offering of prayer for all estates of men.] [1 Tim. ii. 1.]

[Heb. xiii. 10.]

[d] Above, c. iv. § 9: and Right of Ch. in Chr. State, cc. iii. 27, iv. 45.

BOOK III.

[Heb. ix. 24—28.]

the veil, with prayers for all estates of the world, as Philo[e] and Josephus[f] inform us: seeing the same apostle hath so plainly expounded us the accomplishment of that figure in the offering of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross to the Father in the highest heavens to obtain the benefits of His passion for us; and that the eucharist is nothing else but the representation here upon earth of that which is done there: these things I say considered, necessarily it follows, that whoso believes the prayers of the Church, made in our Lord's name, do render God propitious to them for whom they are made, and obtain for them the benefits of Christ's death (which he that believes not is no Christian), cannot question, that those which are made by St. Paul's appointment at the celebration of the eucharist, offering up unto God the merits and sufferings of Christ there represented, must be peculiarly and especially effectual to the same purposes. And that the eucharist may very properly be accounted a sacrifice propitiatory and impetratory both, in this regard,—because the offering of it up unto God, with and by the said prayers, doth render God propitious, and obtain at His hands the benefits of Christ's death which it representeth,—there can be no cause to refuse, being no more than the simplicity of plain Christianity enforceth[g].

[3. In regard of the consecration; although this is still a question even in the Church of Rome.]

§ 11. But whether the eucharist, as in regard of this oblation, so in regard of the consecration, may be called a propitiatory sacrifice; this, I perceive, is yet a question even among those of the Church of Rome[h]. For it is acknowledged, that there is yet among them a party, even since the decree of the council of Trent; who, acknowledging the nature of a sacrifice propitiatory in the eucharist in regard of

[e] "Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν, αἱ μέν εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους." Philo Jud., De Animal. Sacrif. Idoneis; Op., tom. ii. p. 238. ed. Mangey.

[f] "Καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι δεῖ πρῶτον σωτηρίας, εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν." Joseph., Cont. Apion., lib. ii. c. 23; Op., tom. ii. p. 1380. ed. Hudson.

[g] See Waterland, Distinctions of Sacrifice, § xv.; Works, vol. viii. p. 346, and note s: quoting ample authorities (among others Thorndike himself) to prove, that, "in a lax and less proper acceptation, propitiatory sacrifices are allowed by Protestant divines." —And compare Bellarmine, De Missa, lib. ii. c. 5; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1064. B, C. "Sacrificium simile est orationi, quod attinet ad efficientiam: oratio enim non solum prodest oranti, sed etiam iis pro quibus oratur: unde manducatio eucharistiæ quæ fit a sacerdote, ut est sacramenti susceptio, soli sumenti prodest; ut autem est sacrificii consummatio, prodest illis omnibus, pro quibus oblatum est sacrificium."

[h] See below, § 12, note l.

the offering of it already consecrated (according to the order of the Latin mass) to God for the necessities of the Church, utterly deny any nature of such a sacrifice in it by virtue of the consecration otherwise [i]. True it is, these men are looked upon as bordering upon heretics [j]; in regard they acknowledge no other nature of a sacrifice, but that, which those who acknowledge no transubstantiation may grant without prejudice to their positions. And if my aim were only to hold a mean opinion between two extremes, and not freely to declare what may be affirmed with truth, it might seem very convenient to take up that position, for which I may allege a party at present extant in the communion of the Church of Rome. But, having resolved to set all regard of faction behind the consideration of truth manifested by the Scriptures, I stick not to yield, and to maintain, that the consecration of the eucharist in order to the participation of it is indeed a sacrifice; whereby God is rendered propitious to, and the benefits of Christ's death obtained for, them that worthily receive it: but this, perhaps, neither in the sense nor to the interest of
43 them, who make it their business to maintain the present abuses of the Church of Rome by disguising the true intentions and expressions of the Catholic Church.

§ 12. That I may be understood without prejudice in this point, I will lay down the difference of opinion that remains in the Church of Rome since the council of Trent; as I find it reported by Jacobus Bayus, *De Eucharistia* iii. 15—18 [k]. [The difference of opinion on this point in the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent.]

[i] "Sed quia non desunt qui opinentur in confectione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini oblationis rationem non reperiri, sed tantum rem offerendam consecratione produci, quæ, oblatione a consecratione non solum re et actione, sed etiam loco, tempore, ac positione disjuncta, Deo verbis præsentari elevatione adductiva debeat; eorum argumenta . . discutiemus." Jacob. Bayus, De Euch., lib. iii. c. xvii. pp. 280, 281. Lovan. 1605.—"Dolendum est, nonnullos in ecclesia eminentes viros ex professo novam et exoticam loquendi formam inducere: contendendo per consecrationem fieri sacrificium, id est, hostiam, exclusa oblatione (ut consecratio sit velut incarnatio), quodque hostia consecratione confecta, parata et habita consequenter postea religiosa actione distincta loco, positione, et tempore, per eucharistiæ confectæ elevationem et verbalem oblationem, Deo in munus præsentatur. Quam præsentationem dicto ritu elevationis et verbalis oblationis factam, essentialem sacrificii Novi Testamenti oblationem esse sustinent." Id., ibid., pp. 299, 300.

[j] "Lutheranorum errorem promovent." Bayus, ibid., p. 286. in marg. —"Sententia opposita" (i. e. the opinion here considered) "catholicam doctrinam infirmat, et hæreticorum corroborat." Id., ibid., p. 299. in marg.

[k] James De Bay, President of the College of Savoy at Louvain.—In c. xv. pp. 258, sq. he discusses the question, "in qua missæ parte sacrificium eucharistiæ consistat;" concluding, that "sacrificium Novi Testamenti consecratione eucharistiæ peragitur." c. xvi. pp. 269, sq., establishes the position,

BOOK III.

He complains of an opinion, that the nature of a sacrifice is not seen in consecrating the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ, but that they are thereby made fit to be offered, and therefore there must be some other act, whereby they are offered in sacrifice; and this they find in the canon of the mass[l]. For, having rehearsed the institution (whereby the parties agree that consecration is done[m]), it follows[n]:—"*Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi Tui, sed et plebs Tua sancta, ejusdem Christi, Filii Tui Domini nostri, tam beatæ passionis, [necnon] et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati Tuæ de Tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ; supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri Tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod Tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Tuus Melchisedec, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*"—"Whereupon we also Thy servants, O Lord, and holy people (mindful as well of the blessed passion and resurrection from the dead, as the glorious ascension into heaven, of the same Thy Son Christ our Lord), offer to Thy excellent Majesty of Thy own free gifts a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, a spotless sacrifice, the holy bread of everlasting life and cup of eternal salvation; upon which vouchsafe to look with a gracious and clear countenance, and accept them, as Thou deignedst to accept the gifts of Thy just child Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that holy sacrifice, that spotless oblation, which Thy high-priest Melchisedec offered Thee." Then follows that which I quoted afore[o];—*Supplices Te rogamus Domine, jube hæc perferri,*" &c. And this they think to be the offering of the sacrifice, which the consecration exhibiteth only to be offered at the elevation by these

"quod Christus nunc immortalis vere ac proprie in sacrificium offeratur et incruente immoletur," &c. In c. xvii. he argues, "quod elevatio et verbalis oblatio ad sacrificii essentiam non pertineant;" and treats in its latter half of the arguments, "quibus nonnulli" (sc. the defenders of the doctrine noticed above in the text) "supradicta impugnent." In c. xviii. pp. 304, sq. he proceeds to refute objections "contra veritatem sacrificii."

[l] See above, § 11, note i.

[m] See below, note p.

[n] Missal. Rom., pp. 225, 226. Antv. 1619.

[o] Above, c. iv. § 11, note x.

words[p]. But the common opinion is offended at this, for placing the sacrifice in that act of the Church, which says, "We offer to Thee;" in which there is only a general reason of sacrificing, by offering, without changing that which is offered. And therefore, as offering is nothing but dedicating and presenting to the worship of God, so that, if the substance of the thing be changed in offering it, then is it sacrificing: supposing the substance of the elements to cease, and the Body and Blood of Christ to succeed; in this doing, this opinion places the nature of the sacrifice. For the change of the elements, saith mine author[q], "acknowledgeth God's power," and the dependence upon Him of His creature. And, the Body of Christ being under the dimensions of the bread, His Blood of the wine, Christ is present as sacrificed, His Flesh and Blood being divided. Wherefore that change, whereby the sacrifice is produced, sufficeth to the offering of it, which is produced as sacrificed; the power of God being sufficiently testified by the change, though in sacrificing living creatures it is testified by destroying them for God's service. And this, he thinks[r], our Lord "signifies, when He

[p] "Argumentum quintum" (scil. of Bayus' opponents) "est: Ecclesia non omnia quæ Christus fecerat et fieri mandaverat se per consecrationem fecisse arbitrata, factæ consecrationi subjungit, 'Unde et memores,' &c., 'offerimus præclaræ Majestati Tuæ,' &c. Ergo indicat ecclesia se in consecratione non obtulisse." Bayus, ibid., c. xvii. p. 289.—"Argumentum septimum. Omnium pæne sacerdotum judicio oblatio sacrificii missæ non solum re et actione, sed etiam loco et tempore et positione disjungitur; ac fieri putatur, dum post consecrationem dicitur, 'Offerimus præclaræ Majestati Tuæ.'" Id., ibid., p. 292.

[q] "Illa mutatio quæ circa hostiam fit, dum operatione supernaturali producitur, ad sacrificii rationem sufficere potest, cum talis productio satis Dei omnipotentiam ac super omnia dominatum testatur. Secus autem accidit in rebus quæ a causis naturalibus dependent, quarum productio non tam aperte Divinum principatum testatur, quam earum in Dei honorem destructio; in quibus proinde sacrificia instituta, non rei novæ productionem, sed potius existentis immutationem operantur." Bayus, ibid., c. xv. pp. 263, 264.—"Vox sacrificii proprie dicti, juxta Scripturas sacras, omniumque Latine loquentium usum, significat actionem qua res cum sui immutatione Deo offertur, ita ut in essentia sacrificii oblatio includatur, qua signo externo fiat oblationis internæ significatio. Dum enim homo sacrificalem actionem exercet, profitetur quod seipsum omniaque sua Deo, tanquam servus domino, subjiciat, a Quo solo pendeat omniaque corporis et animæ bona expectet. . . . Quia enim Deus novum dominium rerum quod prius non habuerit acquirere nequit, eo titulo res dari non possunt; sed hactenus solum Deo aliquid dare vel offerre dicimur, quia in Ejus honorem aliquid facimus, consecramus, immutamus, vel consumimus." Id., ibid. c. xvii. pp. 300—302.

[r] "Quod vero in eucharistico sacrificio non prius hostia consecratione producatur, et alia deinde actione loco et tempore distincta in sacrificium offeratur, ex Christi prima institutione manifestissimum est. Nam Dominus proferendo verba, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum, hic est Sanguis Meus,' Deo Patri sacrificium obtulit; ut signifi-

BOOK III.

[Luke xxii. 19, 20.]

saith, 'This is My Body Which is given for you—This is My Blood Which shall be poured out for you.' For to whom but to God? Seeing He saith not, 'That is given you;' but, 'for you.'" And immediately hereupon there is no doubt but it hath the nature of a sacrifice; the offering whereof must consist in that action which is done in the person of Christ, as the consecration they agree is done by using the words of Christ. And thus, though this sacrifice be typical and representative of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, which the parting of His Body and Blood signifieth, yet is it nevertheless a true sacrifice; as the sacrifices, which figured Christ to come, cease not therefore to be true sacrifices. And from this nature of a sacrifice he deriveth the reason, why the table is an altar, the Church a temple, the minister *sacerdos*, or one that offereth sacrifice[s]. I have made choice of this author, because I meet not this difference of opinion among them reported any where else. That which I shall say to him, will shew what we are to think of others. 44

[That the elements duly consecrated are truly but not properly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.]

§ 13. For having maintained, that the elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ mystically present as in a sacrament; and that in virtue of the consecration, not by the faith of him that receives: I am to admit and maintain whatsoever appears duly consequent to this truth:—namely, that the elements so consecrate are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, inasmuch as the Body and Blood of Christ crucified are contained in them, not as in a bare sign, which a man may take up at his pleasure, but as in the means by which God hath promised His Spirit; but not properly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, because that is a thing that consists in action and motion and succession, and therefore, once done, can never be done again, because it is a contradiction that that which is done should ever be undone. It is therefore enough, that the eucharist is the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, as the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross is represented, renewed, revived, and restored by

cant verba adjecta apud Lucam, 'Quod pro vobis datur, Qui pro vobis effundetur.' Cui enim Corpus Suum offerebat nisi Deo? Non enim ait, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum, Quod vobis datur,' sed 'pro vobis.'" Bayus, ibid., c. xv. p. 264.

[s] Id., ibid., pp. 265, 266.

it, and as every representation is said to be the same thing with that which it representeth; taking "representing" here, not for barely signifying, but for tendering and exhibiting thereby that which it signifieth[t].

[They are properly oblations, improperly sacrifices.]

§ 14. On the other side, I insist, that, if sacrificing signify killing and destroying in the sacrifices of the Old Testament and the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, it is not enough to make the eucharist properly a sacrifice, that the elements are deputed to the[u] worship of God by that change which transubstantiation importeth; and therefore much less, not supposing any change in their bodily substance. For this difference will abate the property of a sacrifice, the truth of it remaining. I grant, that God's power is seen in this change according to the terms already settled. For what power but God's can make good the promise of tendering the Body and Blood of Christ, as a visible mean to convey His Spirit? And he that goes about to make this change by consecrating the eucharist, must needs be understood to acknowledge this power of God's; but this is not that acknowledgment, which sacrificing importeth, but that, which every act of religion implieth. He that sacrificeth, acknowledging that which he sacrificeth, with all that he hath, to [come from or to belong to[x]] God, to testify this acknowledgment, abandoneth that which he sacrificeth to be destroyed in testimony of it. And therefore the power of God is not testified in this change, as the nature of a sacrifice requires that it be testified: for, certainly, he intends not to abandon his interest in Christ, that consecrates the elements into His Body and Blood. And, therefore, the consideration of dedicating the elements to the service of God in this sacrament, makes them properly oblations: but the consideration of their being changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, represented [as] sacrificed upon the cross, makes them properly no sacrifice. In the former consideration, being properly oblations, let them be improperly sacrifices.

[So in the canon of the mass.]

§ 15. For in this sense, in the canon of the mass[y]:—"*Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium Tuum,*

[t] Above, c. ii. § 20.

[u] Corrected from MS.; "be" in orig. text.

[x] Added from MS.

[y] Missal. Rom. p. 223. Antv. 1619.

BOOK III.

Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas ac benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata"—"We therefore humbly beseech and desire Thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unstained sacrifices." And not only here before the consecration, but just before the Lord's prayer and the communion[z]:—"*Per Christum Dominum nostrum; per Quem hæc omnia semper, Domine, bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis*"—"Through Christ our Lord; through Whom Thou, O Lord, always createst, sanctifiest, quickenest, and furnishest us with all these good things." The repetition of which consideration shews, that they are presented to God to be consecrated and made the eucharist, as oblations out of believers' goods: according to the form used in divers Greek liturgies, from the words of David, "*Τὰ Σὰ ἐκ τῶν Σῶν*"—we give Thee "Thine own of Thine own[a]." But when our Lord says, "This is My Body Which is given for you—This is My Blood Which is poured out for you;" will any man of sense understand, 'That is, *now*, by that which here I do, offered up to God for you,' and the Blood as poured forth? Or rather, This is that Body and Blood, That is given to be crucified and poured forth for you shortly upon the cross[b]?

[1 Chron. xxix. 14.]

[Luke xxii. 19, 20.]

[True altars, temples, sacrifices; but improperly.]

§ 16. Let it therefore have the nature of a sacrifice, so soon as the consecration is past. It shall have that nature improperly, so long as it is not the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross; though truly, so long as the sacrament is not empty of that which it signifieth. And, according to this truth, true altars they are, true temples, true sacrifices, though improperly, where and by whom it is ministered.

[Yet this sacrifice no action done in the person of Christ.]

§ 17. But I will not therefore grant, that this sacrificing (that is, this consecrating the elements into the sacrifice) is an action done in the person of Christ: though they are agreed, that it is done by the rehearsing of the words of

[z] Ibid., p. 227.

[a] Liturg. S. Chrys., in Goar, p. 77.—Liturg. S. Basilii, in Goar, p. 168.—Liturg. Cyrill. Copt., in Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 47.—Liturg. S. Marci, Renaudot, ibid., p. 156.

[b] See on this subject, Albertin., lib. i. cc. 12, 19; pp. 74, 76, 78, 119: and others quoted by Waterland, Appendix to Chr. Sacrif. Explained, c. iii., Works, vol. viii. p. 195, note h.

Christ. For the rehearsing of Christ's words is not an act done in the person of Christ; nor do I take upon me His person Whose words I recite. And I have shewed[c], that the consecration is done by the prayers of the Church immediately; though these prayers are made in virtue of Christ's order, commanding to do what He did, and thereby promising, that the elements shall become that, which He saith those which He consecrated are.

[Of the other opinion in the Church of Rome.]

§ 18. As for the other opinion (which I am not to be the more in love with, because I am not satisfied with this); it is to be considered, that the elements are offered thrice in the canon of the mass. The first is that offering which I rehearsed last, beginning, "*Te igitur*," *&c.*; going before the consecration, as all agree[d]. The second is that, which this opinion intendeth; agreeing with the other, that the consecration is past by rehearsing the words of institution. But mine opinion allows not this. For I conceive the consecration is yet in doing, till that prayer be past,—"*Ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur*"—"That as many of us, as shall have received the holy Body and Blood of Thy Son by this communion of the altar, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace[e]:"—which is the later of the two in which I conceive the consecration to consist; as, in all other liturgies, in something correspondent to it[f]. And, truly, the very words of the second offering do bear, that the elements are by it offered to God, not as consecrated, but as to be consecrated; supposing the 'blessing' of them to be the consecrating of them, as I proved afore[g]. Therefore the offering, and the presenting of them to God as consecrated, is that which is done by the prayer which follows;—"*Memento Domine famulorum famularumque Tuarum*[h]" *&c.*, and, "*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*

[c] Above, c. iv. § 7—11.

[d] Above, § 15.—"Prima" (actionis sacræ pars) "est oblatio panis et vini per elevationem cum oratione vocali, quæ nuda est cæremonia, ad excitandam devotionem ab ecclesia inductam, neque ad sacrificii naturam neque ad integritatem pertinens." Bayus, De Euch., lib. iii. c. xv. p. 258.—"In oblatione panis et vini sacrificium Missæ non consistere, extra controversiam est: non enim res terrenæ esse possunt unicum illud sacrificium, quod," &c. Bellarm., De Missa, lib. i. c. 27; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1043. D.

[e] See above, c. iv. § 11.

[f] See the Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 55, sq.: and above, c. iv. § 10.

[g] Above, c. iv. § 7, sq.

[h] Missal. Rom., p. 224. ed. 1619.

BOOK III.

famulis tuis[i]," &c.;—whereby the several estates of Christ's Church are recommended to God, in virtue and consideration of Christ's passion here represented and commemorated. Not that I intend here to justify that prayer for the dead, which this containeth: but because (referring that to consideration in due time[j]) all liturgies have a place, where (according to St. Paul) intercession is made for all states of Christ's Church, in consideration of the sacrifice of Christ's cross represented by this sacrament; and because this intercession is properly the offering up of the said sacrifice to God for their necessities[k]. And therefore this opinion saith well, that the consecration exhibiteth only the sacrifice, to be offered up to God by the prayers of the Church: but not by the prayer which desireth the 'blessing' of the elements, wherein the consecrating of them is contained (which is that of the elevation in the canon of the mass[l]), but by those prayers, whereby the effects of Christ's cross are prayed for in behalf of His Church. According to which opinion, the consecrating of the elements will be the sacrificing of Christ no further than as the Body and Blood of Christ are thereby represented as sacrificed. But there will be no further cause of complaint in this, than there is cause to complain, that there is not such ground for division as the parties would have.

[1 Tim. ii. 1.]

[The consecrated elements a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice—in what sense.]

§ 19. For though there be only a general reason of offering, no particular consideration of destroying, seen in the act of the Church, offering either the elements to be consecrated, or the consideration of Christ's cross represented, to render God propitious to His Church; yet are the consecrated elements no less the sacrifice of Christ's cross, than the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in them will allow: 46 though in order to that evangelical banquet upon them, at which, and by which, the covenant of grace is renewed. For, the apostles having made the eucharist a sacrifice in this regard, I must not count the making of it one offensive. I say then, that, having proved the consecration of the eucharist to be the production of the Body and Blood of

[i] Ibid., p. 226.
[j] Below, cc. xxviii., xxix.
[k] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 59—69: and Right of Ch. in a Chr. State, c. iii. § 29.
[l] See above, § 15. note y.

Christ crucified, or the causing of them to be mystically present in the elements thereof, as in a sacrament representing them separated by the crucifying of Christ; and the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross being necessarily propitiatory and impetratory both; it cannot be denied, that the sacrament of the eucharist, inasmuch as it is the same sacrifice of Christ upon the cross (as that which representeth is truly said to be the thing which it representeth), is also both propitiatory and impetratory by virtue of the consecration of it, whereby it becometh the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. For is it not all the reason in the world, that, if the eucharist be the sacrifice of Christ crucified, the consecrating of the eucharist (that is, the causing of the elements to become this sacrifice) should be, and be accounted and called, the sacrificing of Christ? And if the participation of the eucharist be, as I have shewed it to be, the renewing of the covenant of grace (by virtue whereof the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross becomes propitiatory and impetratory in behalf of Christians); shall not the sacrifice of the eucharist, whereof they participate, be counted propitiatory and impetratory, by virtue of the consecration indeed, though in order to the participation of it? For if the profession of Christianity be the condition that renders God propitious to us, and obtains for us the benefits of Christ's passion; and that the receiving of the eucharist is the renewing of that profession, by virtue whereof the faults, whereby we have failed of that profession, for that which is past, are blotted out, and we for the future are qualified for the blessings which Christ's passion tendereth: then is the eucharist a sacrifice propitiatory and impetratory, by virtue of the consecration, though in order to the participation of it.

§ 20. Which, whether those that are so much for the sacrifice in the Church of Rome, rest content with it or not, seemeth to me so natively proper to the simplicity and holiness of Christianity, that nothing can be held forth more pertinent to advance the zeal of frequenting, together with the devotion and reverence of communicating in, this most precious of God's ordinances to Christians. For what can more oblige a Christian to the frequent and worthy communion of this sacrament, than to consider, that by receiving it he is

[Excellent utility of this doctrine.]

BOOK III.

re-estated in his right to those promises which the Gospel tendereth; provided, that he on his part re-establish in his own heart that resolution to Christianity, by professing which he was at the first estated in God's kingdom?

[4. The eucharist a sacrifice, in the oblation to God of the bodies and souls of the receivers.]

§ 21. Hereupon arises a fourth reason, why this sacrament is a sacrifice; to wit, of the bodies and souls of them, who, having consecrated their goods to God for the celebration of it, do by receiving it profess to renew that consecration of themselves to the service of God according to the law of Christ, which their baptism originally pretendeth. For inasmuch as we revive and renew the first profession of our Christianity in receiving the eucharist, we do also, by the same means, "offer up our bodies for a living sacrifice, holy and well pleasing to God, which is our reasonable service" of God; as St. Paul commandeth, Rom. xii. 1.

[How far the breaking, pouring forth, distributing, eating, belong to the nature of the sacrifice.]

§ 22. And by that which hath been said, it is easy to resolve that which is further questioned in the School: whether the breaking, the pouring forth, the taking and the consuming of the elements by eating and drinking, belong to the nature of the sacrifice or not[m]. For I have already allowed[n] the consecrating of the elements apart to be a necessary ingredient of the sacrifice of the eucharist; as necessary to represent the sacrifice of the cross. And if men did consider, that the eucharist had never been instituted but to be participated, they would find it impertinent to allege any reason, why it should be a sacrifice, that tendeth not to the participation of it. There is then, in the mass, a peculiar ceremony of breaking the host into the chalice, not tending

[m] "Est .. considerandum, sex potissimum actiones fieri nunc in missa, de quibus dubitatum est, in qua, vel in quibus eorum, essentia hujus sacrificii consistat."—These six are, "Oblatio panis et vini—Consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis — Distributio Sacramenti consecrati"—the "Oblatio in missa post consecrationem in illis verbis, 'Unde et memores Domine,'" &c.—the breaking of the host in the cup (see note o),—and, lastly, "sumptio utriusque speciei consecratæ." Suarez. In Tert. Part. D. Thom., tom. iii. Disp. lxxv. sect. ii. pp. 1112. 1. C—1113. 1. B.—Of the last of these, "quidam etiam Catholici, quamvis non dicant hujusmodi distributionem esse de necessitate hujus sacrificii, dicunt tamen, quando fit, aliquo modo ad complementum sacrificii pertinere: quod indicat Soto, cum dicit, populum fidelem sacrificio astantem, dum Sacramentum sumit, per ipsam sumtionem suo gradu et ordine sacrificare, quia mors Christi non repræsentatur in consecratione sed in consumptione. Et Cano fere eodem modo loquitur," &c. Id., ibid., sect. 3. p. 1116. 1. B, C.—Suarez himself (ibid., et pp. sq.) argues on the contrary, that, "si quotidiana ecclesiæ sacrificia integre ac perfecte fiunt sine hujusmodi distributione, ergo omnino extrinseca est ad substantiam vel perfectionem sacrificii," &c.

[n] Above, § 12, 14, 19.

to the distributing of it, but all the portions to be taken by the priest[o]. Of this I speak not. Otherwise, breaking, pouring forth, distributing, eating, drinking, are all parts of the 17 sacrifice[p]; as the whole action is that sacrifice, by which the covenant of grace is renewed, restored, and established against the interruption of our failures.

§ 23. And now, I confess, that all they, who do not believe the promises of the Gospel to depend upon any condition to be performed by our free will, qualifying us with a right title to them, may very well say, by consequence, that it is a disparagement to the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, to make the eucharist a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice in behalf of the Church, in that sense and to that effect as I have said. But, supposing that condition, I challenge all the world to say, wherein any such disparagement lies. For let [not[q]] any man think either me, or the doctors of the Church of Rome, so mad, as to ascribe that propitiation, which is once made for the whole world by the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, to the representation and commemoration of it by the sacrifice of the eucharist. But in regard the Gospel requires a certain condition at thine hands, which being not performed, to thee Christ is neither born nor crucified nor risen again, as St. Prosper[r] saith; and that the communion of the eucharist professeth the performance

[The sacrifice of the eucharist in this sense no disparagement to the sacrifice of the cross, supposing the Gospel promises conditional, as premised.]

[o] "Quinto, post consecrationem frangitur nunc in missa hostia consecrata et particula ejus miscetur in sanguine: quæ actio sine dubio fit propter mysticam significationem. Quocirca sub ea ratione constat Christum hujusmodi actionem non exercuisse nec per illam sacrificasse: nam in primis de mistione nulla mentio fit in Evangelio," and secondly, "Christus non fregit panem nisi ut distribueret discipulis." Suarez, ibid., sect. 2. p. 1113. l. A, B: proceeding in sect. 3. (p. 1115. l. D, 2. A—D) to argue against Canus, who affirmed this act to be "de substantia hujus sacrificii."—"Hæc fractio licet sit valde antiqua, ut patet ex Liturgiis Jacobi et Chrysostomi, tamen in Liturgia Basilii nulla fit ejus mentio; quod est signum non fuisse universalem, et consequenter neque ex Christi institutione. Imo ex iisdem Liturgiis Jacobi et Chrysostomi constat hujusmodi actionem non fuisse factam eodem modo apud omnes." Id., ibid., p. 1115. 2. B.

[p] Cassander admits (Consult., art. xxiv. De Missa, § De Sacrif. Corp. et Sang. Christi, Op., p. 998), that "oblationis et sacrificii nomine veteres nonnunquam intellexisse totam hanc mysticam actionem, quæ constet symbolorum consecrandorum oblatione, oblatorum consecratione, mortis Domini commemoratione, gratiarum actione et pro communi omnium salute supplicatione, etiam sacramentorum distributione et participatione: hæc certe omnia Græci his nominibus λειτουργίας, ἱερουργίας, θυσίας, ἀναιμακτῆς, λογικῆς, λατρείας, significasse videntur."

[q] Added from MS.—For the statement itself of the text, see above, § 6, note t, and below, § 25. note a.

[r] See S. Prosper., Resp. ad Capit. Gall., Resp. ad cap. ix. "Quod non pro totius mundi redemptione Salvator sit crucifixus;" Op., tom. i. p. 121. a: —and Resp. ad Capit. Object. Vincent., Resp. ad cap. i. (on the same subject); ibid., p. 130. a.

BOOK III.

thereof, and that truly if it be worthy (so that the propitiation wrought by [the] cross, thereby becomes effectually thine): in that regard the eucharist becomes to thee a propitiatory sacrifice, by virtue of the consecration indeed (which makes the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ mystically, as in a sacrament), but yet in order to the participation of it. And is not this the applying of the propitiation wrought by the sacrifice of Christ's cross, whenas by the sacrament of the eucharist a man becomes entitled to the benefit of it? Nor let any man tell me, that this application is wrought by living faith; as if that were evidence enough, that not by the sacrament of the eucharist. For if, notwithstanding this faith, the sacrament of baptism is necessary to estate us in this right, because there is no living faith without being baptized into God's Church; by the same reason (supposing the frequentation of the eucharist commanded for the daily redressing and maintenance of the same title) of necessity it follows, that the application of that propitiation is to be ascribed to the eucharist, which is not applicable without it. Again: if St. Paul enjoin the Church to offer up their prayers, supplications, and intercessions, for all estates in the world, at the celebration of the eucharist, as recommending them in the name of Christ, there mystically present in the commemoration of His death upon the cross; can it seem strange, that the prayers, which are so powerfully presented by alleging an intercession of such esteem, should have a special virtue, and take a special effect, in making God propitious to His Church, and all estates of the same, and obtaining for them those benefits which Christ's passion tenders? And if so, is not the sacrament of the eucharist a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice, by virtue of the consecration, though in order to the oblation and presentation of it by the prayers of the Church for the obtaining of their necessities? What is there in all this, that the tongue of slander can asperse with the imputation of popery; unless they will have popery to be that Christianity which we have received from our Lord Christ and His apostles? But if from hence any man would infer, that, seeing the sacrament of the eucharist (that is to say, the Body and Blood of Christ crucified there present by virtue of the consecration) is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice for the congregation there present, for

[1 Tim. ii. 1.]

their relations, and for the Church, therefore it is so, whether they proceed to receive the eucharist or not; therefore it is so, whether they proceed to offer up the eucharist present by their prayers for the necessities of the Church, or not; therefore it is so, whether they pray with the Church or not[s]: the consequence will straight appear to fail; because those reasons, which make it such a sacrifice, make it so in order to the receiving, or to the offering of it by the prayers of the Church in behalf of the Church.

[Abuses in the use and concerning the virtue of masses.]

§ 24. It is well enough known, what opinions and abuses in the use and concerning the virtue of masses had vogue under the dark time of the School, though not authorized by the Catholic Church. For in regard the eucharist can pre-
48 tend no virtue by the nature of the work (impertinent to any spiritual effect), but merely by the institution of Christ; the efficacy thereof "*ex opere operato*" (according to the language of those days), and "by virtue of the very work[t]," was so extended, as to take effect without any good motion in them that celebrate it[u]. And the intent of the priest

[s] Suarez's arguments, e. g., as referred to above in § 22, note m, to prove that the distribution of the sacrament is not an essential part of the eucharistic sacrifice, go as far as the positions in the text; and so much indeed all defence of private masses must assert.—See below in c. xxiv.

[t] "Quemadmodum sacramenta quoque ex opere operato prodesse idcirco dici docendi causa solet, quia ex lege Divina, recte dispositis, per se sunt salutaria hoc ipso, quod eis legitimi ministri opera conferuntur, non attenta hunc ad effectum privata conferentis conditione." Greg. de Valentia, De Miss. Sacrif., lib. i. c. v.: De Rebus Fidei Controv., p. 537. 1. E. fol. Lugd. 1591.—And, says Forbes, (Consid. Mod. et Pacif., De Euchar., lib. iii. c. 2. § 16. p. 465. Lond. 1658), "Perperam scholasticis doctoribus aliisque multis Romanensibus affingitur, quasi docuerint et adhuc doceant opus sacerdotis in missa valere coram Deo ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, sineque opere operantis, hoc est, etiamsi nec sacerdos nec populus suum opus, hoc est, veram fidem adjungat. Utut enim crassus iste error in nimis magna indoctiorum sacerdotum et vulgi parte altas radices egerit, docent tamen doctiores omnes S. Cœnam juxta institutionem Christi administratam per se bonum et salutiferum opus esse omnibus qui ea rite utuntur, etiamsi sacerdos omni fide destitutus sit, propter Christi institutionem," &c. —See however below, notes u, x.

[u] "Controversia autem scholastica hic est, utrum etiam effectus hujus sacramenti habitualis, nempe gratia et ejus augmentum, possit per aliquid *veniale* peccatum in ipso tempore sumptionis admissum impediri. Caietanus affirmat hic art. 1; nempe per talem mentis evagationem et distractionem, ut non habeat quis eo tempore *actualem* devotionem, id est, motum bonum liberi arbitrii ergo Deum. Quin etiam si talis distractio esset sine ulla culpa, tamen putat Caietanus, hoc ipso, quod desit illi motus erga Deum, impediri sacramenti effectum habitualem. Quæ sententia est etiam Alexandris Alensis, ... Bonaventuræ, ... Durandi," &c. "Sed contraria sententia communiter jam defenditur: nempe nullum peccatum veniale, neque ullum adeo defectum *actualis* devotionis seu motus boni liberi arbitrii, impedire gratiæ effectum eo tempore quo alioqui sacramentum istud est efficax in sumente. Ita expresse D. Thomas,.. Adrianus,.. Victor," &c. Greg. de Valentia, Com-

BOOK III.

(whose act the consecration was taken to be) was thought to extend it to whom and to what he pleased [x]. And this, so far from requiring that any but the priest should communicate, that even at this day it is not thought necessary by the looser sort of that side, that the people should understand what the priest does or says, much less assist him with their devotions; the intent of the priest (which the canon itself always extends to all that are present) serving to give it virtue [y].

[How misconstrued by those of the other side.]

§ 25. On the other side, how hath this been taken and construed? As if every mass pretended to sacrifice Christ anew; Who "by offering Himself once hath perfected for ever those who are sanctified," as saith the apostle, Hebr. x. 14: and, therefore, as if every mass did challenge the virtue of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross. And it is true, the properties and effect of things signified are in some certain sense truly attributed to the signs. But he that enlarges his language beyond that sense, may give, and he that understands not the limitations requisite, may take, offence, when there is no need. Otherwise, the reasons of those limitations are evident enough to save any sober or charitable men either from inflaming or taking up offences. For common sense, which tells all men that what is once done can never be done again, obliges them to understand an abatement in the property of that language,

[1. Romanists do not identify the mass with the sacrifice of the cross.]

ment. Theol., tom. iv. Disp. VI. Qu. vii. De Effectibus Euchar., Punct. 3; p. 922. A—C. Lugd. 1619.—And see below, c. xxiv. both for this subject and for those of notes x, y.

[x] "Quædam portio (remissionis peccatorum per hoc sacrificium) contingit . . . iis qui procurant ut sacrificium fiat, quædam iis qui assistunt, quædam iis qui ministrant, quædam sacerdoti sacris operanti, quædam ei cui sacerdos vult peculiari intentione sacramentum applicare. Cum enim sit minister hujus sacrificii, credibile est non modo posse ipsum cui voluerit valorem officii sui, ut est opus operantis, sed etiam (ut recte Joannes Scotus notavit) commissam ei esse portionem aliquam effectus, quem hoc sacrificium habet ex opere operato, pro arbitrio suo distribuendam," &c. "Quod ad hanc portionem a sacerdote dispensandam attinet, missam intentione peculiari factam pro pluribus non tantum valere, quantum si pro uno solo celebraretur," &c. Greg. de Valentia, De Missæ Sacrif., lib. i. c. v. De Rebus Fidei Controversis, &c., pp. 545. 1. C, D, 2. C; quoted by Field, Append. to Bk. III. pp. 208, 209, and Morton, Catholic Appeal, lib. ii. c. 7. § 15. paragr. 56: the latter of whom goes on to cite some strange casuistical cases put and discussed upon apparent results of this doctrine under different circumstances.

[y] E. g. "Primum, quod in Canone sacerdos precatur, tota ecclesia adeoque circumstantes etiam orant per sacerdotem: deinde, neque apostolus ibi" (1 Tim. ii. 1) "neque Christus in cœna mandavit, ut sacerdotis preces omnes ab omnibus circumstantibus audirentur vel intelligerentur. Ubi hoc est præceptum?" Greg. de Valentia, De Miss. Sacrif., lib. ii. c. iv. p. 620. 1. F.

which attributes the sacrificing of Christ to a priest; because, once done upon the cross, it can never be done again [z]. Neither can it be in reason supposed, that he, who inflames the impropriety of his language, intends therefore to renounce the common faith concerning the redemption of mankind by the sacrifice of the cross. But when all derive all virtue in the mass from it [a], to take such language for equalling the mass to it, will require a great lust to maintain partiality in the Church.

[2. Of the "*opus operatum*" and "*opus operantis.*"]

§ 26. And make but once the consecrating and offering of the eucharist for the necessities of the whole Church by the prayers of those who celebrate it, to be the act of the respective assembly by the ministry of him whom the Church deputes for the purpose; it will easily appear what follows. For the virtue thereof will still be "*ex opere operato,*" in opposition to the sacraments of the old law: the spiritual intent whereof not being discerned by all, because not openly preached at that time, the spiritual effect of them could not be attributed to the common work, but to the particular intent of those, that belonged to the Gospel under the Law; which is a true ground of opposition between "*opus operatum,*" and "*opus operantis,*"—"the work merely done," and

[z] "Ex his quoque constat manifestam esse calumniam, qua insimulatur præsens ecclesia, quod iteret oblationem Christi semel in cruce factam, et iterum Christum mactet et crucifigat." Cassander, Consult. art. xxiv. De Missa, § De Iteratione; Op., p. 1000.—"Sed ad hoc diceres, Sacramentum altaris quotidie offertur in ecclesia, ergo, &c. Dicendum, quod non est ibi Sacrificii reiteratio, sed unius Sacrificii in cruce oblati quotidiana commemoratio." Lyranus, In Epist. ad Hebr., c. x. v. 3; quoted by Cassander, ibid.—"Idem omnes Catholici sentiunt et confitentur; quis enim unquam dixit, aut alium nobis Redemptorem esse quærendum aut hunc nostrum iterum mori oportere?" Ribera, Comment. in Hebr. c. x., num. 25. p. 471. Col. Agrip. 1600. —"Tertium sacrificium" (scil. propitiatorium) "est veluti medium" (inter sacrificia Legis, which are merely "umbræ et figuræ," et sacrificium crucis, which alone is "adeo perfectum ut de se habeat valorem et sufficientiam ad tollenda peccata"), "sc. quod non offertur propter acquirendum pretium sed ad applicandum jam acquisitum." Suarez, In Tert. Part. D. Thom., tom. iii. Disp. lxxiv. sect. 1. p. 1096. 1. A.—See also the quotations to the same purpose from Cardinal Hosius, Michael Merspurgensis, Bp. Watson, Wicelius, and several others, in Field, Of the Church, Append. to Bk. III. Introd., pp. 210, sq.—And also above, § 6, note t.—That unhappily there have been also "Romanenses" *non* "saniores," see e. g. Alanus (sc. Cardinal Allen), De Euchar., lib. ii. c. 10. p. 543. Antv. 1576, quoted by Morton, in his Catholic Appeal, lib. ii. c. 7. § 12. paragr. 49; who affirms without qualification, speaking of the sacrifice of the mass, that "Vere et realiter geruntur ista, ut non sit falsum dicere Christum mori, occidi, immolari, animam deponere, frangi:" and lib. i. c. 37. p. 435 (condemned however by Gregor. de Valentia, Comment. Theol., as quoted above, § 24, note u, Qu. iv. De modo quo Christus est in Euch., Punct. 3. p. 872. C, D.): for which see above in c. ii. § 30, note s.

[a] See the last note; and above, § 6, note t.

BOOK III.

"done by such an one." Besides, seeing the truth of Christ's Body and Blood is eaten and drunk by living faith without the sacrament, he that believes, that God instituted not the sacrament to no purpose, though he abhor to think that the effect thereof can be had without any good motion, must of necessity allow the devotion, which a living faith is exercised with in assisting the celebration of it, an effect by virtue of that work, which without it it cannot challenge. As for the effect of the prayers which it is offered with, it is not to be ascribed to the quality of the priest; and therefore in that regard also it may be ascribed to the work itself, not to the quality of him that doth it. But seeing the common obligation of all Christians extendeth their prayers to all necessities of Christ's Church, it will not lie in the intent, either of the priest or of the whole assembly (whose act more properly it is), to make it more beneficial to particular Christians, than it can be thought that God accepteth the charity and devotion of particular Christians more particularly for their particular relations[b].

[Private masses—in an unknown tongue—for the dead.]

§ 27. As for the matter of private masses, and the assistance of the people with their devotion as well as presence,—of an unknown tongue in God's service,—of the extending of the

[b] "Uno ore omnes hodie ecclesiastici scriptores clamant, falso ecclesiam accusari, quod doceat missæ actionem ex opere operato, hoc est, ex opere externo, quatenus id a sacerdote fit, mereri aliis remissionem peccatorum, pro quibus applicatur; sed hoc tantummodo docent, Corpus et Sanguinem Christi, quæ in hoc sacra actione religiosa commemoratione offeruntur, et fidelibus dispensantur, ex panis et vini substantiis consecrari, et virtutem sanctificandi obtinere non ex opere operantis, id est, dignitate et merito celebrantis ministri, sed ex opere operate, hoc est, ex ordinatione et pacto Ipsius Christi, hanc sacram actionem instituentis." Cassander, Consult., art. xxiv. de Missa; Op., pp. 991, 992.—"Si enim per opus operatum intelligas externam ceremoniam sine fide et bono motu cordis, eam prorsus cuique utilem esse negant" (sc. Romano-Catholici); "tantum abest ut illi tribuant meritum remissionis peccatorum pro vivis et mortuis non participantibus Christi meritum per fidem." Id., ibid., p. 992: proceeding to quote from Michael Merspurgensis, that "falso nobis imputant, quod missa ejusmodi actum externum sentiamus, quem sacerdos suo arbitratu quibus velit seu vivis seu mortuis accommodare queat, etiamsi is nulla fide nullaque voluntate præditus sit."—"Et Scotus in Quodlibetis disputat (Quæst. 200), hanc oblationem eucharistiæ non esse acceptam nisi sit offerentis accepti, et ratione bonæ voluntatis alicujus offerentis: .·. patet ergo, inquit, quod eucharistia oblata acceptatur, non ratione voluntatis Christi ut immediate offerentis; ratione ergo voluntatis ecclesiæ generalis, quæ habet rationem meriti finitam." Id., ibid., p. 993.—There are several other quotations in Cassander to a similar purpose, the same principally as in Field, as quoted in last note; except that the latter cites them as protesters against a dominant faction in the Church, the former as truly representing her.—For "Romanenses non saniores," however, see above, § 24, notes u, x, y.

benefit thereof to the dead; thus much being said generally here, I refer the rest to their own places[c].

[Conclusion.]

§ 28. In fine, what other reason soever can be pretended (by any that shall make it his interest to maintain, not to excuse, the abuses of the Church of Rome), why the eucha-
49 rist should be counted such a sacrifice; if it be not contained in that which hath been said, will easily be wiped off by that which hath been said: those scriptures, which we ground ourselves upon when we make the eucharist a sacrifice, being the only ground to determine (though not the only means to evidence), for what reason and to what purpose it is to be counted such a sacrifice.

[The consent of the Catholic Church to the right reasons, why the eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice].

§ 29. For how much regard soever we ought to have to the consent of the Church in this point (as, without doubt, if in any, then in this); without doubt the agreement and correspondence, visible to common sense, between the original practice and sense of the Church, and that which hath been alleged out of the Scriptures, will be evidence enough of the right reason, or reasons, for which the eucharist is not or is to be esteemed a propitiatory sacrifice.

[1. In the first of the above four senses—as respects the oblations of the faithful.]

§ 30. There is no man can thrust his nose into the writings of the fathers, even of the first times, but he shall find the oblations of the faithful, that are once deputed to the celebration of the eucharist, called sacrifices in that regard[d]. This consideration, therefore, is not owned by them that strive most to make the eucharist properly a propitiatory sacrifice[e]; because, though it have the stamp of primitive

[c] Below, cc. xxiv., xxvii., xxviii.

[d] Bellarmine himself (De Missa, lib. i. c. 27. Controv. tom. ii. pp. 1044. D, 1045. A), after laying down the proposition that "negari non debet panem et vinum aliquo modo in missa offerri, et proinde pertinere ad rem quæ sacrificatur," and proving it first by the canon of the mass itself, adds, that "deinde veteres Patres passim idem tradunt: Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 32." (p. 323. b), "dicit, ecclesiam offerre Deo sacrificium ex creaturis, id est, ex pane et vino: Cyprianus, lib. ii. Epist. 3" (Epist. ad Cæcil., Epist. lxiii. p. 143. ed. Fell), "dicit, Christum obtulisse Patri calicem vino et aqua mistum; et in Serm. de Eleemosyna" (De Op. et Eleemosynis, Op., p. 203), "reprehendens divites fœminas, quæ non adferebant panem consecrandum, 'Locuples,' inquit, 'et dives in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, et panem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis;' ubi per sacrificium panem intelligit, qui per sacerdotes Deo sacrificandus erat: S. Gregorius, lib. ii. Dial. cap. 23" (Op. S. Greg. M., tom. ii. p. 253. B, C), "de S. Benedicto loquens, 'Manu sua,' inquit, 'oblationem dedit dicens, Ite et hanc oblationem pro eis offerri Domino facite,'" &c.: "et lib. iv. cap. 55" (ibid., p. 464. D), "Omnipotenti Deo offer hunc panem: similes sententiæ passim inveniuntur."—And see Suicer, Thesaur., sub voce θυσία, II. 2. a. α.

[e] "In oblatione panis et vini sacrificium missæ non consistere, extra con-

BOOK III.

Christianity upon it, yet it makes nothing to that purpose. And yet the mass is never celebrated but they hear the oblations of the faithful called "sacrifices" (in the words quoted afore[f]); and that, "for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of salvation," for the "discharge of their vows." All which, understanding the renewing of the covenant of grace by the communion, is properly true in order to it.

[2. In the third sense —in regard of the consecration.]

§ 31. As for the sayings of the fathers, whereby the eucharist is declared to be a sacrifice in regard of the consecration; I do no way doubt, that they are utterly innumerable. For wheresoever the whole action, including the propitiation which the Church intends to procure by it, is called a sacrifice (which is most ordinary in the language of the fathers[g]), there the consecration cannot be excluded; though referring it to the communion, not the communion to it, as some would have. For if it be considered, on the other side, that they were all said at such time as the communion was no less usual than the consecration thereof (that is to say, when it was a strange thing to hear of the eucharist celebrated and none but the priest to receive[h]); it will not be strange, that I demand it to be understood in order to the communion of the same. Especially, when the liturgies themselves, that is, the form of consecration used in the most eminent Churches (from whom the less must necessarily be thought to have received their pattern), do limit the being and presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the elements to the benefit of them that shall communicate; as it appears by the forms of consecration that have been alleged[i].

[The fathers call the eucharist the sacrifice of the cross with an abatement.]

§ 32. And though the fathers divers times call the celebrating of the eucharist the death and passion of our Lord, which it commemorates, and the sacrifice of His cross—(St. Cyprian, *Epist.* lxiii.[k]; St. Chrysostom, *In Matt.* Hom.

troversiam est: non enim res terrenæ esse possunt illud unicum sacrificium, quod in ecclesia vigere pro omnibus veteribus sacrificiis patres affirmant." Bellarm., as in last note, p. 1043. D.—And so also Suarez, In Tert. Part. D. Thom., Disp. lxxv. sect. 3; tom. iii. p. 1114. 1. C, D; in answer to Sotus and others, who hold, "hanc oblationem panis et vini pertinere aliquo modo ad substantiam hujus sacrificii."

[f] Above, § 15; and below, § 32, note b.

[g] See e.g. Suicer, sub voce θυσία, II. 2. a. β, γ.

[h] See the Appendix to Field, Of the Church, Bk. III.; as quoted below, § 36, note y: and Bingham, XV. iv. 4.

[i] Above, c. iv. § 10, 11.

[k] "*Passio* est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus." S. Cypr., Ep. lxiii., Ad Cæcilium; p. 156. ed. Fell.

lxxxiii.[l], *In Acta* Hom. xxi.[m], *In Epist. ad Hebr.* Hom. xvii.[n]; St. Augustin, *In Psal.* xxi.[o]):—yet the addition of words, which they use, of "reasonable" and "unbloody," of "commemorative," of "symbolical," of "sign," and "image," are necessary evidence of an abatement in the property of the words, according to their meaning—(*Constitutiones Apost.*, vi. 23[p]: St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii.[q]: Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.*, viii. 1[r]: St. Ambrose, *De Offic.*, i. 48[s]: Macarius, *Hom.* xxvii.[t]: St. Augustin, *Quæst.* lxi. *ex* lxxxiii.[u], *Contra Faustum*, xx. 21[x]: *De Civ.* [*Dei*], x. 5, 20[y], xvii. 17[z]: Dionysius, *Hierar. Eccles.*,

[l] "Κἀντεῦθεν δεικνὺς ἅμα ὅτι μυστήριόν ἐστι τὸ πάθος καὶ ὁ σταυρός." S. Chrys., In Matth. Hom. lxxxii. al. lxxxiii. § 1; Op., tom. vii. p. 783. A. ed. Bened. These, with very many other passages of S. Chrysostom to the same purpose, are in Albertin., lib. ii., Testim. S. Chrys., c. ii., pp. 535. b, 536. a.

[m] "Τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιτελουμένου ἐκείνου, τῆς φρικτῆς θυσίας, τῶν ἀφράστων μυστηρίων" (speaking of the eucharist). Id., In Act. Hom. xxi. § 4: Op., tom. ix. p. 176. B.

[n] The passage is quoted below at length, § 34.—In Hom. xiv. in Epist. ad Hebr. c. viii. § 1. Op., tom. xii. p. 141. B, S. Chrys. says—"Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κεῖται ἐσφαγμένος,"—speaking of the eucharist.

[o] "Cœnam Suam (Dominus) dedit, *passionem* Suam dedit." S. Aug., In Psal. xxi. Enarr. ii. § 27; Op., tom. iv. p. 100. B.—The above with other passages are in Albertin., lib. i. c. 12. p. 74. b.—In the beginning of the same Enarratio in Ps. xxi. (§ 1. p. 93. G), St. Augustin says,—"Quotiens Pascha celebratur, numquid totiens Christus moritur? Sed tamen *anniversaria recordatio quasi representat quod olim factum est*, et sic nos facit moveri tanquam videamus in cruce pendentem Dominum," &c.

[p] "Τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἱερωσύνην, τὴν τοπικὴν λατρείαν, ἑτέρως" (Christus) "μετεποίησεν ... ἀντὶ θυσίας τῆς δι' αἱμάτων, λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν, ἥτις εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου συμβόλου χάριν ἐπιτελεῖται, τοῦ Σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Αἵματος." Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 23; ap. Cotel., PP. Apost., tom. i. pp. 355, 356.

[q] "Calix qui in *commemoratione* Ejus offertur." S. Cypr., Ep. lxiii. (both in Pamelius and in Fell), Ad Cæcil.; Epist. p. 148. "Quotiescumque biberimus in *commemorationem* Domini," &c. Id., ibid., p. 152.—And so again, ibid., p. 156.

[r] See above, c. iv. § 43, note a.

[s] "Hic umbra, hic *imago*, illic veritas. Umbra in Lege, *imago in Evangelio*, veritas in cœlestibus. Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur et vitulus, nunc Christus offertur: sed offertur quasi homo, quasi recipiens passionem; et offert Se Ipse quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra dimittat: *hic in imagine*, ibi in veritate, ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit." S. Ambros., De Offic. Ministrorum, lib. i. c. 48. § 248; Op., tom. ii. p. 63. B, C.

[t] See above, c. iv. § 39. note s.

[u] "Se Ipsum (Christus) obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, et ejus sacrificii *similitudinem* celebrandam in Suæ passionis memoriam commendavit." S. Aug., Lib. de Diversis Quæstion. Octoginta-Tribus, Qu. lxi. § 2; Op., tom. vi. p. 34. C.

[x] "Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post adscensum Christi *per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*." Id., Cont. Faust., lib. xx. c. 21; Op., tom. viii. p. 348. C, D.

[y] In c. 6. of De Civ. Dei, lib. x. (Op., tom. vii. p. 243. F), S. Augustin says—"Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re" (previous editions have "oblatione"), "quam offert, ipsa offeratur."—In c. 5. there is no allusion to the subject of the eucharist.—"Per hoc et sacerdos est (Christus), Ipse offerens, Ipse et oblatio. Cujus rei *sacramentum* quotidianum esse voluit ecclesiæ sacrificium." Id., ibid, c. 20. p. 256. B.

[z] "Ubique offertur sub sacerdote

BOOK III.

cap. iii.[a]: and even the canon of mass, calling it "a sacrifice of praise for the redemption of souls, that pay their vows[b]"). And therefore St. Ambrose, *De iis qui initiantur mysteriis* cap. viii.[c], says, that Christians then, seeing the altar prepared, cried out, "Thou hast prepared a table before Me." [Psalm xxiii. 5.] And in the fathers, that which is sometimes called an altar, is otherwhile called a table; especially with the additions of "mystical—holy—spiritual—Divine," and others[d]. All abating the property of a sacrifice, or rather the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, when speech is of the eucharist.

[St. Augustin.] § 33. The words of St. Augustin, *Epist.* xxxiii.[e], are express: "*Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in Seipso? et tamen in sacramento, non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur; nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus Eum respondet immolari*"—"Was not Christ in Person sacrificed once? and yet in mystery, not only all the 50 Easter holidays, but every day, is He sacrificed for the people; nor shall he lie, who being asked answers, that He is sacrificed." That truth of a sacrifice, which serves but to save a "lie," makes not a proper sacrifice.

[St. Chrysostom.] ["ἐπεισθή."] § 34. And the words of St. Chrysostom, *In Epist. ad Hebr.* Hom. xvii.[f], are not to be omitted.—"*Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν; προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου Αὐτοῦ· καὶ μία ἐστὶν αὕτη, καὶ οὐ πολλαί. πῶς μία καὶ οὐ πολλαί; ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ προσηνέχθη, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκείνη ἡ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. τοῦτο ἐκείνης*

Christo, quod protulit Melchisedec quando benedixit Abraham." Id., ibid., lib. xvii. c. 17: ibid., p. 480. C. These are the only words relating to the subject in the place cited. In lib. xix. c. 24. § 5. (ibid., p. 569. F.) we have—"Cujus rei *mysterium* celebramus oblationibus nostris:" and in lib. xxi. c. 25. § 2. (ibid., p. 646. A) "Qui est in ejus corporis unitate,.. cujus corporis *sacramentum* fideles communicantes de altari sumere consueverunt, ipse vere dicendus est manducare Corpus Christi et bibere Sanguinem Christi."

[a] See above, c. iv. § 43. note e.

[b] "Qui Tibi offerunt sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ; Tibique reddunt vota sua, æterno Deo, vivo et vero." Missal. Rom., p. 281. ed. Antv. 1631.

[c] "Venit igitur, et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait, 'Parasti in conspectu meo mensam.'" S. Ambros., De Myst., c. viii. § 43; Op., tom. ii. p. 336. C, D.

[d] "*Τράπεζα φοβερά—μυστική—φρικτή—πνευματική—βασιλική—ἀθάνατος—ἱερά—Θεία—φρικώδης.*" See authorities in Suicer, Thesaur., sub voce *τράπεζα*, I. 2. And for *θυσιαστήριον*, Id., ibid., sub voce *θυσιαστ.* II. d; and Mede's well-known tract, Works, pp. 486, sq.

[e] S. Aug., Epist. xcviii. (xxiii. edd. bef. Bened.) § 9; Op., tom. ii. p. 267. E.—xxxiii. in the text is a mistake.

[f] S. Chrys., In Epist. ad Hebr. c. x. Hom. xvii. § 3; Op., tom. xii. pp. 168. D—169. A.

τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἐκείνης· τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ προσφέρομεν· οὐ νῦν μὲν ἕτερον πρόβατον, αὔριον δὲ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό. ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία. ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἐπειδὰν πολλαχοῦ προσφέρεται, καὶ πολλοὶ χριστοί; ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' εἷς πανταχοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλήρης ὢν καὶ ἐνταῦθα· ἓν σῶμα. ὥσπερ οὖν πολλαχοῦ προσφερόμενον ἓν σῶμά ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ σώματα· οὕτω καὶ μία θυσία. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν καθαίρουσαν ἡμᾶς προσενεγκών. ἐκείνην προσφέρομεν καὶ νῦν, τὴν τότε προσενεχθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀνάλωτον. τοῦτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου. Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτε, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν Ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ποιοῦμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας"—"What then? do we not offer every day? we offer indeed, but making commemoration of His death; and this is one and not many: how one and not many? because He was once offered, not as that which was carried into the holy of holies; that is the figure of this, and this of that: for we offer always the same, not now one lamb, and another to-morrow, but always the same: therefore the sacrifice is one: otherwise, by that reason, being offered in many places, there should be many Christs; but by no means; but there is one Christ everywhere, here full, and there full; one Body: as, therefore, being offered in many places, He is one Body, and not many bodies; so is He one sacrifice: He is our high-priest, Who offered the sacrifice that cleanseth us: the same we also offer, that then was offered, that is invincible: this is done in remembrance of that which was then done; for, 'Do this,' saith He, 'in remembrance of Me:' we make no other sacrifices, as then the high-priest, but the same always, or rather the remembrance of a sacrifice."

["ὢν καὶ ἔκει πλήρης· ἓν σῶμα."]

["προσφερόμενος."]

§ 35. Now that, in the sense of the Catholic Church, the sacrament of the eucharist is a sacrifice propitiatory for the Church, and impetratory of the necessities thereof, in regard of those prayers wherewith it is offered and presented to God in virtue of the sacrifice of the cross, which it is mystically (that is, representeth and commemorateth): a few words will serve to persuade him, that knows the practice and custom of the Church in all ages, at the solemn and regular times and occasions of celebrating the eucharist, to make mention of all

[3. The eucharist a sacrifice, according to the fathers, also in the second sense—with respect to the prayer for all estates of men.]

BOOK III.

states and qualities belonging to the Church[g]; and not only so, but upon occasions incident, of going to God for the necessities either of the Church or of particular Christians, to celebrate the eucharist with an intent of presenting and offering the cross of Christ there present for their necessities[h]. You had afore out of Tertullian (*De Cor.* cap. v.[i]): "*Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus*"—"We make oblations for the dead, for the birth of martyrs, on the anniversary day." And further (*De Exhor. Castit.* xi.[k]), speaking of him that had married a second wife:—"*Neque enim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reservas affectionem, ut jam receptæ apud Dominum, pro cujus spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis: stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras? et offeres pro duabus? et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem de monogamia ordinatum, aut etiam de virginitate sancitum? circundatum virginibus ac univiris? et ascendet sacrificium tuum libera fronte? et inter cæteras voluntates bonæ mentis postulabis tibi et uxori tuæ castitatem?*"—"For the former thou canst not hate, for whom thou reservest a more religious affection, as received already with the Lord, for whose spirit thou makest request, for whom thou renderest yearly oblations: wilt thou then stand before the Lord with as many wives as in thy prayers thou mentionest? and wilt thou offer for two? and commend those two by a priest ordained after one wife, or confirmed of a virgin? compassed with virgins and once-married people? and shall thy sacrifice freely ascend? and, among other affections of a good mind, wilt thou desire chastity for thee and thy wife?" I dispute not here, how lawful it is to pray for the dead; which Tertullian touches again *De Monogamia* x.[l], *De Anima* lviii.[m] This Tertullian supposes, that, if a Christian have two wives, 51

[g] See Service of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 27—37: and Bingham, XIII. x. 4, 5; XV. i. 2, iii. 13—24.

[h] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 59—70.

[i] Tertull., De Corona Militis, c. iii. (v. in the text is a mistake); Op., p. 102. A. See above, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 29, 30.

[k] Id., De Exhortatione Castitatis, c. xi.; Op., pp. 523. D, 524. A.

[l] "Enim vero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus." Id., De Monog., c. x.; Op., p. 531. A.

[m] Praying for the dead is not expressly mentioned in the De Anima, c. lviii.; Op. Tertull., pp. 306. D—307. B. How the passage is connected with the subject, will be seen below, c. xxviii. § 51.

he must offer, that the eucharist may be celebrated, and that at the celebrating of it the priest may pray for those whom he mentions as the occasion of celebrating it. The birth-days of martyrs, that is, the anniversaries of their sufferings, was another occasion of celebrating the eucharist: as in Tertullian[n], so in St. Cyprian[o] (*Epist.* xxxiv.); "*Sacrificium pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies annua commemoratione celebramus*"—"We always offer sacrifice for them, as you remember, when we celebrate the yearly commemoration of the martyrs' suffering days." Therefore, where the same St. Cyprian forbids "offering the names" of those that had fallen away in persecution, and "offering for them" (*Epist.* ix.[p] xi.[q]), he forbids the receiving of their offerings, and by consequence praying for them at the eucharist. Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx.[r]), speaking of the patriarch of the Jews baptized in private:—"*Χρυσίου ὁλκήν τινα ἱκανωτάτην ἔχων παρὰ χεῖρα ὁ αὐτὸς Πατριάρχης, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπέδωκε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, φάσκων, ὅτι, πρόσφερε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ*"—"The said patriarch, having in his hand a very considerable sum of gold, stretched out his hand, and gave it to the bishop, saying, Offer for me." St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Mystag.* v.[s]);—"*Εἶτα, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βα-*

[n] Above, note i.

[o] S. Cypr., Epist. xxxix. (xxxiv. ed. Pamel.), Presbyteris et Diaconibus et plebi universæ: Epist., p. 77. ed. Fell. For "sacrificium," read "sacrificia," and for "annua," "anniversaria."

[p] "Nondum restituta Ecclesiæ ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittuntur, *et offertur nomen eorum*, et nondum pœnitentia acta," &c., "eucharistia illis datur." Id., Epist. xvi. (x. ed. Pamel.), Presbyteris, &c.; Epist., p. 37.—ix. above in the text is a mistake.

[q] "Ante actam pœnitentiam," &c., "*offerre pro illis* et eucharistiam dare," &c. Id., Epist. xv. (xi. ed. Pamel.), Martyribus et Confessoribus; Epist. p. 34.—These and equivalent phrases occur several times in S. Cyprian.

[r] Epiphan., Adv. Hær., lib. i. tom. ii. Hær. xxx. (sc. Ebionæi) § 6: Op., tom. i. p. 130. A.

[s] S. Cyril. Hieros., Catech. xxiii. (Mystag. v.) § 8; Op., pp. 327. C—328. A. The comma is at λατρείαν, and not at ἱλασμοῦ, in the Benedictine edition. And the passage continues (ibid., § 8, 9),—"*ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων, καὶ ἁπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων, δεόμεθα πάντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν· εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν,*" κ. τ. λ. "*μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας.*" And to the same effect in the next section, ibid., § 10. p. 328, C, "*Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρομεν, ἐξιλεούμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*" (sc. the dead) "*τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεόν.*"

BOOK III.

σιλέων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις"—"Then, that spiritual sacrifice, that unbloody service, being done" (consecrated) "over that propitiatory sacrifice, we beseech God for the common peace of the Churches, for the state of the world, for the kings, their armies and allies, for the sick," &c.; adding, that, "praying for the departed, we offer to God Christ crucified for our sins, to render Him propitious to them and to us." Of which effect in due place the intent hereby appears. For here, as he calls it a sacrifice upon the consecration, so he plainly sets down, wherein the propitiation which it effecteth consists, according to the Catholic Church. For, to say truth, to the purpose in hand, I can produce nothing like that which I have said already in my Book of the Service of God at the Assemblies of the Church (to which I remit you for the rest, pp. 370—382[t]):—that in all the liturgies there is a place, where mention is to be made of all states of the Church; for whom the oblations, out of which the eucharist is consecrated, are offered: and likewise a place, where, the eucharist being consecrated, prayer is made in behalf of all states in the Church; that is to say, the sacrifice of Christ His cross there present is offered up, to move God to grant them all that is desired by the regular and continual prayers of the Church: and among them there is a special place for those that offer at present.

The concurrence of the Church of England to the premisses.

§ 36. If any man be moved to imagine, that any part hereof is prejudicial to that reformation which the Church of England professeth (for I profess from the beginning[u], not to be scrupulous of offending those that offend it); I remit him to that learned Appendix of Dr. Field to his third Book of the Church: the purpose whereof (in answer to the question, where the reformed Church was before Luther) is, to shew, that in this point, as in others there handled, the sense of the whole Church of Christ, even to the time of Luther and to the council of Trent, was no other than that which the Church of England embraceth and cherisheth; thereby to shew, that the reformation thereof never pretended to found a new Church, but to preserve that which was, by taking

[t] Edit. of 1649.—c. x. § 59—70; in vol. i. pp. 351, sq., of the present edition.

[u] See the Preface to the Epilogue, § 1—11.

away those corruptions, which time, and the enemies of Christianity, had sown in the laws and customs of it[x]. Which he doth so evidently perform in this point[y], that I must needs challenge any man, that hath a mind to blast any thing here said with the stale calumny of popery, to consider first, whether he can prove those things, which the authors past exception there quoted declare to be the sense of the Catholic Church at that time, to contain any thing prejudicial to the Gospel of Christ, and that purity thereof which the reformation pretendeth. And because I know he cannot do it, I rest secure of all blasphemies or slanders, that can be forged upon this occasion: openly professing, that those who will not acknowledge that condition of the Gospel, and the promises thereof, which I have demonstrated[z] to be essential to
52 Christianity—it is for their interest to defame the sense of the Catholic Church with the slanderous aspersions of popery; that so they might seduce miserable creatures to believe, that there is a faith which entitles them to the promises of the Gospel, not supposing them converted to the Christianity which it tendereth. For seeing that propitiation, which the sacrifice of the eucharist pretendeth, is grounded upon this condition of the covenant of grace (as I have shewed); it is no marvel if they, who pretend to reconcile the promises of the Gospel to the lusts of the flesh, by which this world is enjoyed, endeavour to slander the purity of Christianity with those aspersions, which they have seduced wretched people to count odious.

CHAP. V.

§ 37. In fine, it is not that consideration of a sacrifice in the sacrament of the eucharist, which the sense and practice of the Catholic Church enforceth, but the violent interpre-

[Violent interpretations on both sides.]

[x] "An Appendix, wherein it is clearly proved that the Latine or West Church, in which the Pope tyrannized, was, and continued, a true orthodoxe and Protestant Church; and that the devisers and maintainers of Romish errours and superstitious abuses were onely a faction in the same, at the time when Luther, not without the applause of all good men, published his propositions against the prophane abuse of Papall indulgences." Title of Appendix to Bk. III. of Field, Of the Churche, pp. 183, sq. 2nd edition, Oxf. 1628.

[y] Prefixed to the Appendix of Field, Book III., is "An Answer to M. Brerelye's objection concerning the Masse, publiquelie used in all Churches at Luther's appearing:" pp. 185—224: wherein the points of Private Masses, Half-Communion, and the Roman doctrine of the Propitiatory Sacrifice in the Eucharist, are handled at length, for the purpose of shewing the general proposition maintained in the Appendix to hold good in these instances in particular.

[z] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii—ix.

BOOK III.

tations of it which are made on both sides, to both extremities, that can give the least pretence for division in the Church. For while, on the one side, the sacrificing of Christ anew is so construed, as if to doubt of the virtue of it in behalf of all that assist in it (whether they communicate in it or not, whether their devotions concur to it or not) were to doubt of the virtue of Christ's cross; it is no marvel, if this create so great offence, that the receiving of the eucharist, nay, the assisting of it with the devotions of Christian people, comes to be a matter of indifference. On the other side, while the renewing of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross by that representation thereof which the eucharist tendereth, for the redressing[a] of the covenant of grace between God and those which receive, is construed as prejudicial to that one sacrifice, whereby our Lord "for ever hath perfected those whom He sanctifieth;" no marvel, if the very celebrating of it come to be a matter of indifference, the effect whereof, by believing that a man is predestinate or justified, is had before and without it. The matter of the sacrifice then being so great a subject for the division, upon so little cause, it is time for good Christians to awake and look about them, and see, that the less cause there is, the greater goodwill the parties have to continue at distance. In the mean time, it is the common interest of Christianity, even the means of their salvation by the worthy frequenting of this holy sacrament, that suffers.

[Hebr. x. 14.]

[Formularies of the Church of England.]

§ 38. As for the Church of England, I refer myself to the very form of those laws, according to which as many as have received orders in it, have promised to exercise the ministry to which they were appointed by the same; and that before God and His Church, at so solemn an occasion, that nothing can be thought obligatory to him that would transgress it. For the offertory which the Church of England prescribeth, if it signify any thing, signifieth the dedication of that which is offered, as at large to the necessities of the Church, so in particular to the celebration of the eucharist then and there. At the consecration the Church prayeth, "that we, receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed

[a] Corrected in MS. into "renewing," but the correction scored through.

Body and Blood:"—and after the communion;—"We Thy humble servants entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His death and passion:"—all this, having premised prayer for all states of Christ's Church. Which whether it make not the sacrament of the eucharist, by virtue of the consecration, the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, propitiatory and impetratory for them who communicate in it by receiving the elements; whether or no, by virtue of this oblation, propitiatory and impetratory for the necessities of the rest of the Church, as well as the congregation present: I leave to men of reason, but not to puritans, to judge. This I am sure, the condition of the Gospel (which is the fourth reason, for which I have shewed, that the eucharist is counted a sacrifice in the sense of the Church) is exactly expressed in the words that follow; to the confusion of all puritans, that would have us expect the blessings promised from such a kind of faith, which supposes it not, neither implies it:—"And here we offer and present to
53 Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee; humbly beseeching Thee, that all we, which be partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction." For the reason, which obliges us to profess this at receiving the eucharist (which is "the New Testament in the Blood of Christ"), is, because the promises which the Gospel covenanteth for, depend upon it, as the condition which renders them due. And upon these premisses I may well conclude, that all the reasons, for which I have shewed that the eucharist is a sacrifice in the sense of the Church, are recapitulated and comprised in [that[b]] which followeth:—"And though we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences."

[Luke xxii. 20.]

[b] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REASON OF THE ORDER BY WHICH I PROCEED, BRINGS ME TO THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS IN THE NEXT PLACE. THE POWER OF THE KEYS SEEN IN GRANTING BAPTISM, AS WELL AS IN COMMUNICATING THE EUCHARIST. WHY SOCINIANS MAKE BAPTISM INDIFFERENT. WHY ANTINOMIANS MAKE IT A MISTAKE TO BAPTIZE. THE GROUNDS UPON WHICH I SHAKE OFF BOTH. WITH ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

The reason of the order by which I proceed.

WHEN I proposed to write of the laws of the Church (that is to say, of those controversies concerning the same, which are the subject of division in matter of Christianity[c] to the English at this time), I proposed my subject in equivocal terms; till it be further distinguished, that the laws of the Church may be understood to be those, which God hath given the Church to conduct the body of the Church in the exercise of their Christianity; and they may be understood to be those, which God hath enabled the Church to give themselves: according to that which I shewed from the beginning[d]; that God's giving such laws to Christians as are to be kept and exercised by the community of Christians at their respective assemblies, is a demonstration, that God hath founded a society or corporation under the name of the Church; and that supposing the Church to be such a society or corporation of necessity inferreth, that it is enabled by God's law to give laws unto itself in such matters, as, not being determined by God's law, become necessary to be determined for preservation of the body in unity, and communion in the offices of God's service. The laws, therefore, that God gives His Church, are so far the subject of this inquiry, as may make it to appear, what is left to the power and duty of the Church to determine. And to this purpose it seemed requisite in the first place to determine, what the rule of faith containeth to be believed of the sacrament of the eucharist, which is the ground of whatsoever can be pretended that He hath enjoined His Church as concerning the frequentation of it; having determined the like afore, not only concerning the sacrament of baptism, but also concerning penance, inasmuch as they contain qualifications requisite by the Gospel

[c] Corrected from MS.; "Christian amity," in orig. text.
[d] See above, c. i. § 2.

to render the promises thereof due to particular Christians. Whereas the sacrament of the eucharist, being (as I said afore[e]) the most eminent of those offices which God hath enjoined to be celebrated by the assemblies of His Church (having first founded His Church upon the duty and the command, or upon the charter [and[f]] privilege, of holding those assemblies, even when the powers of the world allow it not), required a treaty express, to determine the true intent why it was instituted; that it might the better appear in due time, how those circumstances in the celebration of it, which are a great part of the subject of that division which prevails among us in point of Christianity, may best be determined to the intent of God's law: and also, that the true intent of other powers given the Church (evidently tending to the maintenance of Christianity, and the purity thereof, but always with a respect to the unity of the Church in the communion of those offices whereof this is the chief) might the better be estimated by a right understanding of the end which they seek. You have then the first, that is, the original and pri-
54 mitive, and also (if you demand that) the prime and chief power of God's Church, consisting in celebrating the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. Not in washing away "the filth of the body," as St. Peter saith (that is, not in ministering the outward ceremony of washing the body with water, or any part of it), but in admitting and allowing that profession of a "good conscience," which qualifies a man to be a member of the Church. For this allowance is no less than a declaration on the part of the Church, that he, who upon these terms is admitted to baptism, is likewise invested with a right and due title to the promises of the Gospel, remission of sins, and everlasting life: as it may appear to all, that have contracted with the Church of England in God's name, that, continuing in that which they professed and undertook on their part at their baptism, they are assured of no less by the Church.

[1 Pet. iii. 21.]

§ 2. And therefore this is, and ought to be, accounted that power of the keys, by which men are admitted to the house of God, which is His Church, as St. Paul saith: at least that part of it, that is seen and exercised in this first office that

The power of the keys seen in granting baptism, as well as in

[e] Above, c. i. § 2.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "or," in orig. text.

BOOK III. communicating the eucharist. [1 Tim. iii. 15; Hebr. iii. 6.]

the Church can minister to a Christian. And seeing no man can challenge the privilege of that communion, to which he is admitted upon condition of that profession which baptism supposeth [g], unless he proceed to live according to it; it cannot seem strange, that the same should be thought to be exercised in the celebration of the eucharist, as it is done with a purpose to communicate the sacrament thereof to those that receive. I shall desire any man, that counts this strange, to consider that which I quoted even now out of Epiphanius [h]:—that the patriarch of the Jews at Tiberias, being baptized by the bishop, put a considerable sum of gold into his hand, saying, "Offer for me; for it is written, Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven:" for so it follows in Epiphanius. And when St. Cyprian [i] blames or forbids "offering up the names," or "offering up" the eucharist in the names, of those that had fallen away from the Church in time of persecution, till they were reconciled to the Church by penance; doth he not exercise the power of the keys in his hands, by denying the benefit of those prayers which the eucharist is celebrated with, to them, who had forfeited their right to it by failing of that which by their baptism they undertook? As, on the other side, whosoever the eucharist is offered for (that is, whosoever hath a part in those prayers which it is celebrated with), is thereby declared loose by the Church, upon supposition that he is indeed what he professes. And whatsoever canons of the Church there are (of which there are not a few [k]), which take order, that the offerings of such or such shall or shall not be received; they all proceed upon this supposition, that by the power of the keys they are to be allowed or refused their part of benefit in the communion of the eucharist, and the effects of it. For (not to speak of what is by the corruption of men, but what ought to be by the appointment of God) it is manifest, that the admission of a man to the communion of the eucharist is an allowance of his Christianity as conformable

[g] Corrected from MS.; "supposed," in orig. text.

[h] Above, c. v. § 35. note r.

[i] Above, c. v. § 35. note q. The passage there cited continues thus:— "Γέγραπται γὰρ, διὰ τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ Θεοῦ δεσμεύσθαι καὶ λύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἔσται ταῦτα λελυμένα καὶ δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ."

[k] See Bingham, XV. ii. 2.

to that which baptism professeth: though in no state of the Church it is a sufficient and reasonable presumption, that a man is indeed and before God entitled to the promises of the Gospel, that he is admitted to the communion of the eucharist by the Church; because whatsoever profession the Church can receive, may be counterfeit. But so, that it is to be endeavoured by all means possible for the Church to use, that the right of communicating with the Church in the sacrament of the eucharist be not allowed any man by the Church, but upon such terms, and according to such laws, that a man, being qualified according to them, may be really and indeed qualified for those promises which the Gospel tendereth. Which being supposed, every Christian must of necessity acknowledge, how great and eminent a power the Lord hath trusted His Church with, in celebrating and giving of the eucharist; when he is convinced to believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ is thereby rendered him, though mystically and as in a sacrament, yet so truly, that the Spirit of Christ is no less really present with it, to enable the souls of all them that receive it with sincere Christianity, than the
55[1] sacrament is to their bodies; or than the same Spirit is present in the Flesh and Blood of Christ, naturally being in the heavens. For suppose, that by faith alone, without receiving this sacrament, a man is assured of the Spirit of Christ (as by faith alone, understanding faith alone as St. Paul meant it[m], I shall shew that he may be assured of it): yet, if He have determined a visible act to be done, to the due performance whereof He hath annexed a promise of the participation of the Spirit of Christ by our spirit, no less than of the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally present by our bodies; and if He hath made the doing of this a part of the Christianity, which under the title of faith alone entitleth to [the[n]] promises of the Gospel (for who can be said to profess Christianity, that owneth not such an ordinance upon such a promise?); then hath He determined and limited the truth of that faith, which only justifieth us, at the beginning of every man's Christianity to the sacrament of baptism, but in the proceeding of the same to that of the eucharist; these being the first powers of the Church.

[1] Misprinted 45 in folio edition. [m] See below, § 11. [n] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

§ 3. And having resolved from the beginning[o], that the power of the Church extends to the determining or limiting of any thing requisite to the communion of the Church, the determination or limitation whereof (by such an act as ought to have the force of law to them that are of the Church) becomes requisite to the communion of Christians in the offices of God's service in unity; I cannot see any of the controversies, whereby we stand now divided, that can deserve a place in our consideration before that of the baptism of infants. For as it is a dispute belonging to the first and original power of the Church, to consider whether it extend so far, as (when it is acknowledged that there is no written law of God to that purpose) that it may, and justly hath, provided, that all the children of Christian parents be baptized infants; so it will appear to concern their salvation more immediately, than other laws, limiting the exercise of the Church's power, or the circumstances of exercising those offices of God['s] service which it tendeth to determine, can be thought to do.

The reason of the order by which I proceed, brings me to the baptism of infants in the next place.

§ 4. But before I come to dispute this point, I will here take notice once more[p] of the book, called the Doctrine of Baptisms[q], one of the fruits of this blessed reformation, commonly attributed to the master of a college in Cambridge: proving by a studied dispute, that it was never intended by our Lord Christ and His apostles, that Christians should be baptized at all; that John indeed was sent to baptize with water, but that the baptism of Christ is baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire; and, so long as the ceremonies of the Law were not abolished in point of fact (though become void in point of right), so long also baptism by water was practised by the apostles, as by John the Baptist and his disciples; but that, since then, the continuance of baptism by water in the Church, is nothing else but an argument, that it hath been destitute of baptism by fire, which is the Holy Ghost, which this reformation, or forsooth this dogmatist, pretends to[r].

[Dell's book, called the Doctrine of Baptisms.]

[o] Above, c. i. § 2: and Right of Ch. in Chr. State, c. i. § 1—4.

[p] See above in Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 24, note n: and in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. v. § 6. note b.

[q] See an account of the book in Right of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 17. note p.

[r] "So John's water Baptisme was to

CHAP. VI.

[Socinus' opinion respecting baptism.]

§ 5. Which opinion obliges to mention again that of Socinus[s]: who allows no further of baptism, than of an indifferent ceremony, which the Church may use still at pleasure to solemnize the profession of Christianity, when a man is converted from infidelity to it (as it was prescribed by our Lord to signify the washing away of sin from those, who, having been Jews and Gentiles, were converted to be Christians); but that the obligation thereof is utterly ceased in respect of those, who, being born of Christians and bred up in the Church, have, by the exercise of that Christianity which their years entitles them to, made continual profession of it.

Why Socinians make baptism indifferent. [Judg. xv. 4.]

§ 6. These two opinions, like Samson's foxes, though tied together by the tails to set the Church on fire, yet may proceed upon several grounds. For we know, that Socinus, denying original sin, hath reason enough to reject the baptism of men, as well as of infants; as not acknowledging any thing but the will of man requisite to make him a good Christian, and consequently suspending the promises of the Gospel only upon that act thereof, which resolveth a man to become a good Christian[t]. Which how well it agrees with Socinus his acknowledgment of the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised to them that have made this resolution to enable them to

last but till Christ's fire Baptisme should come in, and then the fire should lick up the water: and as Spirit Baptisme should increase, water Baptisme should decrease. So that John's Baptisme or water Baptisme (which is all one) belongs not to Christ's kingdome." Doctr. of Baptisms, p. 11.—"The last and that which seemes the strongest objection is, that the Apostles practised water Baptisme, not onely before Christ's Baptisme came in, but after. . . I answer, true indeed, the Apostles did practise water Baptisme, but not from Christ, but from John, whose Baptisme they tooke up, and an outward ceremony of honour and account is not easily and suddenly laid downe: hence some of the Apostles used circumcision." Ibid., p. 16.—"And this is the onely Baptisme wherein all the Church of the New Testament are to partake with Christ, I say not the Baptisme of water, but the Spirit." Ibid., p. 19.—"Now the outward instrument of Christ's, or Spirit Baptisme, is not materiall water, but the Word." Ibid. —"So that this place (Matt. xxviii. 19.) cannot be understood of water, but instead of baptizing in materiall water, as John, He tells them they should 'baptize into the Name of God,' that they that were before sinfull, corrupt and evill men, should now be taken up into the glory of the Name of God; neither can this place be understood of a forme of words which the Apostles and their successors should use in baptizing, . . seeing no place of Scripture can be named wherein the Apostles in baptizing used this forme." Ibid., p. 15.—"And thus in all these particulars you see the infinite excellency and glory of Spirit Baptisme above water Baptisme, and this onely is sufficient in the daies of the Gospell, as being the true and proper Baptisme of the New Testament." Ibid., p. 25.

[s] See above in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 7. note r, c. v. § 6. note c, and § 10. note g: and in Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 24. note m.

[t] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 5, c. vii. § 2.

BOOK III.

perform it, is clear to them who shall have perused the premisses[u], to give sentence. 56

[Dell's book antinomian.]

§ 7. As for the other opinion last mentioned, I must profess, that I do not take upon me that it is his work who is said to be the author of it: though I name him upon common fame, as an instance to evidence, that there is no Church of God in England by the present laws, when there is no means to bring to light the authors of such pestilent doctrines; and when those, who pretend to be an University, do acknowledge such a man master of a college (partly of divines), as, if they were an University, they ought not to acknowledge as a Christian; to wit, belonging to the communion of the Church. For though I mean not to charge him with this book, yet, so long as he owns all that he is charged with by Rutherford, the Scots Presbyterian[x], I do charge him with the heresy of the Antinomians; which here I mention, because it seems reasonable to conceive this opinion to be a branch of it.

Why Antinomians make it a mistake to baptize.

§ 8. Wherein, how well he is refuted by his adversary, how clear his adversary is of the same blame, is to be judged by that which I have determined concerning the condition of the covenant of grace[y]. For, the heresy of the Antinomians consisting in voiding the condition of the covenant of grace, it is free for them to make the justification of Christians to go before justifying faith, being nothing else but the revelation of God's mercy which He hath from everlasting for the elect, whom He, determining to save, sent Christ to redeem them alone. It seems therefore very consequent in reason to this position (if that operation of the Spirit, which they pre-

[u] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. x. § 1, 3, 4, notes e—k.

[x] Scil. in the "Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist, opening the secrets of Familisme and Antinomianisme in the Anti-Christian Doctrine of John Saltmarsh and Will. Del, the present preachers of the Army now in England, and of Robert Town, Tob. Crisp, H. Denne, Eaton, and others: in which is revealed the rise and spring of Antinomians, Familists, Libertines, Swenckfeldians, Enthysiasts" (sic), "&c., in two parts: by Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, 4to. Lond. 1648."—In Part ii. c. 84. is proved, that "Del, Saltmarsh, and Familists deny an outward Reformation, Scripture, seales, and ordinances: Del denies any worke of the Spirit or conversion to God in the Old Testament:—Del a Familist;—Del a Libertine:—he denies all laws:— . . . Believers as spirituall as Angells, saith Del, what need then of preaching to them?—Outward reforming no more our duty then to redeeme the world:—Del maketh God's absolute decrees to destroy all the working of second causes:—Del and Familists deny the Scripture and contend for an internall enthysiasticall call."

[y] Above, in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. vii., xxx., xxxi.

tend, admit any dispute of reason about their positions), to say, that, the gift of the Holy Ghost being due to the elect by virtue of Christ's merits and sufferings, provided for them alone, and imputed to them alone from everlasting to the remission of sins, there can be no reason why baptism should be requisite: those, that are not elect, not standing in any capacity either of admitting the Gospel or attaining the promises of it; those that are, being from everlasting estated in the right of them.

[How far Dell's opponent Rutherford, or the Presbyterians, are free from the same blame.]

§ 9. Now if that Presbyterian make justifying faith to consist in the knowledge of man's predestination to life, in consideration of Christ sent for him, revealed to him by God's Spirit, but limited to take effect upon the said revelation of it (as I have said that some of them do[z]); then I refer myself to that which I have said already[a], to shew this opinion to be no less destructive to Christianity than the former, but not so agreeable to itself, nor to reason, to make remission of sins and salvation (appointed them merely in consideration of Christ) to depend upon the revelation of Christ to them, altogether impertinent to any act required of them to procure it. But if he make justifying faith to consist in a confidence in God (such as men may have, that are assured of remission of sins and of life everlasting, not supposing on their part any condition of turning from the world to God, as requisite by the Gospel); I refer myself still to that which I have said[b], to shew how this is destructive to Christianity.

[No necessity for baptism, on Presbyterian grounds.]

§ 10. But why those, that have these opinions, should nevertheless maintain the necessity of baptism, whereof they have no reason to give according to the Scriptures, I confess I am to learn. For if we believe Christianity to come from God (and therefore all the laws of it), how shall we believe, that for one of these laws He hath provided, that all that will be saved be baptized, having given assurance of remission of sins and salvation without consideration of it or dependance upon it? He that comes to be baptized, either hath saving faith, or not: if he have it, he hath it never the more for being baptized, being such an assurance as no man may

[z] Ibid., c. i. § 8.
[a] Ibid., c. vii. § 7: and c. xxx. § 27: and c. i. § 8, and § 11. note c.
[b] Ibid., c. xxx. § 15.

BOOK III.

doubt in without failing of all God's promises; if he have it not, can baptism bring it? Unless we say with the Church, that the promise of the Holy Ghost depends upon it: which he that saith (if he will give a reason of what he saith), must have recourse to the condition of the undertaking and professing of Christianity, in consideration whereof God hath promised the gift of the Holy Ghost to enable Christians to perform that which they undertake.

The grounds on which I shake off both [opinions, Socinian and Antinomian].

§ 11. This is then to say, that, though I take notice of these heresies in this place, where I purpose to speak of the power of the Church in baptizing, yet I hold not myself obliged to say any more for the rooting of them out or preventing them, than I have said in demonstrating the nature of the covenant of grace. For I have shewed, on the one 57 side[c], that the condition required on our parts to undertake, if we would be entitled to the promises which it tendereth, consisteth in an act of our free choice, whereby the course of our lives is dedicated to the service of God, as the end for which we were made; and that this course is determined by the law of Christianity; and, consequently, the act whereby we undertake to profess Christianity (called faith by St. Paul[d]), that which entitles us to remission of sins and everlasting life. And I have shewed, on the other side[e], that the nature of man, being corrupted by the fall of our first parents, could not be repaired but by the coming[f] of the second Adam; and those helps of grace, which by His obedience in the flesh He purchased, to enable us to embrace and undertake the condition proposed, and to proceed in the performance of it to that which God accepteth. In fine, I have shewed[g], that the sacrament of baptism is that visible act, which legally determineth and limiteth that profession of Christianity which entitleth to the kingdom of God; as consigning the profession of a Christian unto the hands of the Church, by the means whereof Christianity is conveyed to us. Therefore, having shewed these things, I have no reason to think myself obliged to untie these cobwebs thread by thread, which I can sweep away at once with this besom.

[c] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Grace, c. v.
[d] Ibid., cc. vii., viii.
[e] Ibid., cc. x., xi., xviii—xx.
[f] Misprinted "second coming," in folio edition.
[g] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii—iv.

CHAP. VI.

§ 12. Only I will stand here so long, as to admire, whether the boldness or ignorance of these new dogmatists of new religions be the greater; when I see the baptism of John counted among the ceremonies of the old law[h], for a foundation of this new doctrine of baptisms, never heard of by any Christian till this blessed reformation was on foot: which must be said, *a fortiori*, of that baptism by water, which our Lord Christ instituted, by them that esteem it not the same. Is it possible, that any man, that believes Christianity to be the religion now in force to salvation by God's appointment, in opposition to Judaism, should imagine, that John the Baptist (sent to declare our Lord to be the Christ, That was sent of God to introduce it, to the avoiding of Moses' law) should set on foot that baptism, whereby he prepared his disciples for Christ or brought them to Christ, by virtue of that law which he intended to void? Is it not essential to all the observations of the old law, that they be thought to be figurative of Christ to come, at least supposing Christianity? Can that baptism figure Christ to come, the intent whereof supposed Him to be already come, pretending to prepare his disciples to receive Him that was come? But whether we say, the baptism of Christ was the same with John's baptism, or another; to say, the apostles of Christ, when they baptize with water, intended to figure that the Messias was coming, from Whom they had their commission to baptize, would be no less than a spice of madness.

[Dell's boldness, or ignorance, in counting the baptism of John among the ceremonies of the Law.]

§ 13. I will also stay so long for Socinus[i], as to answer

Answer to some objections [of Socinus, from 1 Cor. i.]

[h] "In so much as he" (John the Baptist) "preached Christ in the Spirit, he belonged to that kingdome of Christ, which is spirituall, as also Abraham," &c.; "but so farre forth as he preached the Doctrine and administred the Baptisme of repentance, and both these not really and spiritually, but onely in the letter and signe, so farre he belonged to the Old Testament rather then to the New, and here was John in his proper office. I say, so farre as John preached Christ spiritually, he did not that as John the Baptist, but as John a Believer; and so the same John, in regard of his Baptist's office, belonged to the Old Testament, but according to the Revelation which he had from the Father touching Christ and his faith in Him and confession of Him, he belonged to the New: and except we learne thus to distinguish of John's doctrine, to wit, what he preached as Baptist and in his proper office, and what as a Believer, who had the revelation of the Father, we shall never understand his Baptisme aright; for John's Baptisme was the scale of his Old Testament doctrine, and not of his New, or of his owne immediate Ministerie, and not of Christ's." Doctr. of Bapt., p. 6.

[i] "Secundum testimonium, idque meo judicio apertissimum, erunt verba illa Pauli 1 Cor. i. 17. 'Non enim misit me,'" &c. "Nam si præceptum Christi esset, ut Ipsius discipuli baptizarent, idque munus, ut quidem ne-

BOOK III.

that suspicion which he draws from the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 13—17, to his purpose;—"Is Christ divided; was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius; that no man say, that I baptize in my own name: yet I baptized also the house of Stephanas: further, whether I baptized any, I know not: for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." If there were any thing in these words to intimate, that the precept of baptizing is not of peremptory and perpetual necessity, then must they signify more, than that it was not necessary that it should be done by St. Paul's own hands; which is all they contain. For he that would say, that which was not necessary to be done by St. Paul, was not necessary to be done; would deserve to be laughed at for his pains. The question is then, was any of them, whom St. Paul baptized not, left unbaptized, or not? If not; how is it inferred, that a man need not be baptized now, because then they were not baptized by St. Paul? If so; how comes Socinus to grant, that those, who were first converted to Christianity, were to be baptized[j]? And therefore, before Socinus or any man go about to teach a new religion, it were fit for him to learn from the custom and practice of the Church, that there is a difference betwcen authority in ordering, and ministry in executing; and from the custom of the world, that what a man does by his minister or officer, that he does himself in law, though 58
another do it in point of nature. Which being supposed, a little reason will serve to infer, that the apostles, being principal in the commission of the Gospel, were to be employed in the principal part of it; that is, in reducing men to Christianity: and, therefore, so far as that required their attendance, inferior offices, which depended upon their order, were to be left to the execution of their ministers.

[Both the Socinian and the

§ 14. But to both these heresies, I say at once, in the last

cesse esset, Apostolis mandasset, falso omnino ita loquutus esset Apostolus." Socin., De Bapt. Aquæ Disp., c. xvi.; Op., tom. i. p. 734. b. His purpose in this chapter is to collect intimations from Scripture, that "non fuisse omnibus, qui Christi discipuli esse velint, peræque et in perpetuum aquæ baptismum suscipiendi præceptum datum, et ob eam rem posse quempiam et nominari et revera esse Christianum, licet aquæ baptismum, vel nunquam, vel non rite, cum tamen posset, acceperit."

[j] See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 7. note r.

CHAP. VI.

Antinomian heresies belie the very ground upon which they profess to be Christians.]

place, that they belie the very ground [upon[k]] which they profess to be Christians. The reason why the motives of faith cannot be doubted for truth, is, because all that are Christians, have taken upon them their Christianity for a law, and entered into a communion and body of the Church, to live and communicate in the faith and service of God according to certain laws, upon evidence that they come indeed from God. Therefore, that which all this body hath taken upon it to observe for law from the beginning, and constantly observed till Socinus his or the Antinomians' time, that belonged to the matter of Christianity as evidently, as it is evident, that the motives of Christianity recorded in the Scriptures are true: which are therefore evidently true, because it is evident, that they have moved the world to receive Christianity; which could not have been done, had they been false. For if all Christians could be deceived to believe, that their Christianity requireth them to be baptized, if they will be saved; why might they not be deceived to believe, that those things were truly done, which the Scripture allegeth to evidence the Gospel to come from God, whenas indeed they were not? Which is to say, that whoso pretends to void that which the whole Church observeth for a law, must not think that he can do it by shewing that it is not commanded in the Scriptures; until he can shew, that it is come into the Church not according to right, having been from the beginning otherwise. He must therefore first refuse all that I have said in the first Book[l], to demonstrate, that the Church always was from the beginning one body, governed by certain laws, originally proceeding from the apostles: by whom power was left it to determine and limit further all that the future estate thereof should require to be further determined, for the maintaining of unity in the communion of the Church. For, granting this, it will be impossible to shew, how so great a body should agree to receive that for a law, and that necessary to salvation, as baptism hath always been esteemed; which they received not for such at the beginning from our Lord and His apostles.

[k] Added from MS.

[l] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. vi., vii., &c.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROUND OF BAPTIZING INFANTS ORIGINAL SIN; THOUGH NOT INSTITUTED TILL CHRIST ROSE AGAIN. NO OTHER CURE FOR IT. INFANTS OF CHRISTIANS MAY BE DISCIPLES; ARE HOLY. THE EFFECT OF CIRCUMCISION UNDER THE LAW INFERRETH THE EFFECT OF BAPTISM UNDER THE GOSPEL.

[Our Lord's words to Nicodemus.]

AND these same are the reasons that I must have recourse to, now that I come to conclude against the Anabaptists. Our Lord saith to Nicodemus, John iii. 3; "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." And what this new birth is, He setteth forth in answering that impertinent question, which Nicodemus not understanding Him makes—how a man should come out of his mother's belly the second time:—"Verily, verily, I say unto thee, unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

[John iii. 5, 6.]

[Baptism] not instituted till Christ rose again.

§ 2. Here I will grant the Anabaptists, that the sacrament of baptism is not instituted by these words, but by the act of our Lord after His resurrection, when He gives His apostles their commission: "Go, make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you" (Matt. xxviii. [19, 20]): but for reasons, which perhaps they will not thank me for, though they be not able to refute.

[Gospel doctrine revealed by degrees.]

§ 3. As yet, when this discourse was held, it was not declared to all that took our Lord for a prophet, that He was the Son of God. Nicodemus himself, that comes to Him as a prophet, saying, "Master, we know Thou art a prophet come from God; for no man could do the works that Thou dost, unless God were with him;" if he go away instructed, that the same which obliges him to take our Lord Christ for a prophet, concludes Him to be the Christ the Son of God, he is beholden to the freedom of our Lord in declaring to him

[John iii. 2.]

59

CHAP. VII.

the pretence of his coming by this discourse. But, for the purpose of sending the Holy Ghost, it cannot be imagined, that it was declared from the beginning of our Lord's preaching; Who reveals not the intent of His death to His apostles, till He grew towards the time of it: the privilege of sending the Holy Ghost being part of that state, to which He was to be exalted, rising from death. How then can it be imagined, that our Lord should, from the beginning of His preaching, appoint all to be baptized in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is the sacrament of baptism that makes us Christians?

[Matt. xx. 28, &c.]

§ 4. Certainly, it is not the same thing for John to baptize "in the name of Him that should come," as for the apostles in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: unless we think, that all the people of God, who expected a Messias, expected Him to be the Son of God; which Christians worship our Lord Christ for, and they crucified Him for pretending to be. There is therefore no cause, why we should offer that violence to the Scripture, Acts xix. 4, 5—"John indeed baptized the baptism of repentance, saying to the people, that they were to believe in Him that came after him, that is, in Christ Jesus; and, hearing this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus;"—which I shewed you[m] is offered by those, that would have it to signify, that those who were baptized by John Baptist, were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus. For other answers[n] that are

[John's baptism not Christian baptism.]

[m] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Grace, c. ii. § 7. note r.

[n] "Voss., De Bapt. Disp. viii. § xxiv. sq. (Op., tom. vi. pp. 286. b, sq.), gives three interpretations of the passage. "Unum est, ut propter particulas μὲν et δὲ, verba illa ἀκούσαντες δὲ Pauli esse dicantur; Lucæ autem verba incipiant versu seq. ubi particula καὶ respondeat versui tertio et quarto:" and its defenders explain thus,—that "primum generatim dici de toto Joannis ministerio, quod baptizaverit baptismo pœnitentiæ," &c.; "deinde vero speciatim addi, quo ordine et modo baptismum administrarit, nempe quod prius sit hortatus ut crederent in Christum, deinde eos in Christi nomine baptizarit; denique adjungi, postquam Paulus et doctrinam Joannis ut evangelicam, et baptismum ejus ut Christianum approbasset, baptizatis a Joanne non quidem iterasse baptismum, sed tantummodo imposuisse manus ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum. . . . Altera ejus loci interpretatio est, ut sermo sit ἀνανταπόδοτος, nec δὲ sit relativa sed transitiva particula: aliter si esset, Lucam, inquiunt, non fuisse dicturum, ἀκούσαντες δὲ, sed οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνου, vel potius, οἱ δὲ ἀκηκοότες ἐκείνου, hoc est, 'Qui audiverunt illum.' Movet etiam eos, quod cum discipuli illi dixissent se baptizatos fuisse εἰς Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα, Paulus doceat eos qualis fuerit Joannis doctrina. Unde colligunt, ab aliquo Joannis discipulo, cum baptismus ejus locum amplius non haberet, aqua tinctos esse; vel cum rite posset usurpari, male in Joannis nomen, non Christi, fuisse baptizatos: atque ideo, postquam de doctrina Jo-

BOOK III.

devised to avoid so[o] clear a Scripture, I count them not worth the refuting, so evidently they force the express sense of the words. And among them none more unreasonable, than that which saith, that these men were not indeed baptized with the baptism of John, though they thought they were; and that St. Paul, when he says, "John indeed baptized" with water, "saying to the people, that they should believe in Him That was to come, even in Christ Jesus," argues and persuades them, that they were not indeed baptized with the baptism of John, though they thought they were[p]. For, of all things in the world, could men be deceived to think, that they professed that which the baptism of John must oblige them to profess, and did not? Nor can it be said with any appearance of truth[q], that John, baptizing "unto repentance" those, whom he sends for the means of salvation for the future to "Him That was to come," did baptize in the Name of the Lord Jesus; inasmuch as it is necessary to be said, that the apostles, when they baptized

annis rectius forent instructi a Paulo, fuisse ab eo non tam rebaptizatos quam baptizatos; quia prior baptismus non esset verus baptismus. . . Tertia est illorum opinio, qui et rite antea baptizatos, et postea nihilominus rebaptizatos censent: quæ, si Optatum et Ambrosianum illum interpretem excipias, omnium antiquorum sententia est. Sed in eo hi quoque differunt, quod plurimi aqua tantum baptizasse Joannem putant; aliqui vero remissionem peccatorum a Joannis baptismate minime separant." Voss himself holds the last named view.—"Concedo fuisse illud verum Joannis baptisma, et unum idemque cum Christi baptismate; sed rebaptizatos nego. Quid igitur sibi volunt verba, 'Baptizati sunt in nomine Jesu?' Quidam interpretantur, tantum sincera doctrina eruditos a Paulo fuisse; sed simplicius intelligere malim, baptismum Spiritus Sancti, hoc est, gratias Spiritus visibiles per manuum impositionem datas. . . Nec repugnat quod postea subditur, 'Quum imposuisset manus, descendebat Spiritus Sanctus super eos.' Non enim duo diversa narrat Lucas: sed formam narrationis sequitur Hebræis familiarem, qui primum rei summam proponunt, deinde fusius explicant." Calvin., Instit., IV. xv. 18: Op., tom. ix. p. 353. b.

[o] Corrected from MS.; "to," in orig. text.

[p] See the second of the interpretations mentioned by Voss, above in note n. A similar notion was held among others by the Centuriators of Magdeburg, Hist. Eccles., cent. i. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 354:—"Paulus discipulos quosdam Ephesios, qui baptismate Joannis, corrupta et depravata forma ejus, absque nomine Spiritus Sancti, baptisati erant, in nomine Domini Jesu, hoc est, secundum ritum a Christo institutum, denuo baptisavit."—See Maskell, Holy Baptism, p. 290, note 19.

[q] "Verum esto ut ea semper formula" (sc. "in Nomine venturi Messiæ") "sit usus: sic quoque in nomine Trinitatis baptizârit. Nam cur hoc minus de Joanne dici debeat, quam de apostolis; qui in Nomine Jesu dicuntur baptizasse Act. ii. 38? Et tamen in Trinitatis Nomine eos immersisse ait Ambrosius, quia Christi Nomen complectatur tum Patrem Qui 'unxit Filium oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus Suis,' tum Filium, Cui 'Pater dedit Spiritum non ad mensuram,' tum Spiritum Sanctum, Qui est ipsa 'Unctio.'" Voss., De Bapt. Disp. viii. § viii.; Op., tom. vi. p. 284. a.

in the Name of the Lord Jesus (Acts ii. 38, viii. 16, x. 48), did sufficiently intimate the Name of the Father, Whose Son they preached our Lord to be, and also of the Holy Ghost, Whom our Lord had promised to those that are baptized: as Irenæus[r], so long since, hath exquisitely cleared the difficulty, how they observed their commission of baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; baptizing, as St. Luke reports, in the Name of the Lord Jesus. But of John the Baptist it is said, Joh. i. 29—34, that, the morrow after he baptized our Lord, he declared Him to be the "Man" That was to "come after" him, in Whose Name he had baptized; that he "knew Him not," but came to declare Him; and that by the coming down of the dove upon Him it was revealed to him, that he should know our Lord to be the Man that came to "baptize with the Holy Ghost." Whereby it appeareth, that he cannot be thought to have baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus, as that importeth as much as baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For though it is evident, that John knew our Lord when He came to be baptized, that he knew Him to be in the world from the time that he began to preach, and that He should baptize with the Holy Ghost; yet, not knowing the Man from the time that he began to baptize, how could he baptize in His Name, and as the Son of God That was to give the Holy Ghost, before our Lord Himself had
60 preached and declared, upon what terms it was to come? I suppose it is easy enough to distinguish between baptizing in the Name of Christ, and baptizing with an intent of sending them whom he baptized to Christ, to be baptized with the Holy Ghost. Neither is this to say, that John's baptism availed not to remission of sins, for the time that it was on foot by God's appointment: whenas we acknowledge that dispensation of grace, which was intimated and conveyed by the Law, to have been the means to bring some to the righteousness of faith; how much more the twilight of the

CHAP. VII.

[r] "In Christi enim Nomine subauditur Qui unxit, et Ipse Qui unctus est, et Ipsa Unctio in qua unctus est. Et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est vero Filius, in Spiritu Qui est unctio: quemadmodum per Esaiam ait sermo, 'Spiritus Dei super Me, propter quod unxit Me;' significans et ungentem Patrem, et unctum Filium, et unctionem, Qui est Spiritus." S. Iren., Adv. Hær., lib. iii. c. 20. p. 246. a.

BOOK III.

Gospel under John the Baptist? But that, before the covenant of grace was published by the preaching of our Lord, and enacted on God's part by His death upon the cross (or rather by raising Him from death), it was not time to determine that act, by which God intended that profession, which He requires for the condition of it, should be solemnized and celebrated.

[The blood and water from our Lord's side upon the cross.]

§ 5. Therefore there came water and blood out of our Lord's side upon the cross, to intimate the ground upon which this sacrament should be in force for the future.

[Grant of the Holy Ghost not before the ascension.]

§ 6. And if this be the condition, upon which the Holy Ghost, Which Christ promiseth upon His ascension, is granted, as I have shewed[s], then can it not be thought to have been in force from any other date, than that of the promise.

[Our Lord's words to Nicodemus nevertheless refer to baptism.]

§ 7. This is the reason, why I am to expect no thanks from the Anabaptists, for granting that the sacrament of baptism was not in force when these words were said. For the regeneration here required in them, that shall come to the kingdom of heaven, being expressed here to be that which the Holy Ghost worketh; and the sending of the Holy Ghost depending upon the profession of Christianity solemnly made by baptism, from the time that Christianity came in force: whatsoever Nicodemus understood by being "born again of water and the Holy Ghost," after the institution they cannot be understood to take effect without it. There were then divers customs of baptizing in force among the Jews by virtue of the Law[t]. There was a custom to admit proselytes into the synagogue[u], by circumcision, by a sacrifice, and by baptism[x]. And they that look upon this

[s] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. ii. § 7; &c.

[t] See Wall, Hist. of Inf. Baptism, Introd.; and the various authorities quoted by him, p. 4: of whom Selden (De Jure Nat. et Gent. ap. Hebr., lib. ii. c. 2; Op., tom. i. pp. 172. sq.; and De Synedriis Vet. Hebr., lib. i. c. 3; ibid., pp. 776, sq.; and De Successionibus ad Leges Hebr., c. xxvi. ibid., tom. ii. pp. 68, sq.) is the one to whom Thorndike usually refers on such subjects as those here noticed.

[u] Corrected from MS.; "synagogues," in orig. text.

[x] So Maimonides, איסורי ביאה, or Issuri Bia, i. e. De Prohibito Congressu, c. xiii. § 4.—cc. xiii. and xiv. of this tract were translated by Prideaux into Latin, and published under the title of Tractatus de Proselytis, in fin. tract. R. Mos. Maimon. De Jure Pauperis et Peregrini, 4to. Oxon. 1679. The passage (which is quoted by Wall, p. 11, and by Selden, De Synedr., &c., lib. i. c. 3. Op., tom. i. pp. 787, 788.) runs thus in Prideaux, pp. 113, 114:—"Et sic in perpetuum, quotiescunque aliquis Gentilis voluerit in fœdus intrare," &c., "opus est ei circumcisione, baptismo, et conciliatione 'per sparsionem sanguinis' sacrificii: sed si fœmina

custom with judgment, cannot doubt, that our Saviour, intending to prescribe a course for the bringing of true proselytes, which are Christians, into the true Israel of God, which is the Church, made choice of the ceremony of baptism, because of the correspondence between the Law and the Gospel. In fine, John had taken it up for the fittest expression of that repentance and conversion from those evil ways, which he charged those that bore themselves high upon the privilege of God's people with, which those whom he baptized were to profess. This was enough to make Nicodemus understand by these words the declaration of a purpose to institute some such ceremony, as those which he knew to be in use. But when He addeth the Holy Ghost, as a promise annexed to it, He sends us [to His[y]] Gospel, to learn further what this promise requires.

[Parallel relation between John vi. and the other sacrament.]

§ 8. And, therefore, I must resume here that which I observed afore[z], that our Lord, intending to institute the sacrament of the eucharist for the eating of His Body and Blood mystically as in a sacrament, prepared His disciples for it by discoursing to them of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, by considering His doctrine, and turning it to the nourishment of their souls, by taking up His cross and professing Christianity: Joh. vi. For one egg is not liker another, than the course He takes here, to intimate what He intended to ordain for the qualifying of His disciples to be capable of the Holy Ghost (whereby He declareth a promise), is to His proceeding in bringing in the other sacrament.

[Consequent necessity of baptizing infants.]

§ 9. If then our Anabaptists can shew us a new Gospel, to assure us of the gift of the Holy Ghost without baptism, then may they take upon them to assure us of the kingdom of heaven without it. But if the kingdom of heaven depend upon the new birth of the Holy Ghost, and there be no possible means to assure any man of this new birth without the sacrament of baptism; either infants must be baptized before they go out of the world, or go out of the world without that assurance.

sit, opus ei tantum baptismo et sacrificio."

[y] Corrected from MS.; "sends us John's Gospel," in orig. text.

[z] Above, c. ii. § 11, 12.

BOOK III.

The ground of baptizing infants original sin.

§ 10. Here, I profess, it is all one to me as to this dispute, whether those whom I dispute with, believe original sin or not. For if they believe it not, I remit them to that which I have said in the second Book to maintain it[a]. If they believe it, I remit them to all that I have said there[b], to shew 61 that it is not cured by predestination alone, but by that condition which the covenant of grace requireth. To this condition he that is predestinate, is cured of it by his predestination, which appointeth him the cure: but, not being predestinate to the cure, cannot be presumed to be predestinate to the kingdom, which supposeth the cure.

No other cure for it. [John iii. 6.]

§ 11. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, that which is born of the Spirit is spirit;" saith our Lord. How shall that which is born flesh, be born again spirit? Did our Lord promise it any man, that should not first profess Christianity and be baptized? He that stands upon that, let him dispute with that which I have said in the second Book[c]. Let him shew me, how the Gospel, how Christianity can stand, if the promises of it be assigned to God's grace and purpose immediately, without supposing any condition qualifying for the same. It is plain what will be said: infants are not capable of making this profession, of knowing what it means, of judging that it ought to be made; therefore not capable of baptism, or the promises depending upon it, if, in that consideration, they depend upon it. And, truly, set aside that consideration, and I do not marvel, that man cannot believe God should make the spiritual and everlasting promises of His Gospel to depend upon a little water, and so many words as it is used with. Besides that St. Peter, finding it inconvenient to attribute such effects to laying down "the filth of the flesh," establisheth instead of it "the profession of a good conscience to God," as that to which he would have them ascribed[d]. [1 Pet. iii. 21.]

[Predestinarians must hold baptism a thing indifferent.]

§ 12. They then, that believe, that God provided and procured the fall of Adam; or, foreseeing the means by which it would come to pass, permitted it on purpose, that, all his posterity being liable to original sin, He might choose whom

[a] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. x., xi., xviii—xx.
[b] Ibid., cc. ii—vii.
[c] c. ii.; and c. x. § 19.
[d] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. ii. § 3—5.

He would save, and whom He would damn for it, without respect of any compliance with those terms of salvation which He should hold forth; do not stand to their own opinion, if they refer not the salvation of infants to the mere appointment of God, without respect of any thing that the Church may do in it. But they, that will not part with their Christianity for so gross a presumption as that is, will take heed how they become murderers, of [their[e]] children's souls first, denying them that help to God's kingdom which is in their power to give, and [then[f]] of their own, by breaking the unity of the Church rather than do that which the Church always did do. CHAP. VII.

§ 13. Indeed, if there were any thing in the precept of baptism to signify, that it is not to be given them who do not actually make profession of Christianity, reason would that it should be obeyed; referring ourselves to God for the issue of those inconveniences, which His commands breed, though never so visible. But what saith the apostles' commission? "Go, make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you." For I do except against the translation of it, Go *teach* all nations; being in the Greek, "*μαθητεύσατε*," and in the Syriac, TALMED, which can signify nothing but "make disciples[g]." Now those that "were first called Christians at Antioch" (Acts xi. 26), were called "disciples" afore; and afterwards also, almost throughout the Scripture, which useth the name of Christians but seldom[h]. And is there not reason to take them for disciples, who, being engaged to Christianity by being baptized infants, stand obliged to inform themselves in it, when they come to age? Indeed, all that hath been said of the covenant of grace and the terms of it witnesseth, that they are first to be proposed to them that understand, then choice is to be made, baptism following to solemnize the profession of that choice: but this text is so far from signifying, that infants should not be baptized till

Infants of Christians may be disciples.

[Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.]

[e] Corrected from MS.; "the," in orig. text.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "that," in orig. text.

[g] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. ii. § 8.

[h] Scil. thrice: Acts xi. 26, xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 16.

BOOK III.

all this is done, that it rather serves to intimate an exception to the generality of the proposition in behalf of them: seeing those who shall be taught the obligation they have to be Christians, whether they will or not, are very regularly and legally called "disciples," and therefore comprehended in the precept of "making disciples."

Are holy.

§ 14. This intimation appears clearer in the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14: where he persuadeth Christians, that were married to infidels, not to forsake them, in these words; "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were 62
your children unclean, but now they are holy." For the meaning whereof I will have recourse to the Book of Wisdom, iii. 11—16: where, describing the miseries of the idolatrous heathen under the title of those that 'neglect wisdom,' among other things, he saith; "Their ways are foolish, their hearts wicked, and their generation accursed[1]; for," saith he, "blessed is the barren that is clean, and hath not known the bed of sin." And again: "The fruits of good labours" (that is, of those that labour in the Law) "are glorious, and the root of wisdom never fadeth; but the sons of adulterers shall decay, and the generation that is born of evil bed shall be destroyed." For the excesses of the Gentiles, that knew not God, in the lusts of carnal uncleanness, were so great, that it always was to be presumed, that children so bred could have no means of instruction to preserve them from the same. And the difference between the people of God and idolatrous nations was visible, even in this point, from the first separation of them upon that account. As appeareth by the zeal of Simeon and Levi for their sister so dishonoured. "Should they deal with our sister as an harlot?" say they, Gen. xxxiv. 31. Which zeal Judith (ix. 4.) understandeth to have proceeded upon this reason, that they, being abandoned to the service of strange gods, had done that uncleanness which God had forbidden, and which His servants abhorred, as "the pollution of their blood." For there is no man that knows what belonged to heathenism, that can doubt, that all

[1] This is misquoted, in part seemingly by a misprint. The original runs thus—"Whoso despiseth wisdom and nurture, he is miserable, and their hope is vain, their labours unfruitful, and their works unprofitable; their *wives* are foolish, and their children wicked." Wisd. iii. 11, 12.

uncleanness of this nature was always reckoned among them for a thing indifferent, and no account had of it but in civil regards, as it dishonoured the house or tainted the issue. But the people of God, being bred to the knowledge of the true God and the abomination in which He hath it, stood upon it chiefly in that regard, because, should they do as idolaters, they could not be taken for God's people. Wherefore, when St. Paul adviseth them that were married to infidels, not to part from them, "in case they were content to continue with them"—"*εἰ συνευδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ;*" this content is to be understood to be such, as might stand with Christianity; that is, that the Christian party should have interest to teach the issue Christianity, and to guide them according to the law. For by this interest they are, in St. Paul's esteem, legally holy as to the Church; because of a legal presumption of their Christianity by the means of their education under that parent that was Christian, and, by the consent of that party which was not Christian, had all freedom to propose unto their posterity the obligation of Christianity. If this be the case of those that are born of one side Christian, what shall we say of them that are born of Christian parents? For, being sure (as human things can be sure) that they shall come to the knowledge of Christ and then be under the obligation of Christianity, they are already, as to God, and to all Christians (not to them that do not believe Christianity), under the obligation of living and of behaving themselves as Christians.

[1 Cor. vii. 12.]

§ 15. But we are not therefore to imagine, that the guilt of original sin ceaseth in them; any more than in those that are not Christians: or that this guilt can be taken away otherwise than by Christianity[k]. And hath an infant any

[And are to be baptized.]

[k] Quasi vero de nihilo dictum sit, eos nasci sanctos qui ex fidelibus nascuntur. Imo, quo jure ad Baptismum eos admittimus, nisi quod promissionis sunt hæredes? Nisi enim jam ante ad eos pertineret vitæ promissio, baptismum profanaret, quisquis illis daret. Quod si Deus in regnum Suum eos adoptavit, quanta injuria fit promissioni, quasi per se ad eorum salutem non sufficiat." Calvin, Antidot. in Sext. Sess. Concil. Trident., Op., tom. viii. p. 240. a. And so also his Institut., IV. xvi. 24, 25. And see his strange Epistle to Farel (Epist., p. 80. a. Amst. 1667, and see Hooker, III. i. 12), denying that "children of papists" ought to be baptized.—"Before baptisme the minister is to use some words of instruction," &c., shewing, ... "that the promise is made to beleevers and their seed, and that the seed and posterity of the faithfull, born within the Church, have, by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the seale of it, and to the outward privi-

BOOK III.

thing but baptism to entitle it to Christianity? And shall they not cry out to God upon those parents, that suffer them to go out of this world not Christians?

The effect of circumcision under the Law inferreth the effect of baptism under the Gospel.

§ 16. Surely, if we look upon the provision of the Law with a single eye (that is, always observing the difference formerly settled between the Law and the Gospel), we shall have great cause to conclude[1]. The Law, that is, the covenant made with Abraham, having entitled his posterity to the land of promise, provideth, that every male child of his, that shall not be circumcised the eighth day, shall be cut off from his people (Gen. xvii. 14): that is to say, the life thereof shall be forfeit in God's hands, not to give him any share in the right of that people, who by being circumcised became God's people. So you have here the condition of circumcision, requisite to entitle even those that are born of Abraham, to the promise made to him and his seed. The consequence hereof is that, which the correspondence between the Law and the Gospel, between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, infers. If, by entering into the covenant 63 made with Abraham and with his seed, they become heirs of the land of promise; then, by entering into the covenant made with Christ and Abraham's (that is, Christ's) spiritual seed, we become heirs of the world to come. If by circumcision they entered into the covenant made with Abraham and with his seed, then by baptism we enter into the covenant made with Christ and with Abraham's spiritual seed. If by the neglect of circumcision the temporal life of Abraham's seed were forfeit by the term of this covenant in God's hands, then by the neglect of baptism is the spiritual life of those that are born of Christ's spiritual seed, forfeit in God's hands. For if the land of promise and the inheritance thereof, estated upon Abraham and his seed according to the

ledges of the Church, under the Gospell, no lesse than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance, being the same, and the grace of God and the consolation of believers more plentifull then before." Directory for Publique Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, pp. 40—42. 4to. Lond. 1644: pp. 540, 541, of the Confessions of Faith, &c., of the present Scotch Presbyterians, Edinb. 1841.—See above, in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. v. § 10, note g.—For the Socinian doctrine, that children of Christian parents do not need baptism, see above, c. v. § 5, note s: and for a similar doctrine among the Baptists (so called) in England, Wall, Def. of Hist. of Inf. Bapt., pp. 28, sq. Oxf. 1836.

[1] So in orig. text.

flesh, required nevertheless the execution of that condition, by which they were admitted into the covenant; how much more shall the inheritance of the world to come, promised to the children of Christians, as the parties agree, require the execution of that condition, by which the covenant of grace is enacted[m]? Indeed, if the covenant of grace were enacted between God and man by the publishing of the Gospel, as most men seem to imagine, there were some colour for such a consequence. But if the covenant of Abraham was to be enacted upon the flesh of them that were circumcised, even after that the whole people of Israel had entered into covenant for themselves and their posterity; and that, till this were done, no child was entitled to the benefit of it: how can it be imagined, that the covenant of grace, which is (as all covenants necessarily are) the act of two parties, should be enacted by the act of God alone in publishing the Gospel? Indeed by that declaration, God, of His infinite goodness, hath obliged Himself before to stand to all the promises of the Gospel with any man, that shall profess and stand to his Christianity. But till this[n] profession be made as God's law hath appointed, that is, by baptism; the covenant is not enacted. And, therefore, I allow that which St. Paul saith, Rom. iv. 11; that "Abraham received the sign of circumcision for a seal of [the[o]] righteousness of that faith which he had being uncircumcised:" but I do not allow, that his circumcision was a bare sign of that right, which he and his posterity had to the promise without it and before it, speaking of the time after it was once enacted for a law of that covenant (for afore indeed that it was so required, his faith

[m] The following may serve to indicate the Calvinistic argument on this point.—"Quemadmodum nec Dominus, quum Abrahamum Sibi cooptat, a circumcisione sumit exordium, interim quid illo signo Sibi velit dissimulans: verum quod ferire cum ipso fœdus instituat, primum denunciat; tum deinde post fidem promissioni habitam, sacramenti facit participem. Cur in Abrahamo fidem sacramentum sequitur, in Isaaco filio intelligentiam omnem præcedit? Quoniam eum qui adulta demum ætate in fœderis societatem recipitur a quo fuerat hactenus alienus, ejus conditionis antea perdiscere æquum est: infantem vero ex eo progenitum, non item; qui hæreditario jure, secundum promissionis formulam, jam a matris utere in fœdere continetur. Aut (quo res clarius ac brevius indicetur) si fidelium liberi, citra intelligentiæ adminiculum, fœderis sunt participes, non est cur ob id a signo arceantur quia in fœderis stipulationem jurare nequeunt." Calvin, Instit., IV. xvi. 24; Op., tom. ix. p. 361. a.

[n] Corrected from MS.; "his," in orig. text.

[o] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

entitled him to the same promise without it). For if the law require, that writings be drawn and sealed, though these writings of themselves are mere evidences, and signs to record the consent of the parties, by which every contract subsists; yet, inasmuch as the law requires them, the consent of parties avails not to bring the contract to effect without them: even so, if the law of God appoint the first covenant to be signed by circumcision, the second by baptism; though it may be said to be in force, conditionally, towards them that have not yet signed it upon themselves, yet are they not absolutely within it till that be done. If the Roman emperors' law require, that their soldiers, when they were listed and impresteds, should also be marked with the mark of a hot iron, recording upon their flesh that from thenceforth they were soldiers[q]; it is reasonable to think, that thenceforth, and not afore, they were entitled to the privileges of soldiers, and liable to the penalties of leaving their colours. This is that character of baptism, which St. Augustin[r] hath so much of; and St. Chrysostom[s] compares circumcision to the same: which, therefore, not only signifies, but brings with it, the burdens and privileges of Abraham's seed, or Christ's offspring. If therefore circumcision, bringing with it the obligation of living according to the faith which "Abraham had being uncircumcised," and when the Law was afterwards given, of living according to the Law, do also bring with it a title to the promise made to Abraham and his seed; is it strange, that baptism, visibly and necessarily bringing with it the obligation of Christianity upon them, who are dedicated to God by the Church in giving that sacrament, should be entitled[t] thereby to the regeneration of God's Spirit, the earnest of our future inheritance? In the children of the Israelites, as there was nothing to entitle them to the promise made to Abraham's seed, setting aside circumcision and the covenant that required it; so was there nothing to 64

[p] So in orig. text.

[q] Veget., De Re Milit., lib. i. c. 8: et Impp. Arcad. et Honor., lib. xi. Cod. tit. 9. leg. 3; et Imp. Zeno, ibid., tit. 42. leg. 10.

[r] See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 11. note k.

[s] "Ἐσφραγίσθησαν καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀλλὰ περιτομῇ, καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλογα." S. Chrys., In Epist. ad Ephes. c. i. Hom. ii. § 2: Op., tom. xi. p. 11. A.—And see above in Bk. II., &c., c. iv. § 11. note k.

[t] So in orig. text. We should read apparently, "should entitle us," or, "we should be entitled thereby."

hinder them, or render them incapable of a temporal promise. In the children of Christians, either we believe original sin to be no bar to God's kingdom, and fall into the heresy of Pelagius: or that the new covenant, which is an act of two parties, is enacted by the appointment of one, in regard of the elect, who never knew of it; but signifies nothing in regard of those that are not elect, though never so much convict of it, and yet have force to damn them, whom only God's appointment could make it concern. But if these extremes be equally destructive to Christianity, it behoveth us to embrace that, which the correspondence between the old and new covenant necessarily inferreth, upon that proportion; which must be the same between circumcision and baptism, and the promises to which they entitle us. Neither is this argument to be avoided, but by avoiding the ground of all mystical sense in the Scripture; which is, indeed, the avoiding of all Christianity, by acknowledging, that there is no ground for it in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which all acknowledge[n]. For if the children of Christians are no less entitled to the promises of the New Testament, than the children of Abraham under the Law were to the land of promise: granting original sin to be a bar to the effect of them, neither is it removed but by bringing them under the covenant of grace, nor are they brought under it but by the act of the Church baptizing them, and so obliging them to it.

[The faith of parents no ground for dispensing with baptism of infants.]

§ 17. And here comes in the saying of St. Peter, exhorting them that were pricked in heart with the remorse of our Lord's death, Acts ii. 38, 39:—"Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, unto remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for to you is the promise made, and to your children, and to all that are far off, whom the Lord our God shall call to you." Indeed it seemeth, that, when the Apostle saith the promise is made to their children, he meant to prevent a mistake;—that the promise which he speaks of, concerns not only the present generation, but all succeeding ages of God's people:—for when he addeth "all"

["προσκαλέσηται."]

[n] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii. § 26, sq.: and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. v. § 10, xvi. § 2, &c.

BOOK III.

those "whom God shall call to you;" it seemeth, that he intends not for the present to determine, whether those that were to be called to the same promises, were to be ingraffed into the commonwealth of Israel by circumcision, or not. But all this being admitted; seeing no age can succeed whereof infants are not one part, and seeing that the apostle declares the promises of the Gospel by Christ to belong to them, no otherwise than they understood the promises of the Law to do; of necessity it must follow, that upon correspondent terms they obtain interest in correspondent promises: which correspondence wherein it consists, hath been oft enough said.

[Our Lord's blessing little children.]

§ 18. And this argument is much enforced by the act of our Saviour, commanding little children of the state of infants to be brought to Him, reproving them that would not have Him troubled with them, laying hands on them, and blessing them; Matt. xix. 15; Mark x. 15, 16; Luke xviii. 16, 17. For by this means it is effectually declared past all contradiction, that the blessing which Christ came to give belonged to infants. For though this were all done upon another occasion (to wit, that our Lord had made them the pattern of that humility, which He preacheth to Christians); yet the very doing of it is evidence enough, that He meant not to leave that estate unprovided of His blessing. What His blessing is, the apostle expresseth, Acts iii. 26: "To you first, God, having raised up His Son Jesus, hath sent Him to bless you by turning every man from his sins." If, therefore, that which barreth infants of this blessing, be nothing but original sin; and that neither God's appointment alone, nor the publishing of His Gospel, nor the faith of their predecessors, can make any appearance of freeing them from it: what madness will it be, not to expect it from, not to impute it to, that condition, which succeedeth the condition, by which the children of God's ancient people stood entitled to the land of promise?

[Matt. xiii. 2, Mark ix. 36, Luke ix. 47.]

65

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT IS ALLEGED TO IMPEACH TRADITION FOR BAPTIZING INFANTS, PROVES NOT THAT ANY COULD BE SAVED REGULARLY WHO DIED UNBAPTIZED; BUT THAT BAPTIZING AT YEARS WAS A STRONG MEANS TO MAKE GOOD CHRISTIANS. WHY THE CHURCH NOW BAPTIZES INFANTS. WHAT BECOMES OF INFANTS DYING UNBAPTIZED, UNANSWERABLE. WHAT THOSE INFANTS GET WHO DIE BAPTIZED.

[Infant baptism, how deducible from Scripture.]

AND thus from the Scriptures alone I have proved, that infants are capable of baptism, and that the Church is bound to provide them of it; unless we will say, that the Church is not bound to provide them of that means of salvation, which the Church alone dispenseth. And upon these terms I conceive I may safely acknowledge, that there is no precept for baptizing of the infants of Christians written in the Scripture; presuming, that it is written in the Scripture, that infants are to be provided of the necessary means of salvation by the Church. For though it be not necessary, that all infants be baptized, because they are infants; yet will it be necessary, that they be baptized before they go out of the world: and, therefore, while they are infants, rather than they should go out of the world unbaptized.

[The practice of the whole Church from the beginning.]

§ 2. But the practice of the whole Church, and that from the beginning[x], challenges the effect of St. Augustin's rule[y];—that what is received of the whole Church, and not by any express act of the Church from which the beginning of it may be demonstrable, must of necessity be imputed to the tradition of the apostles. For, the judgments of men being so diverse as they are, how can it be imagined, that so great a body, and so far dispersed, as the Church, should agree to impose such a burden upon themselves, had they not understood the obligation of it by the means of them from whom they received their Christianity?

[x] Cassander, De Bapt. Infant. Testimonia Veterum, &c., Op., pp. 669, sq. —Voss., De Baptism., Disp. xiv.; Op., tom. vi. pp. 306—310.—Wall, History of Inf. Baptism, with Defence.

[y] "Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur." S. Aug., De Bapt. cont. Donatist., lib. iv. c. 24. § 31; Op., tom. ix. p. 140. C, D.

BOOK III.

What is alleged to impeach tradition for baptizing infants, proves not that any could be saved regularly that died unbaptized, but that baptizing at years was a strong means to make good Christians.

§ 3. The testimonies of Tertullian (*De Bapt.* cap. xviii. [a]), of St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xl. *in Sanctum Baptisma* [a]), and of Walafridus Strabus (*De Reb. Eccles.* cap. xxvi. [b]), that dehort from baptizing infants, or declare that the Church in the first ages did not baptize during infancy, are so far from making any exception to this evidence, that they contain sufficient evidence for the same truth; if we be so considerate as to understand this tradition, not to require, that all be baptized during infancy, but that no infant go out of the world unbaptized. For he that will employ a little common sense may see, that there may be reasons to make men think it better, that baptism be ministered to those that can understand what it imports and what they undertake; provided that they go not out of the world unbaptized, but that there be an effectual course taken for the baptizing of them in danger of death. For that it is not my sense, but the sense of the Church, that makes the baptism of infants necessary, not because infants, but lest they die unbaptized; I appeal to St. Augustin, *Enchirid.* cap. xliii.[c]:—*"A parvulo enim recens nato usque ad decrepitum senem, sicut nullus prohibendus est a baptismo, ita nullus est qui non peccato moriatur in baptismo; sed parvuli tantum originali," &c.*—"For from the little one new born to the decrepit old man, as none is to be hindered of baptism, so is there none that does not die to sin in baptism; but little ones only to original," &c. He saith not, that from young to old all are to be baptized; but none is to be refused baptism, supposing the necessity of his case and the rule of the Church

[a] "Cæterum baptismum non temere credendum esse sciant quorum officium est. 'Omni petenti te dato,' suum habet titulum, proinde ad eleemosynam pertinentem. Imo illud potius perspiciendum, 'Nolite dare sanctum canibus,'" &c. "Itaque pro cujusque personæ conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est: præcipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malæ indolis falli. Ait quidem Dominus, 'Nolite illos prohibere ad Me venire.' Veniant ergo dum adolescunt, veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur: fiant Christiani quum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agetur in secularibus: ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, Divina credatur. Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris," &c. Tertull., De Bapt., c. xviii. Op., pp. 231. B—232. A.—See Wall, Hist. of Inf. Bapt., Pt. i. c. 4. vol. i. pp. 87, sq.: and above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. iv. § 6. note y, xix. § 12.

[a] See the passages from St. Gregory below, § 7. text to notes q, r, and § 22. text to note d. See also Wall, Pt. i. c. 11. vol. i. pp. 169, sq.

[b] See below, § 9. note x.

[c] Op., tom. vi. p. 213. C.

to require it. The same is to be said of the canon of Neo-Cæsarea[d]; that allows the baptism of a woman with child, because it extends not to the baptizing of the infant in her womb, before confession of faith: and of the custom of the Greeks to this day, testified by Balsamon[e] and Zonaras[e] upon that canon. For what need more words? I acknowledge, that Vives upon St. Augustin (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. i. c. 27[f],) gives very great reasons, why it were better, that the baptism of infants were deferred till they come to the discretion of understanding[g] to what they engage themselves. But shall I therefore believe, that Vives was an Anabaptist? that he did not believe original sin? that he acknowledged any cure for it without baptism? that he thought it not necessary to
66 salvation, that all should be baptized before death? A ridiculous thing once to imagine. Thus much for certain: so sure and evident as it is, that, when he writ this, the custom of the Church was to baptize infants; so certain it is, that, when all that I have alleged was written and done that men should not be baptized in infancy, there was a constant custom and practice in force in the Church, whereby care was taken, that no infant should die unbaptized. And though they express reasons, for which they had rather Christians should be baptized at years; yet never any Christian ex-

[d] "Περὶ κυοφορούσης, ὅτι δεῖ φωτίζεσθαι ὁπότε βούλεται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ κοινωνεῖ ἡ τίκτουσα τῷ τικτομένῳ· διὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἰδίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δείκνυσθαι." Conc. Neo-Cæsar. (A.D. 314), can. vi.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 1481. C.—See Wall, Pt. i. c. 8. vol. i. pp. 150, sq.

[e] Balsamon (in can. vi. Conc. Neo-Cæsar., ap. Bevereg., Pandect. Canon., tom. i. p. 407. A), after saying that the infant, as well as the mother, must be baptized, when born, adds, "τὰ δὲ νήπια διὰ τῶν ἀναδεχομένων αὐτὰ κατατίθενται, καὶ πραγματικῶς φωτιζόμενα θείας καταξιοῦνται ἐλλάμψεως."—Zonaras (ibid.) simply says, that, "ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον ἐστέρηται προαιρέσεως, οὐδὲ βαπτίζεσθαι δοκεῖ" (sc. in the womb of the baptized mother), "ὥστε αὐτὸ χρήζει αὖθις βαπτίσματος, ὅτε προαιρεῖσθαι δυνήσεται."—See Wall's comment. on this canon, and on the two scholiasts here quoted, and his answer to Grotius's and Jeremy Taylor's argument drawn from them, Pt. i. c. 8; vol. i. pp. 150, sq.

[f] "Ne quis fallatur hoc loco, nemo olim sacro admovebatur baptisterio nisi adulta jam ætate, et cum idem ipse et sciret quid sibi mystica illa vellet aqua, et se ablui illa peteret, nec semel peteret. Cujus rei imaginem adhuc nostris infantium baptismis videmus. Nam rogatur etiam, num infans eo die natus, vel pridie, velitne baptizari, idque ter: pro quo susceptores respondent, velle. Audio in quibusdam Italiæ urbibus morem veterem magna ex parte adhuc conservari. Nihil hic probo, vel reprobo: admonendi tantum gratia dico, ut alia permulta." Lud. Vives, Comment. in S. Aug., De Civ. Dei, lib. i. c. 27: p. 27. A. ed. Froben., Basil. 1622. He is commenting on the mention by S. Augustin of "exhortationibus, ... quibus baptizatos alloquendo studemus accendere."—See Wall, Pt. ii. c. 2. § 3; vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.

[g] Altered in MS. into "intending."

BOOK III.

pressed any opinion, or any reason, why infants should not be baptized, rather than die unbaptized. Never was there any opinion heard of, and allowed in the Church, that God's predestination alone, without baptism, or any thing else beside it, can be taken for a cure of original sin.

[Irenæus.] § 4. Irenæus is one of the next to the Apostles that we have. He, when he saith (ii. 39[h]), "*Christus venit per Seipsum omnes salvare, omnes, inquam, qui per Eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et parvos et juvenes et seniores*"—"Christ came to save by Himself all, who by Him are born anew unto God, infants and little ones and children and young men and old ones;"—if any man think fit to question, whether, in his language, "[*renasci*[i]] *in Deum*" can be understood without baptism, when he speaks of infants, must suppose, that one that is not an infant, may be regenerate without it. Such a one must know, that, though he dare understand that which St. Paul never said, when he calls baptism "the laver of regeneration" (Titus iii. 5), yet Irenæus, with the whole Church of God, never understood any regeneration without it. Thus much for certain, as to these words of Irenæus; if he understand the regeneration of men to be by baptism, he cannot understand the regeneration of infants to come otherwise.

[St. Cyprian.] § 5. St. Cyprian[k], whatsoever his reasons be when he contendeth for the baptizing of all infants, as he evidences the practice of the Church, so he maintains the same grounds, upon which I have shewed that it did proceed.

[Tertullian.] § 6. Tertullian (*De Anima*, cap. xxxix.[l]), St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xlii.[m]), abundantly prove mine intent. The words of Tertullian:—"*Hinc enim et apostolus ex sanctificato alterutro sexu sanctos procreari ait, tam ex seminis*

[h] "Omnes enim venit per Semetipsum salvare," &c. S. Iren., Adv. Hær., lib. ii. c. 39. pp. 160. b, 161. a.—To prove that "liquido constat verbo renascentiæ baptismum ab Irenæo significatum esse," Grabe (in loc.) cites also lib. ii. c. 18. p. 88. a, and lib. iii. c. 19. p. 243. a, b.

[i] Corrected from MS.; "renati," in orig. text.

[k] "In hoc enim, quod tu putabas esse faciendum" (sc. the delaying baptism of a child until the eighth day from its birth), "nemo consensit: sed universi potius judicavimus nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam." S. Cyprian., et Ceteri Collegæ qui in concilio affuerunt, numero lxvi., Fido fratri; ap. Epist. S. Cypr., Ep. lxiv. p. 160: and see the epistle at length; and Wall, Pt. i. c. 6. vol. i. pp. 126, sq.

[l] Op., p. 294. B.

[m] See below, § 7, text to notes q, r: and § 22, text to note d.—xlii. is a mistake for xl.

prærogativa, quam ex institutionis disciplina; cæterum, inquit, immundi nascerentur; quasi designatos tamen sanctitati, ac per hoc etiam saluti, intelligi volens fidelium filios; ut hujus spei pignore matrimoniis, quæ retinenda censuerat, patrocinaretur: alioquin meminerat Dominicæ definitionis, 'Nisi quis nascetur ex aqua et spiritu, non ibit in regnum Dei,' id est, non erit sanctus: ita omnis anima eo usque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur"—"For hereupon the apostle also saith, that men are born holy of either sex sanctified, as by prerogative of seed, so by breeding and discipline; otherwise, saith he, they should be born unclean: giving to understand, that the children of Christians are, as it were, designed to holiness, and thereby to salvation, that he might patronize those marriages, which he thought fit to be maintained, by the pledge of this hope: otherwise, he remembered the determination of our Lord, 'Unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he shall not go into God's kingdom,' that is, he shall not be holy: so, every soul is so long listed in Adam, till it be listed again in Christ[n]:" which, you see, is not done but by baptism, according to Tertullian. Therefore, in the end of the next chapter[o]:—*Proinde, cum ad fidem pervenit, reformata per secundam nativitatem ex aqua et superna virtute, detracto corruptionis pristinæ aulæo, totam lucem suam conspicit*"—"Therefore, when it comes to the faith, being reformed by a second birth of water and the power above, and the curtain of former corruptions drawn, she sees her whole light." And *De Bapt.*, cap. xvii.[p], shewing in what case a layman might baptize:—"*Sufficiat scilicet in necessitatibus utaris, sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personæ conditio compellit; tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, cum urget circumstantia periclitantis*"—"Let it suffice thee to use it" (the right of baptizing) "in cases of necessity, if at any time the condition of place or time or person constrain; for then is the resolution of him that helpeth accepted, when the case of him that runneth hazard presseth." There is no such thing as any case of such necessity in the opinion of our Anabaptists; therefore it is not Tertullian's. He shews, that the Church alloweth a lay-

[n] As above in note l.
[o] Next but one; sc. c. xli.: Op., p. 295. B.
[p] Ibid, p. 231. A.

BOOK III.

man to baptize, because it believed, that the children of Christians could not enter into the kingdom of God otherwise. 67

[St. Gregory Nazianzen.]

§ 7. The words of Gregory Nazianzen[q]:—"Ἔστω ταῦτα, φησὶ, περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούντων τὸ βάπτισμα· τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τῶν ἔτι νηπίων, καὶ μήτε τῆς ζημίας ἐπαισθανομένων, μήτε τῆς χάριτος· ἢ καὶ ταῦτα βαπτίσομεν; πάνυγε, εἴπερ τις ἐπείγοι κίνδυνος· κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἀναισθήτως ἁγιασθῆναι ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφράγιστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα· καὶ τούτου λόγος ἡμῖν ἡ ὀκταήμερος περιτομὴ, [τυπική τις οὖσα σφραγὶς,] καὶ ἀλογίστοις ἤδη προσαγομένη· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν φλιῶν χρίσις, διὰ τῶν ἀναισθήτων φυλάττουσα τὰ πρωτότοκα· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην, τὴν τριετίαν ἀναμείναντας, ἢ μικρὸν ἐντὸς τούτου, ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο· ἡνίκα καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὶ μυστικὸν καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι δυνατὸν, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνιέντα τελείως, ἀλλ' οὖν τυπούμενα, οὕτως ἁγιάζειν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα τῷ μεγάλῳ μυστηρίῳ τῆς τελειώσεως"—"Be all this, saith he" (that delays baptism), "in those that demand baptism: but what would you say of infants, that are neither sensible of the loss nor of the grace? shall we baptize also these? by all means, if any danger should press; for it is better they should be sanctified insensible, than depart unsealed and not perfited: and of this, circumcision, that is applied on the eighth day to those who cannot reason, is a reason to us; the daubing of the door-posts also, preserving the first-born by things unsensible: for the rest, I give mine opinion, staying three years, or something over or under that (at which age they may hear and answer something of religion, though not perfitly but grossly understanding it), then to sanctify their souls and bodies with the great sacrament that perfecteth us." By and by: "τετειχίσθαι τε τῷ λουτρῷ, παντὶ λόγῳ λυσιτελέστερον, διὰ τὰς ἐξαίφνης συμπιπτούσας ἡμῖν προσβολὰς τῶν κινδύνων, καὶ βοηθείας ἰσχυροτέρας[r]"—"And it is in all reason of more advantage to be fortified by the laver, for the sudden accidents of danger that encounter us, [and more valid and powerful relief[s]]." He proceeds dis-

["ἀποκρίνεσθαι," ed. Bened.]

[q] S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xl., In Sanct. Bapt., § 28; Op., tom. i. pp. 713. D—714. A.—See Wall, Pt. i. c. 11; vol. i. pp. 169, sq.

[r] Id., ibid., p. 714. B.—The translation of the last words in the Bened. edition, is, "propter inopinatos et repentinos periculorum impetus, *quique nulla ope atque auxilio propulsari queant.*"

[s] Corrected from MS.; "not being capable of help," in orig. text.

puting against those, that would not be baptized afore thirty, because of our Lord's example[t]. All this is so plain, that I will add nothing to point out the effect and consequence of his words.

[The canon of Neo-Cæsarea.]

§ 8. Nor doth the sixth canon of Neo-Cæsarea[u] signify any more than this: providing, that women be baptized while they are with child; and that it be not thought, that the baptism of the mother concerns the child, "*διὰ τὸ ἰδίαν ἑκάστου τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δείκνυσθαι*"—"because every one's proper purpose upon profession is declared."

[Walafridus Strabo.]

§ 9. Nor Walafridus Strabus (*De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. xxvi.[x]); saying plainly, that "in the primitive times the grace of baptism was wont to be granted only to them that were sound in body and mind, to understand what they expected and what they undertook by being baptized." For though the solemn profession of baptism be a powerful means to make it effectual; yet what is that to the necessity of baptizing before death? And that the custom here testified was not general; the infant that received the eucharist in St. Cyprian (*De Lapsis*[y]), besides the opinion of Nazianzen[z], which you had even now, will witness.

[Examples of St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzen.]

§ 10. Neither do the examples of St. Chrysostom (who, being bred under Meletius, bishop of Antiochia, was not

[t] Id., ibid., § 29: ibid., pp. 714. B—715. A.

[u] See above, § 3. note d.

[x] "Notandum est, quod primis temporibus illis solummodo baptismi gratiam dari solitam, qui et corporis et mentis integritate jam ad hoc pervenerant, ut scire et intelligere possent, quid emolumenti in baptismo consequendum, quid confitendum atque credendum, quid postremo renatis in Christo esset servandum."—After alleging the example of St. Augustin, baptized at the age of 25 (for which see Wall, Pt. ii. c. 3. § 11; vol. ii. pp. 115, sq.: and Voss., De Bapt., Disp. xiv. Thes. 1. Op., tom. vi. p. 306. b:—25 is a mistake of the author's for 33), the passage proceeds—"Sed augescente Divinæ religionis diligentia, intelligentes Christiani dogmatis amatores, peccatum Adæ originale non solum eos tenere obnoxios, qui suis operibus prævaricationem auxerunt, sed etiam eos, qui sine suis commissis, quia, secundum Psalmistam, 'In iniquitatibus concepti et nati sunt,' immunes a peccato esse non possunt," &c., "hoc ergo sentientes sanæ fidei sectatores, ne perirent parvuli, si sine remedio regenerationis gratiæ defungerentur, statuerunt eos baptizari in remissionem peccatorum." Walaf. Strab., De Reb. Eccles., c. xxvi.; ap. Bibl. PP., tom. ix. P. i. p. 965. A, B. ed. 1618.—See Wall, Pt. ii. c. 2. § 2: vol. ii. pp. 13, sq.

[y] S. Cyprian (De Lapsis, Op., p. 132.) speaks of an infant, who had been "carried by her nurse, unknown to her parents, to the magistrates, to partake of the idol-sacrifice: who, when she was brought by her mother afterwards to receive the eucharist," "sequitur singultus et vomitus; in corpore atque ore violato eucharistia permanere non potuit; sanctificatus in Domini sanguine potus de pollutis visceribus erupit."—See Bingham, XV. iv. 7.

[z] § 7.

BOOK III.

baptized till one and twenty), or of the same Nazianzen (who, having a bishop to his father, was not baptized till he came to man's age) [a], prove any more than the then custom of the Church allows;—that it was by particular men thought fit to be deferred, supposing that in case of necessity it were secured.

[Allowance of lay-baptism in case of necessity.]

§ 11. But a great many witnesses speak not so much, as the law, the rule, the custom, of giving baptism by any man that was a Christian, in that case of necessity [b]. For, out of that case of necessity, the office of baptizing belonged to the very highest in the Church; to wit, so as might stand with the more weighty employments of their office. For, otherwise, a little common sense would serve to inform them, that those offices, which required more of their personal knowledge, skill, wisdom, and goodness, were to be preferred before the office of baptizing; which, though it concerns salvation, yet requires no such qualities. Can any man then imagine any reason, why all Christians are licensed, or rather commanded, to baptize in that case; but the necessity of the office, and that no infant should go out of the world unbaptized?

[See 1 Cor. i. 14—17.]

[Custom of giving the eucharist to infants.]

§ 12. And this chokes all the exception, that is made from the custom of giving infants the eucharist in the ancient Church [c]. For as I have shewed before [d], that it was not held necessary to salvation, as baptism was: so here I must allege, that it cannot be said, that the eucharist was celebrated, and that all Christians might celebrate the eucharist, in this case of necessity; to the intent that infants might

[a] See, for these instances, Wall, Pt. ii. c. 3. § 6, and 8; vol. ii. pp. 87, sq., 91, sq.

[b] The authorities proving the invariable recognition of lay-baptism, as both valid and lawful, in case of absolute necessity, may be found in Bingham, Lay-Baptism, c. i. § 8—15.—And see above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 12. note c.

[c] "From this custom of the ancients giving the eucharist to infants, the Antipædobaptists do draw an argument (and it is the most considerable that they have for that purpose), that there is no great stress to be laid on the practice of antiquity in baptizing infants." Wall, Pt. ii. c. 9. § 17; vol. ii. pp. 490, 491: proceeding to answer the objection.—And see Tombes, Antipædobaptism, or the Third Part, being a Full Review of the Dispute concerning Infant Baptism, &c., Address to the Christian Reader, sign. b. 3. (quoting a letter of Bp. Barlow of Lincoln —see Wall, Pt. ii. c. ii. § 7; vol. ii. pp. 27, 28), and sect. xcviii. p. 896. 4to. Lond. 1657: and Examen of Mr. Stephen Marshall's Sermon, Pt. iv. sect. 6. pp. 167, 168. 4to. Lond. 1646.

[d] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 36—44.—See Waterland, Doctrine of Eucharist, c. vi. and Advertisement prefixed; Works, vol. vii. p. 136. note k, and in begin. of the volume.—And Thorndike himself also, in his treatise De Ratione et Jure Finiendi Controversias, c. xv. pp. 284, sq.—And Wall, Pt. ii. c. 9. § 15, 16: vol. ii. pp. 478—490.

not go out of the world, either unbaptized, or without the eucharist.

68 § 13. As for Origen (upon the Romans [e]), and St. Augustin (*De Gen.* x. 43 [f]), who affirmed the baptism of infants to come from the tradition of the apostles: suppose we for the present, that it is not Origen that speaks them, but Ruffinus that translates him [g]; and that this is said four hundred years after the birth of Christ, three hundred and more after the death of the apostles: was it not visible to them, what came from the apostles, what from the determination or practice of the Church? For that it should come from abuse, he that would tell me, must first persuade me, that antichrist was in being, and ruled the whole Church, and might as easily make his corruptions general as Christ Christianity. [Origen and St. Augustin.]

§ 14. But if it were merely their saying, to make it a tradition of the apostles; what shall we say of Pelagius? For they must pardon me, who think, that the hatred of his heresy brought the baptism of infants into force [h]. More general it might deservedly make it. For by the condemning of his heresy the danger of infants going out of the world was contested. But it was the baptism of infants, being in force afore, that made his opinion a heresy; as [Baptizing of infants before Pelagius.]

[e] "Pro hoc et ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare." Origen, In Epist. ad Rom., lib. v. c. 9; Op., tom. iv. p. 565. 2. A: in Ruffinus's translation, the original being lost.

[f] "Consuetudo tamen matris ecclesiæ in baptizandis parvulis nequaquam spernenda est, neque ullo modo superflua deputanda, nec omnino credenda nisi apostolica esset traditio." S. Aug., De Genesi ad literam, lib. x. c. 23, § 39; Op., tom. iii. P. i. p. 272. C.—43 in the text is a mistake. The Bened. editors read "*esset*" in the end of this passage; Wall (Pt. i. c 15. pp. 287, 288), after Stillingfleet (Rational Account of Grounds of Protest. Relig., &c., Pt. i. c. iv. § 10. p. 108. fol. Lond. 1665), reads "*esse*."

[g] "It is said" (sc. by Antipædobaptists—Tombes is quoting an objection), "that the translation" (of Origen in Rom. vi. &c.) "is censured by Erasmus and Perkins, as in something contracting, adding, or altering. What is added, is ingeniously confessed by Ruffinus the translator himself," &c. "Answ. The exception is good notwithstanding this answer. For I. Perkins doth not onely censure Ruffinus his translation as 'in something contracting, adding, or altering,' but also puts 'Origen's Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans, not faithfully translated by Ruffinus,' among 'his counterfeit works.' And Erasmus in his censure on the Homilies on Leviticus, saith, that 'a man cannot be certain whether he reads Ruffinus or Origen.'" Tombes, Antipædobaptism, or Third Part, &c., sect. lxxxix. pp. 762, 763, proceeding to argue at length that the passage probably *is* Ruffinus's and not Origen's.

[h] Tombes (ibid., sect. xcviii. pp. 895, 896) holds, "that the baptism of infants was introduced, and grew to such an excess, upon that errour" of S. Augustin, in holding "the damning of the infant if dying unbaptized."

BOOK III.

making the necessity of baptism visible, as supposed by all Christians, and therefore the truth of original sin[l]. Pelagius was not so very a fool as they imagine. If all the knowledge, that a man of his time could get by seeing all parts of the Church, would have served for an exception to the authority of the baptism of infants; he might have wrangled with his adverse party about the exposition of those scriptures, which are alleged in the point, till this day, and his opinion have found footing in the Church. But because he could not stop men's eyes, so as not to see what they saw; we may, for wantonness, betray the cause of God, by letting the interpretation of the Scriptures loose to every man's fancy, which God hath[k] appointed to be confined within the tradition of His apostles, but they could not choose but condemn that position, which the visible practice of the Church proclaimed to be heresy.

Why the Church now baptizes infants.

§ 15. Thus far, then, I proceed upon the tradition of the apostles, to make the baptism of infants necessary in case of necessity, that is, of danger of death. But I, that condemn not the ancients for disputing, that it ought not to be general[l], nor the Greek Church for reserving it till years of discretion[m], supposing the means of it reasonably secured in that case, am not like to attribute the necessity of baptizing all infants, which the present laws of the Church do introduce, to the tradition of the apostles; but to the original power of the Church, founded upon the constitution thereof, in determining the circumstances of those offices, which, being incumbent upon the Church, are not determined by any law [either of His own or of[n]] His apostles. For though I take not upon me to say, that there can no reason be given, why this particular should not now be so determined as we see it is; who do acknowledge great reasons to have been alleged by the ancients to the contrary, for their time; yet I see so many ways for the misunderstanding and the neglect of Christianity to creep upon the Church, that I cannot see sufficient reason, why the Church

[i] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 11—13.

[k] Corrected from MS.; "had," in orig. text.

[l] Above, § 3.

[m] Ibid., § 7, 8.

[n] Corrected from MS.; "law of either of His apostles," in orig. text.

should trust the conscience of particular Christians, whom it concerned to see to the baptism of all infants that might come into that case; now that the world was come into the Church, and that, therefore, the Church could not have the like presumption of the conscience of all that professed Christianity, in the discharge of an office of that concernment, to that which it might reasonably have, while it was under persecution, and men could not be thought to embrace Christianity but for conscience' sake. And therefore, as I do maintain it always to have been within the lawful power of the Church to make a general law, as now it is; so I must aver, that there was just reason and ground for the exercise of that power in determining this point: whether, as in the East, with some toleration of those whom they had confidence in, for seeing to the baptizing of their infants in danger of death; or generally, as in the West, to see the occasion of mischief and scandal prevented by doing it presently after birth [o].

[Anabaptists schismatics, if not heretics also.]

§ 16. And therefore those, that forsake the unity of the Church, rather than be subject to a law, which it may lawfully make, as I have shewed [p], if that which hath been resolved of the difference between heresy and schism be
69 true, cannot avoid being schismatics. As for the ground of that opinion, which moves them to break up the seal of God, marked upon those that are baptized unto the hope of salvation upon the obligation of Christianity, by baptizing

[o] "Mr. Thorndyke also, in the third Book of his 'Epilogue' (which is of the 'Laws of the Church'), yields, that the eastern Church (though they held infant baptism necessary in case of the danger of death) yet did sometimes defer it when there was no such danger. But that the western Church enjoined it, as the present Church does, to be given presently. He, as well as Grotius, Taylor, &c. seems to be moved to this concession by the instances of Nazianzen, Nectarius, &c., baptized at man's age: of which I shall speak in the next chapter, and shew most of them to be mistakes." Wall, Pt. ii. c. 2. § 11; vol. ii. pp. 37, 38: and see ibid., c. 3. pp. 48, sq.—"Cæterum illa sententia, infantes non baptizatos certo suppliciis æternis, quanquam levioribus, addici, tam rigide defensa ab Augustino, ne ipsi quidem Augustino placuerat antequam cum Pelagio collideretur. Videtur autem mihi antiquitus baptismus infantium multo magis in Africa quam in Asia aliisve mundi partibus fuisse frequentatus, et cum majori quadam necessitatis opinione. Nam in conciliis vetustiorem ejus moris mentionem non invenias concilio Carthaginiensi," &c. &c. Grotius, In S. Matth. xix. 13: proceeding to quote Tertullian, S. Greg. Naz., the council of Neo-Cæsarea, the instances of S. Chrysostom's baptism at the age of 21, &c. &c.—And see Jeremy Taylor, Liberty of Prophesying, sect. xviii. § 25; Works, vol. v. pp. 551, 552. ed. Eden.

[p] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. State, c. iv. § 7, sq., and Review, c. iv. § 7; and above in Bk. I. of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 20, &c.

BOOK III.

them anew, to the hope of salvation without the obligation of Christianity; whether they are to be counted heretics therefore or not, let who will dispute. This I may justly infer; they take as sure a course to murder the souls of those, whom they baptize again, as of those, whom they let go out of the world unbaptized.

[1.] What becomes of infants dying unbaptized, [may be charitably presumed.]

§ 17. There remain two questions, which seem to make this resolution hard to believe. If there be no salvation without baptism, no, not for the infants of Christians; it is demanded, what becomes of their souls, and whither they go. I must needs allow, that those ancient and later divines, alleged by Cassander[q] and our Hooker[r] after him, had reason to entertain a charitable hope of the happiness of those, who, being prevented (by the inevitable casualties of man's life) of attaining the sacrament of baptism, are accompanied out of the world by the prayers of Christian parents, commending them to God with the same affections, wherewith they always vowed them to God by bringing them to Christianity, so soon as they should become capable to be instructed in it. But if I will stand to the bounds of God's revealed will, I must also say, that this hope is presumed without book; that is, without any law of God, to warrant the effect of it. For if God promise the kingdom of heaven to infants that depart after baptism (as the reasons premised, and the practice of the Church, make evidence); nothing hindereth the mercy of God to extend to those that depart without it, where nothing hindereth the power of His grace to regenerate without the sacrament those, whom He hath

[q] Scil. Johan. Gerson, Serm. in Nativ. B. Mariæ, Consid. ii.; Op., P. iii. fol. 313. R. Paris. 1521:—Gabriel Biel, In IV. Sentent. Dist. iv. Qu. 2. Dub. 2. et 5:—Cardin. Cajetan, Comment. in Thom. Aquin. Summ. Theol., P. III. Qu. lxviii. art. 1. fol. 274. a. Bonon. 1528 (the passage is omitted in some later editions, as e. g. that of Antv. 1612, by order of Pius V.):—Tilmannus Segebergensis, De Septem Sacramentis, c. i. pp. 43, sq. Col. 1546:—Thomas Elisius Neapolitanus, Clypeus Piorum adv. Hæres., Qu. xi. De Bapt. Parvulorum, art. 3. An Pueri in utero possint baptizari periculo urgenti, pp. 102, sq. 4to. Venet. 1563 (which must be qualified, however, by art. 6. of the previous Quæstio, p. 98):—quoted by Cassander, De Bapt. Infant., Op., pp. 762—771: and compare his Defens. lib. de Offic. Pii Viri, ibid., p. 847. See also the Epistle of S. Bernard, Ad Hugonem de S. Victore, Epist. lxxvii.; Op., tom. ii. pp. 631—642. ed. Bened.: which however falls short of the position in the text, as may be seen in Wall, Pt. ii. c. 6. § 7; vol. ii. p. 212.

[r] Hooker, Eccles. Polity, V. lx. 6.—See also Wall, Pt. ii. c. 6. § 7; vol. ii. pp. 217—219: and Grotius, Annot. in Consult. Cassand., Ad art. ix.; Op., tom. iii. p. 618. b.

not expressed that He will not regenerate. But this shall not proceed from any obligation of His covenant of grace, nor tend to make good the evidence thereof which the practice of the Church createth; and, therefore, shall make only a presumption of what may be, and not of what is[s].

[Doubtful conceit of Arminius on the subject.]

§ 18. I find, that Arminius[t] had further a doubtful conceit;—that all infants, departing without baptism, are to be saved by the virtue of God's second covenant, and the death of Christ upon which it is grounded; God having extended both as far as sin by the first Adam extendeth. But, the publication of the second covenant, and the intent of Christ's death upon which it is grounded, being conditional (as hath been shewed[u]), I suppose it is not enough to entitle infants to the benefit thereof, that they never did any thing to refuse it. Otherwise, what cause is there, why all the Gentiles, that go out of the world without hearing of Christianity, should not be saved by virtue of it, notwithstanding all that they sin against the law of nature: because the new covenant is to take effect, where it is not refused; and sins against the law of nature cannot be construed as a refusal of the covenant of grace. And supposing that, excluding themselves from God's mercy by sinning against the law of nature (as I said in the second Book[x]), they are thereby necessarily excluded from all benefit of the second covenant; it is not because they were born under the benefit of it (entitled thereunto by the same birth which makes them need it), but because, as by their birth they need it, so by their birth (supposing the coming of our Lord Christ) they are only

[s] See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xx. § 42, 43: and Wall, Pt. ii. c. 6; vol. ii. pp. 180, sq.; and especially § 8. pp. 223, 224.

[t] In the Apologia D. Jac. Arminii adv. Artic. xxxi. Theologicos, &c., "quibus tum ille tum Adrianus Borreus . . novitatis et ἑτεροδοξίας in religione, erroris et hæreseos, suspecti reddantur," the 13th and 14th articles are, "Peccatum originale neminem condemnaturum," and, "Omnes omnium gentium infantes morientes sine peccatis actualibus salvos esse" (Op. Armin., p. 153. b. 4to. Lug. Bat. 1629): in defence of which Arminius alleges, as an allowable private opinion, that "Deus universum genus humanum in reconciliationis gratiam assumserit, et cum Adamo omnibusque ejus posteris in eo fœdus gratiæ iniverit, in quo remissionem peccatorum omnium pollicetur quotquot in illo fœdere perstabunt et adversus hoc non prævaricabuntur: cæterum id non modo cum Adamo inivit, sed et postea cum Noacho redintegravit, et postremum per Christum Jesum confirmavit et consummavit: quumque infantes fœdus illud transgressi non sint, non videntur condemnationi obnoxii." (Ibid., p. 154. a.)—See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxv. § 19. note k.

[u] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii—v.

[x] Ibid., c. xxiii. § 10—12.

BOOK III.

capable of it. Therefore it remains firm, that, though God by Christ's death stand obliged to receive those that turn to Christianity, yet the covenant is not enacted till the party become obliged to it.

[Speaking positively, the question is] unanswerable.

§ 19. And so it remains, that I answer negatively—that, whatsoever hope charity may be allowed, there is no legal assurance or presumption of salvation for infants that depart afore baptism. If this will not serve, unless I affirm where they are and in what estate, I will affirm that I know not; but I will affirm further, that it is an effect of the tree of knowledge, to demand a further answer, being well resolved that God hath given none [y]. They, that will not believe the mystery of the Trinity, till I demonstrate to them, how Three Persons can subsist in One Nature, One in Two Natures, must be Arians or Socinians for any thing that I have here said. They, that will not believe the covenant of grace, till they have a reason, why God hath taken such a course as will not save those whom He might have taken a course to 70 save; must for me be Pelagians, or Stoical Predestinatians. They, that will not submit to the baptism of infants, till I can tell them, where those are and in what estate that depart unbaptized, must for me be Anabaptists. But when that is done, how will they be Christians, unless Christianity pretend to resolve these questions before a man is obliged to be a Christian; which no Christian can imagine? I can easily say, that they are not to be in the estate of them, that are condemned to punishment answerable to their works; seeing original sin, howsoever foul, is not the work of him that hath it. And he, that undertakes to press me by the Scriptures, will as soon be dumb, as he finds the torments of hell no where assigned by the Scriptures but to the works of those that actually transgress God's laws.

[Condemnation of all mankind by the first Adam.]

§ 20. As for that condemnation of all mankind by the first Adam, out of which it is recovered by the second Adam, according to St. Paul, Rom. v.: I suppose all the world will allow, that I acknowledge it, when I allow not those infants the kingdom of God that depart unbaptized.

[y] "Curiosity of knowing things not revealed, especially tending to dissatisfaction in the faith or unity of the Church, an effect of the forbidden fruit." Added in margin in MS.

§ 21. If it be said, that Fulgentius, in the Book *De Fide ad Petrum*[z], reckons it for a part of the Catholic faith, that infants departing without baptism are in hell torments; it will be as easy for me to say, that Gennadius (in his Book *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*[a]) acknowledges it not. For though Gennadius was one of those, whose opinion concerning grace was prohibited by the Council of Orange[b]; and that there is appearance enough, that Fulgentius writ expressly to contradict him in the list of positions received by the Church; yet, seeing this point is not defined by the Council[c] (much less by any act of the Church against Pelagius, still much less by any tradition of the whole Church before and after Pelagius), though it may pass for "*dogma ecclesiasticum*"—such a position as the Church alloweth to be held and professed, yet it cannot be pressed for any part of the rule of faith, which cannot but be acknowledged by all the Church. [Fulgentius.]

§ 22. I will add the words of Gregory Nazianzen, in the same Oration[d] a little afore.—"*Ἀναβάλλονται δὲ οἱ μὲν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀπλησταν, οἱ δὲ οὐδέ εἰσιν ἐν δυνάμει τοῦ δέξασθαι, ἢ διὰ νηπιότητα τυχὸν, ἤ τινα τελέως ἀκούσιον περι-* [St. Gregory Nazianzen.]

[z] "Absque sacramento baptismatis, præter eos qui in Ecclesia Catholica sine baptismate pro Christo sanguinem fundunt, nec regnum cœlorum potest quisquam accipere nec vitam æternam." Fulgentius, De Fide ad Petrum, c. 43: in Append. ad Op. S. Aug., tom. vi. p. 27. E.—"Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, non solum homines jam ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos, qui sive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur, sive jam de matribus nati sine sacramento sancti baptismatis . . de hoc sæculo transeunt, ignis æterni supplicio sempiterno puniendos." Id., ibid., c. 70. p. 31. A.—This tract was at one time supposed to be S. Augustin's, until Erasmus detected its spuriousness: and it is now known to be the work of Fulgentius.—See Wall, Pt. ii. c. 6. § 5; vol. ii. p. 204.

[a] All that Gennadius says on the subject, is, that "Baptizatis tantum iter esse salutis credimus; nullum catechumenum, quamvis in bonis operibus defunctum, vitam æternam habere credamus, excepto martyrio, ubi tota baptismi sacramenta complentur." (De Eccl. Dogm., c. xli.: in Append. ad Op. S. Aug., tom. viii. p. 79. D, E.)

[b] So say the Louvain editors of S. Augustin: see the Monitum prefixed to the tract De Eccl. Dogm. in the Bened. edition. And see above in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 23. note f.

[c] The Council of Orange (A.D. 529) mentions baptism only to condemn those, who hold, that "initium fidei," &c., "quo . . . ad generationem sacri baptismatis pervenimus, non per gratiæ donum . . . sed naturaliter nobis inesse" (Conc. Arausic., can. v.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 1667. E, 1668. A); and that "alios misericordia, alios vero per liberum arbitrium, . . ad gratiam baptismi posse venire" (ibid., can. viii. p. 1668. D, E): and to affirm, that "accepta per baptismum gratia omnes baptizati, Christo auxiliante, . . quæ ad salutem animæ pertinent, possint et debeant . . adimplere." (ibid., can. xxv. p. 1672. A.)

[d] S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xl., In Sanct. Bapt., § 23: Op., tom. i. p. 708. B—D.

BOOK III.

πέτειαν, ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τυχεῖν τοῦ χαρίσματος· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν ἐκείνοις πλείστην διαφορὰν εὕρομεν, οὕτω κἂν τούτοις· χείρους μὲν οἱ παντάπασι καταφρονηταὶ τῶν ἁπληστοτέρων ἢ ῥαθυμοτέρων· χείρους δὲ οὗτοι, τῶν ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἢ τυραννίδος ἀποπιπτόντων τῆς δωρεᾶς· τυραννὶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλότι ἢ ἀκούσιος διαμαρτία· καὶ ἡγοῦμαι, τοὺς μὲν καὶ δίκας ὑφέξειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πονηρίας, οὕτω καὶ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ περιφρονήσεως· τοὺς δὲ ὑφέξειν μὲν, ἧττον δὲ, ὅτι μὴ κακίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνοίᾳ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν εἰργάσαντο· τοὺς δὲ μήτε δοξασθήσεσθαι μήτε κολασθήσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου Κριτοῦ, ὡς ἀσφραγίστους μὲν, ἀπονήρους δὲ, ἀλλὰ παθόντας μᾶλλον τὴν ζημίαν ἢ δράσαντας. Οὐ γὰρ, ὅστις οὐ κολάσεως ἄξιος, ἤδη καὶ τιμῆς· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὅστις οὐ τιμῆς, ἤδη καὶ κολάσεως. Σκοπῶ δὲ κἀκεῖνο· εἰ κρίνεις τοῦ φόνου τὸν φονικὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι, καὶ δίχα τοῦ φόνου, βεβαπτίσθω σοι καὶ ὁ ποθήσας τὸ βάπτισμα, δίχα τοῦ βαπτίσματος"—"Some delay for negligence, others for covetousness; others are in no capacity to receive it, for infancy perhaps, or some accident utterly involuntary; whereby, though they would, they could not attain the grace: as therefore we found much difference among those, so these; they, that wholly scorn it in deed, are worse than the more covetous or negligent; but these are worse than those who fail of the gift for ignorance or constraint; for constraint is no other thing than to fail against a man's will: and I truly think, that those shall be punished, as for their other wickedness, so for neglecting baptism: these[e] also, though less, because guilty of failing rather for folly than malice; but that the last shall neither be punished nor glorified by the just Judge, as without malice, though unsealed, and suffering rather than doing harm: for he who is not worthy of punishment, is not therefore of honour, as he that is not worthy of honour, is not therefore of punishment: and I consider also this;—if thou condemnest him for murder that would have murdered, only because he would, without murdering; let him, that desired baptism without being baptized, be counted baptized." In this last case, supposing a man's resolution to be a Christian so complete, that only opportunity of being baptized is wanting, I conclude with the Church since Gregory's time, that there is no doubt in the

[τοῦ om. edd. Ben.]

[ὁ θελήσας. ed. Ben.]

[e] Corrected from MS.; "those," in orig. text.

CHAP. VIII.

salvation of such a one: and that by virtue of his own words, 71 that baptism is "the covenant of a new life[f];" which if a man's heart fully resolve upon between God and himself, to doubt of his salvation because his baptism is prevented, is (contrary to St. Peter) to ascribe his salvation to the cleansing of the flesh, not to the profession of a good conscience. In the mean time, he who acknowledges, that such a one is not punished for not being baptized, though not glorified, can neither allow the kingdom of heaven to an infant that dies unbaptized, nor condemn him for original sin, which is, for not being baptized.

[1 Pet. iv. 21.]

§ 23. As for the opinion of Pelagius, who, because our Lord said,—"Except ye be born of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God,"—granteth infants, that die unbaptized, not to come to God's kingdom, but would have them come to everlasting life nevertheless[g]; the Anabaptists may learn modesty of him, in handling the Scriptures with reverence, and not allowing regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, where the Church never allowed the kingdom of God. But, on the other side, when he maketh life everlasting, which himself cannot distinguish from the kingdom of God, due to nature and birth, he voideth the grace of Christ, and the intent of His coming; seeing nothing but their own choice can hinder men to attain that without Christ, which is due to infants by their birth.

[Pelagius' distinction between the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life.]

§ 24. And if any man think to blast this with the reputation of popery (as the conscience of this time is, to make that popery which they understand not, and may justly give reasonable and conscionable men a good opinion of popery, the imputation whereof is so brutishly abused); what will he think of himself, when he finds himself in the company of so many doctors of the Church of Rome, as at this day and always have maintained that, which (you see) I dare not affirm, but he dares; namely, that all infants, who die unbaptized, go into everlasting fire[h]?

[Brutish abuse of the imputation of popery.]

[f] See below, § 27. note o.

[g] See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 13. note e; and Wall, Pt. i. c. 19. § 7; vol. i. pp. 359—362.

[h] See e. g. the passages of Gregorius Ariminensis, and of Driedo, cited by Wall, Pt. ii. c. 6. § 6: vol. ii. pp. 208, 209: and Bramhall's Works, Pt. iv. Disc. v. vol. v. p. 173. note g.

BOOK III.

[2.] What those infants get who die baptized.

§ 25. It is demanded, in the second place, what is that regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and wherein it consists, whereof infants that are baptized can be thought capable. For the wild conceits of those, that imagine them to have faith in Christ[i] (which, without actual motion of the mind, is not), require miracles to be wrought of course by baptizing, that the effect thereof may come to pass. And if the state of grace (which the habitual grace of God's Spirit either supposeth or inferreth) is not to be attained but by the resolution of embracing the covenant of grace (as, by all the premisses, it is not otherwise attained[j]); it will be every whit as hard to say, what is that habitual grace, that is said to be poured into the souls of infants that are baptized, being nothing else but a facility in doing what the covenant of grace requireth. But if we conceive the regeneration of infants that are baptized, to consist in the habitual assistance of God's Spirit; the effects whereof are to appear in making them able to perform that, which their Christianity requires at their hands, so soon as they shall understand themselves to be obliged by it: we give reason enough of the effect of their baptism, whether they die or live, and yet become not liable to any inconvenience. For supposing the assistance of God's Spirit, assigned them by the promise of baptism, to take effect, when their bodily instruments enable the soul to act as Christianity requireth; if the soul by death come to be discharged of them, can any thing be said, why original concupiscence, which is the law of the members, should remain any more, to impeach the subjection of all faculties to the law of God's Spirit? Or will it be any thing strange, that, when they come to be taught Christianity, the same Spirit of God should be thought to sway them, to embrace it of their own choice, and not only in compliance with the will of their parents? Yet is this no more, than the regeneration

Bellarmine's conclusions on the subject, are, 1. "Infantes non habent actualem fidem," 2. "Non habent, dum baptizantur, ullos novos motus et inclinationes similes actibus fidei et dilectionis," 3. "Non justificantur sine fide," 4. "*Infantibus in baptismo infunditur habitus fidei, spei, et caritatis*" (De Sacram. Bapt., lib. i. c. 11; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 336. D.—341. D.): alleging as authorities, to prove this last to be at any rate "communior sententia," Thom. Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Gabriel, the council of Vienne; for which last see above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 22, note a.

[j] Corrected from MS.; "attended," in orig. text.

of infants by water and the Holy Ghost importeth;—that the Spirit of God should be habitually present, to make those reasons, which God hath given to convince the world that they ought to be Christians, both discernable to the understanding, and weighing down the choice:—whereas those, that are converted from being enemies to God (that is to say, at those years, when no man can be converted to God, that is not His enemy before), though the Spirit of God knock at their hearts without, striving to cast out the strong man that
72 is within doors and to make a dwelling for Itself in the heart, are possessed by a contrary principle, till they yield God's Spirit that entertainment which God requireth. If this habitual assistance of God's Spirit (by the moral effect of God's promise, not by any natural change in the disposition of that mind, which never used reason to make choice of it) can be called habitual grace (as, for certain, it is a grace of God in consideration of our Lord Christ, and no less habitual than any quality, which the soul of man or the faculties thereof can be endowed with); I shall not need to quarrel the decree of the Council of Vienna[k], which hath determined the gift of habitual grace to be the effect of baptism in infants. Only I express more distinctly, and to the preventing of the inconveniences mentioned, wherein it consisteth.

[Matt. xii. 29, Mark iii. 27, Luke xi. 21, 22.]

§ 26. But I shall infer, as a consequence of this resolution, that we are not to look upon Christians that are baptized in their infancy, as those, who are all of them necessarily enemies to God, before they be converted again to become true Christians. For though that very age, when they come first to years of discretion, obliging them to act as Christians, be liable to so many and so great temptations, that few can pass through it without falling away from the profession of Christians; yet, because it is not incredible, that there are many cases, in which the ministry of education, blessed by God's providence, as acted by His grace, brings it to pass, it is by no means to be supposed, that all those, who are baptized infants, are necessarily to pass through the state of God's enemies: and, therefore, that as many as come into that state, do fall from the state of God's grace into which they are baptized. Which is none of the least demonstrations of

[Christians baptized in infancy need not necessarily pass through the state of God's enemies.]

[k] See above, in note h.

BOOK III.

that, which hath been maintained in due place[l],—that the state of God's grace is as well lost and forfeited, as it is to be recovered again by Christians.

[To what end the eucharist formerly given to infants.]

§ 27. And upon this ground and to this purpose it was, that the ancient Church (at such time as the solemnity of baptizing became tied to Easter and Whitsuntide, and the young were baptized with the old, not absolutely infants, but, according to the opinion of Gregory Nazianzen related afore, at three or four years of age[m]) used to give them also the eucharist, as soon as they were baptized. For, the eucharist being nothing but the confirming and seconding of the covenant of baptism, the reason why they were baptized inferred the giving of them the eucharist: which reason being rendered by the supposed Dionysius in the end of his book *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*[n] (where he tells us, that little ones received the eucharist as soon as they were baptized,—as I do here,—that they might be always, from thenceforwards, in the state of grace), the eucharist, being the Body and Blood of Christ, because the means to convey His Spirit, may well be judged the means to secure and confirm that promise thereof, which baptism importeth. Yet doth not this infer, that, since it is become necessary for the Church to baptize all in the state of mere infants, it is not for the best to defer the communion of the eucharist till little ones may know what they do (though, in my opinion, it is deferred far longer than it ought to be, nothing but a disposition positively opposite to Christianity defeating the effect of it, which may prevent the said disposition in innocents): much less, that this can be any just ground for division in the Church; so that the division, which shall be raised upon this ground, necessarily renders those who are the cause of it schismatics. In fine, seeing it is excellently said by St. Gregory Nazianzen (*In Sanctum Bapt.*, Orat. xlii.[o]): "*Συνθήκας πρὸς Θεὸν δευτέρου βίου, καὶ πολιτείας καθαρωτέρας, ὑπολητπτέον τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος δύναμιν*"—"that we are to think the force of baptizing to

[l] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi.

[m] § 7, text to note q.

[n] "Μεταδίδωσι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συμβόλων ὁ ἱεράρχης, ὅπως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνατραφείη, καὶ μηδὲ σχοίη ζωὴν ἑτέραν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τὰ θεία θεωροῦσαν ἀεὶ, καὶ κοινωνὸν αὐτῶν ἐν προκοπαῖς ἱεραῖς γιγνομένην, ἕξιν τε ἱερὰν ἐν τούτοις ἰσχοῦσαν, ἀναγομένην τε ἱεροπρεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοειδοῦς ἀναδόχου." Pseudo-Dion. Areop., De Eccl. Hier., c. vii.: Op., p. 153. B.

[o] Orat. xl. § 8; Op., tom. i. pp. 695. E, 696. A.—xlii. in the text is a mistake.

consist in the covenant of a second life and purer conversation with God;" and that the eucharist is nothing else but the seconding of this covenant: where baptism in that regard is necessary to salvation, there the eucharist, though not necessary (as the ancient church never held it), cannot be unlawful; whether expedient or not. He, that contents himself with the practice of the Church for unity's sake, will prove the best Christian. I do not therefore condemn this custom for a profanation of the sacrament, when it was in use. Infants cannot "examine themselves," neither can they "presume[p]," in "eating that bread, and drinking of that cup." But neither can they be taught to do all things which [1 Cor. xi. 28.]

73 Christ commandeth, so soon as they are made His disciples by being baptized. If the Church duly presume, that with remission of sins they attain the gift of God's Spirit by being baptized; did it unduly presume, that, remission of sins remaining uninterrupted, the gift of the Holy Ghost may be strengthened by receiving the eucharist? Let us rather watch over our own customs than condemn the customs of the Church. The grace of the Holy Ghost may be fortified by the sacrament of the eucharist against those occasions of re-entry, which the evil spirit espieth in those, that begin to perceive the difference between good and bad, though unable to reflect upon themselves and to judge whether in the state of grace or not. If the eucharist be profaned where they take it too young, what pretence of Christianity or of a Church remains, where neither young nor old take it?

[p] Exhortation in Communion Service.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT CONTROVERSY THE REFORMATION HATH WITH THE CHURCH OF ROME ABOUT PENANCE. INWARD REPENTANCE THAT IS SINCERE, OBTAINETH PARDON ALONE. REMISSION OF SINS BY THE GOSPEL ONLY. THE CONDITION OF IT BY THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH. WHAT THE POWER OF BINDING AND LOOSING CONTAINS MORE THAN PREACHING OR TAKING AWAY OFFENCES. SIN MAY BE PARDONED WITHOUT THE USE OF IT. WHEREIN THE NECESSITY OF USING IT LIETH.

[The power of the keys in penance comes next to be considered.]

I HAVE shewed from the beginning[q], that the power of the keys, which is the foundation of the Church, is seen much more towards them that are already of the Church, than them that are not of it. For in those there is but one thing for the Church to judge,—whether their persuasion and resolution be such as qualifies them to be baptized disciples of Christ, that is, Christians:—but in these, so many particulars as the profession of a Christian is employed about, so many are there for this power to judge, whether the profession of a Christian be discharged in them or not. And this ground must needs be much strengthened by that, which hath been resolved concerning the covenant of grace and the terms of it. For if the profession of Christianity be that which qualifies a Christian for remission of sins and life everlasting; then he, that fails of this profession by any such sin as cannot stand with it, as he attained the communion of the Church upon presumption that he stood qualified for the promises of the Gospel, so he fails of it upon evidence that he is not so qualified. Therefore, though the power of the keys is seen in free admitting to the communion of the Church, yet is it more visible in excluding from the same, as well as in readmitting to it. And this is the next act, or the next object, which the power of the Church is employed about, that comes here to be considered.

What controversy the Reformation

§ 2. The difficulty whereof seems to stand in that, which the Church of Rome, by the law of confessing once a year all sins that come to remembrance, seems to teach;—that no

[q] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i.: Prim. Gov. of Churches, c. xi.: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 77, sq.: Epilogue Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix.

CHAP. IX.

hath with the Church of Rome about penance.

sin, or at least none of those which a man is bound to confess (which in what sense they may and are to be allowed mortal sins, I have shewed in due place[r]), can be remitted him that falls into them after baptism, unless the keys of the Church pass upon them[s]. The opposite whereof, in the other extreme, seems to be the opinion of those that pretend [this[t]] for a point of reformation, and of that freedom to which the Gospel calls Christians;—that, though it be necessary to give satisfaction to the Church, which shall have been scandalized by the evil example of a notorious offence; yet that no office of the Church, and of the keys which it is trusted with by our Lord, concurs to the loosing of that sin, which the Church hath first tied a man with by excluding him from the communion of the Church; but that it is wholly to be imputed to the preaching of the Gospel ministered by the Church, when it is received by faith[u]. Though, for the present, I enquire not what they would have this faith to be, having distinguished the consequences of the several conceits which may be had about it afore[v]. For, this difficulty being here proposed in the beginning, I do
74 not foresee any thing of moment in question, concerning this power of the Church, the effect and intent of it, that

[r] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 5.

[s] Bellarmine summarily states the Roman doctrine thus—"Qui mortali peccato se obstrinxerunt, tenentur jure Divino pœnitentiam agere, et reconciliationem cum Deo quærere: sed medium necessarium ad reconciliationem post Baptismum, est confessio peccatorum omnium sacerdoti facta: ergo tenentur jure Divino, qui post baptismum mortali peccato se obstrinxerunt, sacerdoti peccata omnia confiteri." (De Pœnit., lib. iii. c. 2; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1347. C).—And the Council of Trent (Sess. xiv. cap. 5; ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. p. 818. A, B.) declares, that "ex institutione sacramenti pœnitentiæ jam explicata universa ecclesia semper intellexit institutam etiam a Domino integram peccatorum confessionem, et omnibus post baptismum lapsis jure Divino necessariam existere: quia Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, e terris ascensurus ad cœlos, sacerdotes Sui Ipsius vicarios reliquit, tanquam præsides et judices, ad quos omnia mortalia crimina deferantur, in quæ Christi fideles ceciderunt, quo pro potestate clavium remissionis aut retentionis peccatorum sententiam pronuntient."—And ibid., can. 8. (ibid., p. 824. E): "Si quis dixerit, confessionem omnium peccatorum, qualem ecclesia servat, esse impossibilem, et traditionem humanam, a piis abolendam; aut ad eam non teneri omnes et singulos utriusque sexus Christi fideles, juxta magni concilii Lateranensis constitutionem, semel in anno, et ob id suadendum esse Christi fidelibus, ut non confiteantur tempore quadragesimæ: anathema sit."

[t] Added from MS.

[u] See the quotations from Calvin, and from Cartwright, in the Serv. of God at Relig. Ass., c. x. § 77. note x.: and compare also that from Selden, Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 13. note m.

[v] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. vi., vii.

BOOK III.

will not come to be determined by virtue of the resolution thereof, and in consequence to it.

[The resolution of the question in brief.]

§ 3. Which resolution shall briefly be this:—that inward repentance (with [that[x]] confession to God alone, that is sincere and effectual to the reforming of that which a man repents of for the future) is a disposition qualifying a man for pardon of sin by virtue of the covenant of grace, without any act of the Church passing upon it: but that God hath charged His Church (and therefore given it power and right) to call all those, that notoriously transgress that Christianity which once they have professed, to those demonstrations of inward repentance and amendment of mind by visible actions, that may satisfy the Church that God's wrath in regard of that sin is appeased through Christ, and upon these demonstrations to readmit them to communion with the Church: and, further, that God, having provided this means of procuring and assuring the pardon of sin by the Church, hath also obliged all Christians to make use of the same by bringing their secret sins to the knowledge of the Church, so far, and in as much, as they ought to stand convict, that the ministry of the Church is requisite to procure in them that disposition, which by the Gospel entitles them to forgiveness.

§ 4. This resolution hath several parts, which I have thought fit to be thus wound up in one, not only for brevity's sake (which I seek so far as it will let me be understood), but for the dependance they have one upon another in point of reason and truth.

[1.] Inward repentance that is sincere obtaineth pardon alone.

§ 5. And, first, to clear the foundation in the first place: I suppose what our Saviour preached Himself, in publishing His Gospel, according as it stands declared and settled by the premisses:—to wit, that, mankind being lost in sin, and neither the law of nature nor that of Moses being able to reduce it to righteousness and so to happiness, God, by our Lord Christ, requires all them that find themselves surprised in this estate, to believe Him to be sent for remission of sins and life everlasting, to all, that, turning from that conversation in which they are overtaken, do make the glory of God the end, and His will the rule, of their actions for the

[x] Added from MS

future, by undertaking to live like Christians, in hope of being enabled by God's Spirit to perform the same, for Christ His merits, and of being accepted for His suffering. This being the sum of Christ His Gospel, according to the premisses; and the reason, why this profession is limited by the Gospel to be solemnized by the sacrament of baptism, being so clearly rendered, that it is impossible to render any other reason, how the spiritual and everlasting promises of the Gospel should depend upon a material and bodily act of washing away the filth of the flesh: I suppose the way is plain to infer, that, supposing God allows pardon to all that fall after baptism, so often as they return by true repentance, it cannot be refused those that return by true repentance, whether it be obtained by the ministry of the Church or without it. CHAP. IX.

§ 6. It is not necessary for me here to repeat all those sayings of the New Testament, wherein the motion from the state of damnation, in which the Gospel finds us, to the state of salvation by the Gospel, [is[y]] expressed under the term of repentance. John Baptist's, and our Lord's, first sermon is upon this text, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" Matt. iii. 2, iv. 17: in Mark, "Repent and believe the Gospel;" i. 15: and both a thing. For he that is moved to repent, either by the preaching of John Baptist or of our Lord Christ, must needs take the rule and measure of that which he turns to by repentance, from him whose doctrine he followeth; whether John, or our Lord Christ, Whom John declareth. The same is the theme that the apostles preach upon, Mark vi. 12. And the same is the case, whether the apostle say, "Repent and be baptized" (Acts ii. 38); or, "Repent and turn" (as Acts iii. 19): seeing he must needs be understood to mean, that they turn to Christianity by repentance. And still the same, when St. Paul, publishing the Gospel, declares, that God by it calls all men to repentance (Acts xvii. 30); that it consists in preaching repentance and faith in our Lord Christ Jesus (Acts xx. 21); or in calling men to "repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance" (Acts xxvi. 20). Therefore all our Lord's sermons of repentance in the Gospels (Matt. xi. 20, 21; xii. 41: [Sayings of the New Testament.]

[y] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

Luke x. 13, xi. 32, xiii. 2—9, xv.) do imply and presuppose the same limitations, to determine the repentance which His Gospel requires. Which he that receives not, is called the "impenitent heart" (Rom. ii. 5). And St. Paul directs Timothy to "instruct the adversaries with meekness, if perhaps God may give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth" (2 Tim. ii. 25). And St. Peter, when he commends God as "long suffering towards us," because He "would have none perish, but all come to repentance" (2 Pet. iii. 9), speaks of those that mock at Christianity, "saying, Where is the promise of His coming, for since the fathers fell asleep, all things remain as they were from the beginning." [2 Pet. iii. 4.]

Remission of sins by the Gospel only.

§ 7. Since, then, conversion to Christianity is that which qualifies for remission of sins, those whom it overtaketh in sin; can any reason be given, why it should not be effectual to the loosing of any sin, whereby a Christian, transgressing his Christianity, forfeiteth the privileges of it? For the profession which he sealed by being baptized, as to the Church, fails not by a sin that the Church sees not: and as to God, revives by that new resolution which repentance introduceth.

[Frequent mention of sins in the apostles' writings without mention of any cure by the Church.]

§ 8. There is not, indeed, much mention of private repentance in those which are already Christians, in the writings of the apostles: but there is frequent mention of sins without mention of any cure by the Church, without any appearance or signification of any cure applied to them by the Church. As the eating of things offered to idols, when it might be the occasion to make another Christian commit idolatry, 1 Cor. viii. 12: which, if public, and yet cannot be thought to come under the keys of the Church; how much more those that are not public? I have proved in another place[z], that St. Paul instructs Timothy not to ordain sinful persons, lest he "communicate in their sins;" because, saith he, "some men's sins are manifest aforehand, going before them to judgment" (1 Tim. v. 22, 24): but those, that stood for ordination, could not pretend to be cured of their sins by the Church, because, coming into that rank, they could not aspire to be preferred in the Church. But the words of St. John are unavoidable, for he writ to Christians: 1 John i. 7—10:—"If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have com-

[z] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii.

munion with one another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin: if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness; if we say we have no sin, we make Him a liar, and His word is not in us." And immediately: "My little children, I write these things to you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins; but not for ours alone, but for the sins of the whole world." The precept of God to John, and by John to the seven Churches, to repent (Apoc. ii. 5, 16, 21; iii. 3, 19), is to Christians and to Churches. For though it be directed to the angels of those Churches, yet in behalf of the Churches themselves[a]. Now can the Church be cured by the Church? If not, then are some sins of Christians cured without the keys of the Church. If so, why not the sin of a man by that man, as well as the sin of a Church by that Church; the cure of the sin of a Church being nothing else but the repentance of that Church, or perhaps the greatest part of that Church: for otherwise no man's sin of that Church could be cured, till every man of that Church should return by repentance. What say you to St. Paul's [inveying[b]] against wronging Christians, and against uncleanness; 1 Cor. vi. 6—10, 15—20. Shall we think, that they who sued Christians before infidels came to confession for this sin? that those[c], whose sin St. Paul aggravates above this (for it is worse to wrong a Christian, than to seek right of a Christian by an infidel's means), acknowledged any way the Church had to constrain them to do right? Nay, that those, whom he reduceth there from fornication, did acknowledge the cure of it by the Church? What then needed St. Paul to persuade them, that they could not be saved without turning to God from it? For
76 had they been persuaded, that it could not be cured without confession to the Church, they must have supposed, that it could not be cured without confession to God. And what

CHAP. IX.

[1 John ii. 1, 2.]

[a] See Right of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. ii. § 6. note r; iii. § 8. notes b, c: and Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 11.

[b] Corrected from MS.; "invections," in orig. text.

[c] Corrected from MS.; "these," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

say you to St. Paul's instruction,—"Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup;" 1 Cor. xi. 28. For though this may be subject to some limitation (as by that which follows, it will or may appear, that it is to be limited[d]); yet must not this limitation be such, as shall abate any thing of the promise of the Gospel, which the sacraments bring with them to those, who by a competent resolution for their Christianity are qualified for it.

[Repentance under the Law qualified for remission of sins.]

§ 9. Turn we to the Law and the prophets: and observe, according to the premisses, that there was no expiation prescribed by the Law for the inward guilt of sin; but for outward uncleannesses, or incapacities of conversing among the people of God (and, by consequence, of enjoying the benefit of the land of promise), together with some sins, which the Law specifies but condemns not to any bodily or pecuniary punishment[e]. Wherefore, seeing we read in the Law and the prophets so many exhortations to repentance, which if we suppose to come from God, we cannot suppose to be void of a promise implied, tendering pardon and favour at God's hands upon repentance, it is necessary to acknowledge, that inward repentance under the Law qualified for remission of sins[f]. Read the seven penitential Psalms; and tell me, how men came then to be cleansed of their sins (David affirming, Psal. li. 16, "Thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it Thee, but Thou delightest not in burnt-offerings"), but by that faith, which moved them to seek reconcilement with God by repentance, and by that conversion to righteousness, which their faith supposed acceptable to God. So the prophets, Ezek. xviii. 32, xxxiii. 9—20, Esay i. 18, 1 Kings viii. 33, 2 Chron. vi. 24; besides infinite more.

[And that without confession to the synagogue.]

§ 10. For if we say, that men were then bound to confess their sins, that they might be cleansed by the synagogue:

[d] See below, § 15, sq.; and c. xi.

[e] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxvii. § 5; and Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii.

[f] "Publicam illam peccatorum confessionem ad quæcunque peccata non diffundunt" (sc. Judæi). "Distinguunt illi peccata in Deum commissa ab iis quæ in proximum committuntur. Priorum confessionem publicam volunt tantum generatim fieri Deo; posteriorum autem proximis. Ideo quæ dicta sunt de speciali peccatorum enuntiatione publice aut multis simul facta, de hoc posteriori peccatorum genere volunt intelligi." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. ii. c. 20. p. 127. 2. A: abridging Moses Cordubensis.

he that confessed a capital crime, must incur a capital punishment; and without death there was no way to cleanse him of it. If we say, he might be cleansed by sacrifice, by the synagogue, without confessing the sin; why not under the Gospel by means answerable, that is, by the eucharist, and the oblations out of which it is celebrated, without confessing in particular to the Church? I do not therefore here dispute, what sins might be, and what might not be, purged by sacrifices; not doubting, by many passages of the prophets and Ecclesiasticus, that the righteous and spiritual men of that people, under the Law, did offer sacrifices for the expiation of those sins, which there was no particular promise in the Law that God would pardon upon those sacrifices. But, first, I suppose, that, though God allowed their conformity to His present law, in offering sacrifices that were not expressly required by it but customed by God's people upon it, yet He accepted them not for those sacrifices, but for that repentance and conversion of heart from whence they came. Thereupon then I argue, in the second place, that, if without declaring the kind of sin under the Law, under the Gospel much more. For, seeing that there is no expiation for capital crimes without death by the Law, he that should offer sacrifice for such a sin, declaring it, must become liable to death. And the same is the case in the second rank of offences against the Law, which it punisheth with scourging; those also belonging to that rank, which the Law threatens with death by the hand of God, which renders their life forfeit into God's hands: because of the rule which they have, that, if they come to be known to the synagogue, they are to be punished with scourging. For who can imagine, that these can be purged by the Law without undergoing the penalty of the Law? And therefore, if sacrifices were offered for them, they were not confessed; seeing that all estates in the synagogue, which was bound to punish them, were also bound to bring them to punishment.

The condition of [remission of sins under the Gospel],

§ 11. As for the Church, it hath been already declared, that the constitution thereof presupposeth in order of nature and reason the covenant of grace; that is to say, the condition upon which the Gospel tendereth remission of sins: so

BOOK III.

that, as we have all the reason in the world to think, that God hath founded the corporation of His Church to be the 77

by the ministry of the Church.

means of effecting[g] or procuring that disposition which qualifieth for the promises of the Gospel, so, if the same disposition can be procured without the ministry of the Church, which supposeth the knowledge of particular sins, there can be no cause, why God should enjoin that, the effect whereof is to be had without it. Now I suppose from the premisses, that those, who live within the Church, have sufficient helps of God's grace to enable them to return from their sins by repentance. As for those helps which they may have by the ministry of the Church, making known their sins to it; though they may be of such virtue as to make that more easy which is possible without them, yet, when all is done that man can do, it exceedeth not the same kind of helps, which man outwardly may render to God's inward grace: which as it is more probable that God's good providence should make effectual, than where the same outward means are not employed, or where they are employed in a less measure; so is it possible, that, being once sufficient, they may become effectual by God's grace, though in a less measure.

The power of loosing and binding.

§ 12. But, I confess, there is nothing prevails more with me to conclude this, than that which the Scripture affords us, to evidence, that God hath instituted and appointed the ministry of His Church for the reconciling of those sins, which must, or which may, come to the knowledge of His Church.

[First exercised in baptizing.]

§ 13. For when God giveth first to St. Peter "the keys" of His Church (Matt. xvi. 19), and afterwards to all His disciples the power of "binding" and "loosing" sins ([Matt. xviii. 18;] John xx. 23); it is evident, that by this power they are able to do nothing to unbelievers, but persuade them, by preaching the Gospel, to embrace that course by which it tendereth remission of sin; until, having persuaded them to it, they oblige them to enter into the Church by baptism, as that to which God hath limited that profession of Christianity which He requires to remission of sin. Thus is the power of the keys, or of binding and loosing sin, first seen and exercised in baptizing; understanding thereby, not only

[g] Corrected from MS.; "affecting," in orig. text.

the ministering of the sacrament, but the bringing of a man to that disposition to which baptism is due.

[Then in preaching repentance to the baptized.]

§ 14. The same is still exercised towards those that are come into the Church, by laying forth to them the doctrine of Moses and the prophets, of our Lord and His apostles, obliging them to return from sin by repentance: so that it cannot justly be said, that preaching, as we call it (that is, further instructing in the doctrine of Christianity those, that by the preaching of the Gospel have been moved to embrace it), is a thing impertinent to the power of the keys, not concerning the office of it; unless we think ministering the helps of sufficient grace impertinent to effectual grace, which always supposeth them; having already shewed, that before conversion to Christianity the power of the keys is seen in ministering the same.

What [that power] contains more than preaching or taking away offences.

§ 15. But he that thinketh, that within the Church the power of the keys goes no further than preaching[h], and clearing the scandal of notorious offences[i], can give no reason, why those, that are converted to believe Christianity by preaching the Gospel, should be bound by their own profession to oblige themselves to it, and by that means to enter the society of the Church. For they are as well certified before baptism as after, that without repentance and conversion from sin there is no remission of sin, or hope of everlasting life; which, if a man be left to his own choice, whether he will embrace or not, after that he is come into the Church, why not afore? Why came he into the Church? Or why was there provision made, that the Church should be a corporation, the communion whereof all Christians should be bound to hold and embrace? Therefore our Lord,—when He declares the depositing of the same keys (or power of loosing

[h] So e.g. Calvin, Whitaker, Cartwright. See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 77. note x.

[i] "Et ex illo ritu publicæ pœnitentiæ reliquum habemus etiam nomen satisfactionis. Nolebant enim sancti patres recipere lapsos aut famosos nisi prius cognita et spectata pœnitentia eorum quantum fieri poterat. Et hujus rei multæ videntur fuisse causæ. Nam ad exemplum pertinebat, castigare lapsos, sicut et glossa in Decretis admonet. Et indecorum erat homines famosos statim admittere ad communionem. Hi mores diu jam antiquati sunt. Nec necesse est eos restituere, quia non sunt necessarii ad remissionem peccatorum coram Deo." Phil. Melanchth., Apol. Confess. August., art. de Confess. et Satisfactione: Op., tom. i. p. 90. a. Witeb. 1601.—See also the quotation from Calvin, above, in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9. note i.

BOOK III.

and binding) with His Church, which He gave elsewhere to St. Peter and the rest of His disciples (Matt. xviii. 15—20), commanding, that he who will not hear the Church, be to the Church as publicans and sinners were then to the Jews, —inferreth, that "whatsoever they should bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they should loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven:" and again, that "where two of you" (that is, of the Church) "shall agree upon any thing to ask it, it shall be done for you by My Father in heaven." Where reducing him, that heareth not the 78
Church, into a state of a publican or a sinner to the Jews, being the binding of sin as to the Church, upon supposition that he is bound by it already as to God (in order to the loosing of the same as to the Church, upon supposition that it is first loosed as to God), is something else besides preaching, or clearing the scandal of notorious sin. And if our Lord, by inferring immediately a general promise of hearing the prayers of Christians, intend to intimate, that He would accept of the prayers of the Church for the reconciling of those whose sins were bound, as I observed afore; then, of necessity, something more than shewing the guilt of sin by preaching is referred to the Church, in procuring the loosing of him that is bound, from the debt of sin, not from the scandal of it.

[The incestuous person in the Church of Corinth.]

§ 16. And what is this, but that which we see done by St. Paul, and by the Church of Corinth in obedience to St. Paul's commands, concerning him that had married his father's widow; 1 Cor. v. 2—[13]; 2 Cor. ii. 5—11, vii. 8—11. For when St. Paul blames them, that they did not all "mourn, that he who had done the act, might be removed from among" them; certainly he means, that "he who had done the act," was to "mourn" so much more, that he might be restored unto them again. For so it came to pass, and upon such terms he is restored:—"If any man hath grieved, it is not me that he hath grieved, but in part, that I may not charge you all; enough to such a one is this rebuke of many; so that, contrariwise, ye ought rather to pardon and comfort such a one, lest he be swallowed up with abundance of sorrow." The reason follows:—"For I see, that that letter of mine grieved you, though but for a

time: now I am glad, not that I grieved you, but that you were grieved to repentance; for ye were grieved according to God, that ye might in nothing be punished, as from us: for the sorrow, that is according to God, worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of; but the sorrow of the world worketh death." I demand, whether the repentance, which St. Paul's censure brought forth, were the repentance of that Church, or the repentance of both the person guilty and the[k] Church. For without question, if this were the crime, and that he was borne out in it by a faction in the Church (the act whereof, prevailing, redounds to the account of the whole), then St. Paul justly blames the Church; because they had not cleared their hands of it by putting from them the guilty person, with demonstration of that sorrow, which might evidence their adherence to the Christianity which they had once professed. And accordingly, if the Church were grieved to repentance, such as procureth salvation, being according to God; and that, having so done, they are enjoined to restore the guilty person; [it followeth[l]], that the guilty person had been reduced to so much more sorrow, as the crime concerned him more; and that this sorrow also was repentance to salvation according to God, wrought by the censure inflicted upon him by St. Paul's epistle. Whether then St. Paul require them to readmit him, "lest Satan should get advantage" upon the Church by this breach (whose "conceits we are not ignorant of," saith St. Paul), and "lest" the party "should be swallowed up with excessive sorrow;" or lest the party, by despair of reconcilement with the Church, should be reduced to renounce Christianity; or a division be made in the Church from under the authority of St. Paul: this he plainly declares, that he pardons the man whom they pardon, in the person of Christ, that no such thing come to pass; that is, acting by apostolical commission, according to which, that which any man's apostle or commissary did, was as if himself did it: so that either we suppose the repentance wrought by the censure to be sufficiently evidenced, or that St. Paul's commission is not trustily discharged. This is more,

CHAP. IX.

[k] Corrected from MS.; "and of the," in orig. text.

[l] Corrected from MS.; "Therefore," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

then, than preaching the Gospel, or removing offence from before the Church. It is removing the sin by procuring repentance, and thereupon assuring of pardon; which seems not well assured, when there is not competent means used, much less the effect of the means visible in procuring repentance. But if a physician, only prescribing and applying the means of curing a disease, is said to cure it; much more the Church, not only prescribing and applying the means of curing sin (by the exercise of repentance, in prayer, with fasting and alms-deeds), but also, constraining the sick person effectually to use the cure prescribed, by excluding him the communion of the Church so long as he refuses to use it. 79

[The "destruction of the flesh," to which he was delivered.]

§ 17. Now when St. Paul commandeth "to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. v. 5); proving the power of excommunication necessary to the constitution and being of the Church, and that whoso is excommunicate falls under the power of Satan, as excluded God's Church: I alleged[m], that those miraculous operations, which God gave the Church under the apostles to witness the truth of Christianity by the evidence of His presence in the same, were seen upon those which were cast out of it; and that in that regard this man is commanded to be "delivered to Satan." "The destruction of the flesh" then, for which he is so delivered, may signify the incursions of Satan upon such persons, then visible; and so I understood it afore[n]. But I must not, therefore, omit that sense of these words, which the ancient Church frequenteth; understanding this destruction to be the mortification of the flesh by works of penance[o]. For this is that sense, which Tertullian[p], then a Montanist, labours to confute; but Origen (*In*

[m] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 35; and Review, c. i. § 19: and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 25.

[n] Ibid.

[o] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. vi. c. 11. § 11, sq. pp. 385. a, sq.: from whom the following quotations appear to be borrowed.

[p] "Hic jam carnis interitum in officium pœnitentiæ interpretantur" (sc. Pope Zephyrinus and the Church of Carthage), "quod videatur jejuniis et sordibus et incuria omni et dedita opera malæ tractationis carnem exterminando satis Deo facere, ut ex hoc argumententur fornicatorem, imo incestum illum, non in perditionem Satanæ ab apostolo traditum, sed in emendationem, quasi postea veniam ob interitum, id est,

Levit., Hom. xxiv.[q]), Pacianus (*Paræneși ad Pœnitentiam*[r]), St. Basil (*Ad Amphilochium*, c. vii.[s]), St. Ambrose (*De Pœnitentia*, i. 12[t]), St. Augustin (*De Fide et Operibus*, cap. xxvi.[u]), suppose and use. Neither is it in any way inconsequent, that the excommunicate, believing themselves to come thereby under the power of Satan, should betake themselves to those demonstrations of humiliation and mortification, whereby the Church might be moved to admit them to the means of their reconcilement. And in this there is more than preaching the Gospel, or taking away offence: there is authority obliging to use the cure, and granting reconciliation upon the same.

§ 18. Again, when St. Paul saith to them again (2 Cor. xii. 20, 21):—"I am afraid, lest, when I come, I find you not such as I would, and be found of you such as you would not; lest there be strifes, envies, animosities, contentions, back-bitings, whisperings, inflations, commotions; lest, when I come to you again, [my] God humble me in regard of you, and I mourn for many that have sinned afore, and have not repented of the uncleanness and whoredom and wantonness which they have done:"—how should St. Paul be "humbled" in regard of, or "mourn for many" of them, but in regard of the necessity which he feareth to find of putting them out of the Church, or to penance in case they adhere to the Church? And if, by appearance and demonstration [2 Cor. xii. 20, 21.]

conflictationem carnis consecuturum." Tertull., De Pudic., c. xiii. Op., p. 565. A: written when he was a Montanist.

[q] "Quod dicit, Tradidi in interitum carnis, hoc est, in afflictionem corporis quæ solet a pœnitentibus expendi." Origen, In Levit. Hom. xiv. § 4; Op., tom. ii. p. 261. 2. A. (misquoted xxiv. in Morinus).

[r] "Admovebo adhuc ignes de cauterio Apostolico. Videamus an ferre possitis. Judicavi, inquit, . . . tradere ejusmodi hominem Satanæ in interitum carnis. . . Quid dicitis, Pœnitentes? Ubi est vestræ carnis interitus? An quod in ipsa pœnitentia lautiores semper inceditis, convivio farti," &c. Pacian., Paræn. ad Pœnitent.; ap. Bibl. PP., tom. iv. p. 246. A.

[s] "Σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅλην γενεὰν ἀνθρώπου παρεδόθησαν τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἵνα παιδευθῶσι μὴ ἀσχημονεῖν." S. Basil. M., Epist. ad Amphiloch. de Canonibus, canon vii.; Epist. clxxxviii.: Op., tom. iii. p. 272. C: speaking of penance of thirty years' duration "ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἣν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἔπραξαν."

[t] "Ita et hic traditur Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut serpens terram ejus lingeret, animæ non noceret. Moriatur ergo caro nostra cupiditatibus," &c. S. Ambros., De Pœnit., lib. i. c. 13. § 60; Op., tom. ii. p. 406. D. (misquoted as c. 12. by Morinus).

[u] "Nisi essent quædam ita gravia, ut etiam excommunicatione plectenda sint, non diceret apostolus, Congregatis," &c., "tradere ejusmodi Satanæ in interitum carnis," &c. "Unde etiam dicit, 'Ne lugeam multos ex iis qui ante peccaverunt, et non egerunt pœnitentiam super immunditiam et fornicationem,'" &c. S. Aug., De Fide et Opp., c. xxvi.; Op., tom. vi. p. 191. C.

BOOK III.

of their repentance, St. Paul was to be moved not to do this; is it not evident, that this is the means which he employs to procure repentance, and assure pardon, by discharging them of it?

[Difficulty made of restoring apostates, in the Epistle to the Hebrews.]

§ 19. I do here repeat that which I said afore[x], to shew, that it is the apostle's intent, Heb. vi. 4—6, x. 26, 27, xii. 15—17, to deter them from falling away from Christianity to Judaism for fear of persecution from the Jews, by putting them out of hope of being readmitted to the communion of the Church: not as pronouncing sentence of damnation against them; but as demonstrating it so difficult to be presumed upon, in behalf of him that had once violated the profession of Christianity, that the Church was not to become the warrant for it. If this be the case of those, whose interest in the promises of the Gospel the Church warrants not; then the warrant of the Church (either in pronouncing sentence of absolution formally, or in admitting really unto the communion of the eucharist) proceeds, or ought to proceed, upon supposition of that disposition which qualifies for pardon, wrought in the penitent by the censure of the Church.

[The "sin unto death," in St. John.]

["δώσει," in text. recept.—var. lect. "δοθήσεται."]

§ 20. And that this is the case, I have further inferred[y] from the words of the Apostle; 1 John v. 16, 17: "If a man see his brother sin a sin not to death, he shall pray, and life shall be given to them that sin not to death: there is a sin to death, I say not that ye pray for it; all unrighteousness is sin, but there is a sin not to death." For seeing it is manifest, that the Church is to pray for all sinners, be they never so great enemies to the Church: it cannot be understood, that absolutely the Church is not to pray for the sin to death; but that, as he forbiddeth not, so he obligeth not, the Church to pray for the sin unto death those prayers, which tend to reconcile the sinner to the Church, upon supposition and for a warrant of the reconcilement thereof with God.

[The prayers of the priests and of

§ 21. If this seem not to agree with the words[z], because St. John seems to speak to particular persons, and not to the

[x] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 23, 24.

[y] Ibid., § 21.

[z] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 22.

body of the Church, when he says, "If any man see, let him ask;" let him consider the words of another apostle, James v. 14—16. For when he promiseth forgiveness of sins to him that shall "call for the priests of the Church," and they "pray over him;" adding immediately, "Confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed:" it is necessary, that we make good a reason, why this admonition follows upon that which went before; why the apostle, having taken order for the cure of their sins, who are here ordered to send for the priests of the Church, proceeds to say, "Confess your sins to one another;" namely, because the way of curing sin is the same, when a man confesses his sin to a brother (that is, a private Christian), and when he submits it to the authority of the Church. For as here the apostle maketh the means of obtaining pardon to consist in the prayers of the priests, in whom the authority of the Church resteth; so there, in the prayers of one Christian for another, that confesses his sin to him. And hereupon it is necessarily to be presumed, both that the apostle means, that the priests of the Church impose upon him that course of cure, which his sin requireth in case he survive; and also that a private Christian, by his advice, reduce his brother to use the same means. Otherwise, to what purpose should the one or the other declare his sin, seeing he might be prayed for at large, without declaring the same? It is therefore no marvel, that the words of St. John, manifestly concerning particular Christians, should extend to the keys of the Church, and the public office thereof. For though in the beginning,—when he saith, "If a man see his brother sin a sin not to death,"—he addresseth only to particular Christians; yet the end—"There is a sin unto death, I say not that ye pray for it,"—manifestly addresseth to the body of the Church; implying, that it is to be acquainted therewith by him that sees this, if the case require it.

CHAP. IX.

brother Christians in St. James.]

["Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ." 1 John v. 16.]

§ 22. Whereupon St. Paul thus exhorteth, Gal. vi. 1: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in any transgression, ye that are spiritual restore such a one with the spirit of meekness, considering yourselves, lest ye also be tempted." Here the title of "spiritual" may extend to particular Christians: but there is a presumption concerning public persons in the

[St. Paul's exhortation in Galat. c. vi.]

BOOK III.

Church, that they are such; because it is the opinion that they are such, which qualifies them to be made public persons in the Church. Now, when he speaks to the brethren in general to do this, he shews, that it may concern the body of the Church, as well as particular Christians. But when he speaks of the "spirit of meekness," it is manifest, that the intent of his speech concerns those penances, which were imposed upon sinners for trial of their conversions, in which he requires that "meekness," which the consideration of a man's own [weakness[a]] recommends.

[Of the recovery of a sinner by the keys of the Church, in St. James.]

§ 23. And, therefore, the same thing is taught by St. James by and by after the words afore quoted; James v. 19, 20:—"Brethren, if any man of you go astray from the truth, and some body bring him back; let him know, that he who brings back a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and cover a multitude of sins." For it is plain by St. Paul, that this extendeth to the recovery of a sinner by the keys of the Church, as they were managed during the apostles' time. Certainly, if we understand St. Paul's words, 1 Tim. v. 22, 24, of imposition of hands in penance (as I have shewed in my Book of the Right of the Church, p. 23[b], that they may and ought to be understood), it is necessarily to be inferred; seeing they, who admit those sinners to be reconciled unto God by the prayers which the Church makes for them, with imposition of hands (signifying thereby, that it alloweth them to be sincerely penitent), are "partakers of their sins," which shall follow upon the re-admitting of them to the Church, being not worthily[c] qualified for it. Therefore the Church is to see, that a man be qualified for reconciliation with the Church, upon supposition of his reconciliation with God before he be reconciled to the Church. And in first procuring him, and then judging him, to be so qualified, consists the right use of those keys which God hath given the Church, towards them that transgress the profession of Christianity after they have made it.

[The reason of all this.]

§ 24. The reason of all this is derived from those things, 81 which have been settled by the premisses. The condition,

[a] Corrected from MS.; "meekness," in orig. text.

[b] c. i. § 25.

[c] Corrected from MS.; "worthy," in orig. text.

which the Gospel proposeth for the remission of sins to them who stand convict by it that they are under sin, is, that they return from sin, and, believing that our Lord Christ was sent by God to cure it, undertake to profess that which He taught, and to live according to the same. Those which profess so to do, the Church accepteth of without exception; because, this being the first account she hath of them, she cannot expect more at their hands, than that they submit the rest of their lives to that Christianity which she obligeth them to. If by transgressing this obligation, which they have undertaken, they forfeit the right which they obtained thereby, is it in the power of the Church to restore them at pleasure?

[No contradiction between the Gospel and the Church.]

§ 25. In vain, then, is all that hath been said to shew, that the Gospel and Christianity, in order of nature and reason, is more ancient than the constitution of the Church and the corporation of it[d]: and that all the power of the Church presupposeth the condition, upon which those blessings which it tendereth are due[e]. And, certainly, our Lord, when He saith to His disciples, John xx. 23, "Whosesoever sin[s] ye remit, they are remitted," &c., intended not to contradict the sense of the scribes, when they say, "Who can forgive sins but God alone" (Mark ii. 7, Luke v. 21): much less to reverse the word of His prophets, ascribing this power to Him alone (Esay xliii. 25, Mich. vii. 18, Psal. xxxii. 5).

[The Church's power of remitting sin abates nothing of what the Gospel requires.]

§ 26. What is then the effect of this promise to them, that have forfeited the right of their baptism; supposing, that, when men first become Christians, the disciples of Christ and His Church remit sins by making them Christians, according to that which hath been declared? Surely the same, observing the difference of the case. For he, who, being convict of his disease and of the cure of it by the preaching of Christianity, is effectually moved by the help of God's Spirit to embrace that cure, which none but the Church which tenders it can furnish, attains it not but by using it; that is, by being baptized. But he, who, being baptized, hath failed of his trust and forfeited his interest in Christ,

[d] See above, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. iii. § 24. notes k, l: and compare Laud's Conference with Fisher, sect. xvi.; Works, vol. ii. pp. 71—130. Oxf. 1849.

[e] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 11.

BOOK III.

cannot so easily be restored. I have shewed you[f], what works of mortification, of devotion, and mercy, the recovering of God's grace and favour requires. Let no man therefore think, that the power of remitting sins in the Church can abate any thing of that, which the Gospel, upon which the Church is grounded, requireth to the remission of sin done after baptism. The authority of the Church is provided by God to oblige those, who are overtaken in sin, to undergo that, which may satisfy the Church of the sincere intent of their return; and the Church, being so satisfied, warranteth their restitution to the right which they had forfeited, upon as good ground, as it warranteth their first estate in it. But this presupposeth the wrath of God appeased, His favour regained, and the inordinate love of the creature, which caused the forfeit, blotted out, and changed (through that course of mortification which hath been performed) into the true love of goodness for God's sake.

[The Church hath no power to forgive sins without the disposition which by the Gospel qualifieth for forgiveness.]

§ 27. The Church, therefore, hath received of God no power to forgive sins immediately; as if it were in the Church, to pardon sin without that disposition, which by the Gospel qualifieth a man for it; or as if the act of the Church, pardoning, did produce it: but, in as much as the knowledge thereof directeth, and the authority thereof constraineth, to use the means which the Gospel prescribeth, in so much is the remission of sins, thereby obtained, truly ascribed to the Church. Lazarus was first dead, before he was bound up in his grave-clothes; and when he was restored to life, he remained bound, till he was loosed by the apostles[g]. The Church bindeth no man but him that is first dead in sin. If the voice of Christ call him out of that death, he is not revived, till the love of sin be mortified, and the love of God made alive in him, by a due course of penance performed. If the motion of God's Spirit, upon the preaching of the Gospel, convincing a man that there is no means but Christianity to escape out of sin, and prevailing with him to embrace it, be effectual to obtain the promises of the Gospel; much more shall the actual operation of the same, moving him, that is dead in sin, to put sin to death in himself, that

[John xi. 44.]

82

[f] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 4—11.

[g] See S. Aug., Serm. ccclii. c. 3. § 8; Op., tom. v. p. 1371. A, B.

he may live a Christian for the future, be effectual to regain the grace of God for him, who hath not yet the life of grace in him, but is in the way of recovering it by the help of God's grace.

[But those who are bound by the Church, need to be loosed by her.]

§ 28. But he who is thus recovered to life by the ministry of the Church, is not yet loosed of the bands of his sin, till he be loosed by the Church, because he was first bound by it; as our Lord, having raised Lazarus to life, commands him to be loosed by His apostles. For if he, who accepteth of the Gospel and the terms of it, remain bound to be baptized by the Church for the remission of his sin; is it strange, that he, who hath forfeited his pardon, obtained by the Church, even in the judgment and knowledge of the Church, should not obtain the restoring of it but by the act of the Church? And therefore the Church remitteth sin after baptism, not only as a physician, prescribing the cure; but as a judge, admitting it to be effected[h]. And the satisfaction of the Church presupposeth, that God is satisfied; that is to say, His wrath appeased, and His favour regained, by the means which the Church prescribeth; but requireth also, that he submit, not only to use the cure which the Church prescribeth, but to the judgment thereof in admitting the effect of it. And upon these terms, and upon no other, the virtue of baptism, mortified by sin, reviveth again, according to the doctrine of the School[i]. For if nothing else but the

[h] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 2.—"Quod objiciunt, judicem debere cognoscere causam priusquam pronunciet, hoc nihil ad hanc rem pertinet, quia absolutio est exequutio alieni beneficii, *non est judicium*. Christus n[obis] dedit mandatum remittendi; id mandatum exequuntur ministri. Non habent mandatum de cognoscendis occultis." Philip. Melanchth., Apol. Confess. August., Art. de Confess. et Satisf.; Op., tom. i. p. 89. b: but having just before pronounced, that "impium esset ex ecclesia privatam absolutionem tollere."—"Nam quod contendunt, non posse fieri judicium nisi causa cognita, in promptu est solutio; temere hoc sibi arrogare, *qui sunt a seipsis judices creati*." Calvin., Instit., III. iv. 18: Op., tom. ix. p. 167. a.—"Nec vero certo scire solvaturne peccator, ad sacerdotem pertinet, sed ad eum a quo petitur absolutio; quando nunquam scire potest qui audit, sitne justa et integra enumeratio." Id., ibid.—See Bellarmine, De Pœnit., lib. iii. c. 2: Controv., tom. ii. p. 1348. A—D.—"Nam ex omnium consensu sacerdotes in sacramento pœnitentiæ personas ferunt duplices, *medicorum et judicum*." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. i. c. 3. § 9. p. 11. 2. B: but explaining the latter term, thus—"Judices igitur sunt sacerdotes, ut peccata in confessione audita puniant pœna evangelica, hoc est, salutari, quæ non mortem inferat, ut pœnæ seculares, sed vitam reddat confitentibus." (Ibid., § 11. p. 12. 1. B.)

[i] See Morinus, De Pœn., lib. i. c. 6. pp. 12. 2. C, sq.—"Monent igitur S. Patres sacerdotum judicia non esse pro animi libidine exercenda. Et quamquam ex verbis Christi nullis limitibus definiatur eorum potestas; infinite enim traditur, 'Quodcumque ligaveris,' &c., 'Quorum remiseritis,' &c.: nihilomi-

BOOK III.

sincere resolution of living and dying as a Christian, can entitle any man to the promises of the Gospel; what is it that must entitle him to them, that hath once forfeited his title? Surely nothing but the renewing of that trust, which is forfeited by failing of it. And surely that trust is not so easily re-established, as it is first contracted. I have shewed you in the second Book[j], what reason we have to believe, that the severity of the ancient Church, in re-admitting those that failed of their profession at their baptism, necessarily argues the difficulty of being re-estated in the favour of God. There goes more, indeed, to the satisfying of the Church, that he, who had failed of his Christianity, hath sincerely renewed his resolution for it, than to the renewing of it. But that this resolution will as well be effectual and durable, as it is sincere; it is as difficult to assure a man's self, as to satisfy the Church. The power of the Church, then, in binding and loosing, that is, in remitting or retaining sin, consists not only in declaring a sinner either bound or loose; whether in general by preaching the Gospel, or in particular by refusing or restoring him to the communion of the Church (for, whom the Church bindeth for sin known to the Church, his pardon is not to be had without the act of the Church); but in constraining him, that will be a Christian, to mortify the love of sin in himself (as his sin declares it to be alive in him), is the power of the Church in remitting sin exercised; and in pronouncing sentence of absolution, in what form soever, the power of assuring the same.

Sin may be pardoned without the use of [the power of the keys].

§ 29. Let us now look over these same scriptures again: for by them, having no other, we must judge, whether this power extends to all sins, so that no sin after baptism can be pardoned without the ministry of the Church and the use of it; whether it extend only to notorious sinners, as an abatement of the sentence of excommunication (which being liable

nus eam dispositionem quæ descripta est *præcedere debere*, et potestatem hanc jure naturali et Divina esse restringendam. Est enim juris naturalis et Divini *innocentes* absolvere," &c. &c. Id., ibid., p. 13. 2. D.—The saying "de Baptismi ἀναζωπυρήσει et reviviscentia," more commonly occurs in connection with a different subject, viz., the effect of baptism received "cum fictione ipsum non frustrante," as e. g. heretical or schismatical baptism with true matter and form, "atque ideo vires suas, cum illa (fictio) recedit, exerente:" see Morinus, ibid., lib. ix. c. 13. pp. 654. 1. A, sq.

[j] Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. iv. § 16, xxxiii. § 6—11.

to, upon demonstration of repentance, they are admitted to be reconciled by it); or, lastly, whether there be some other reason to determine the extent of it. Surely he that argues[k], —because God hath given His disciples this power, and the Church after them, therefore He hath commanded all sinners to use it, denying all hope of pardon to them, that do not use it by declaring their sins to them whom the Church trusts for it,—makes a lame consequence. For will any reason allow him to say, that otherwise this power signifies nothing, when it is granted to extend to the curing of all notorious sins?

[The incestuous man in the Church of Corinth.]

§ 30. That which we learn of it from St. Paul to the Corinthians, without all controversy, concerns no sins but such. The sin of him, that had married his father's wife, was so well known, that it had raised a party in the Church of such as pretended it to be consistent with Christianity. And when St. Paul is afraid, that, coming to them, he shall be fain to put many of them to penance for the sins, which having committed, they would have made no demonstration of conversion from them before his coming; it is evident enough, that he speaks of no secret sins: because the punishment, which he pretends to inflict, is for standing out against his letters in their sins.

[2 Cor. xii. 21.]

[The sin of apostasy, in the Epistle to the Hebrews.]

§ 31. As for that sin, which the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to exclude from reconcilement with God by the Church,—apostasy from Christianity;—it is necessarily and essentially a manifest sin, because it consists in the visible renouncing of that profession, which had been visibly made.

[The prayer of the priests of the Church, in St. James.]

§ 32. But, coming to St. James, we find, that he commands the priests of the Church to be sent for, promising forgiveness of sins upon their prayers. And, therefore, when he proceedeth to say, "Confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another;" we gather, that he promiseth the pardon of those sins, which the sick person shall have confessed to the priests of the Church[l]. For if it be requisite for obtaining the prayers of a brother for the pardon of our sins, that we confess them to him; he that prescribes it, must needs understand those sins, which he promises forgiveness upon their prayers, to be declared to them afore. It is

[k] See Bellarmine, De Pœnit., lib. iii. c. 2; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1349. D, sq.
[l] See above, § 21.

BOOK III.

therefore manifest, that the apostle here delivereth a precept of confessing sin both to one another and to the priests of the Church: supposing the cure of sin [to[m]] be known to all Christians by the tradition of our common Christianity, and the visible custom and practice of all Churches; by works of humiliation and mortification, of devotion and mercy, whereby satisfaction is made not only to the Church (which receiveth offence by visible sin), but also to God (Who is offended by all sin), in that sense and to that effect, which hath been justified in the second Book[n]: namely, to the appeasing of His wrath, to the regaining of His grace and favour, to the restoring of the covenant of grace contracted at our baptism, which sin had made void; and therefore in virtue of that satisfaction for all sin, which was once made by our Lord Christ upon the cross, without which, that which we are able to do towards this effect, would all have been to no purpose. Whereupon [it follows[o]], that the Church is not satisfied in such a case, but supposing that God is satisfied first, and that the prayers, which the Church maketh for the pardon of sin, are granted and made, or ought to be granted and made, upon presumption that the sinner is in a way of obtaining pardon of God by those prayers, upon his submission to the use of those means, which either the priests of the Church by the authority thereof shall enjoin, or a brother by his skill and discretion shall advise. This being unavoidably the meaning of the apostles: first, it is manifest, that, all Christians being directed by the apostle to have recourse to the keys of the Church for the cure of sin in the danger of death, they may be more obliged to the same course in time of health; because it may then be used; whereas in danger of death, though it must be prescribed, yet it cannot be used but by him that surviveth: secondly, it is further implied, that the sin which a man confesseth to his brother, if he be not able to advise a meet cure for it, is, not only by the party, but by him also, to be brought to the Church. And so, in both cases, you have an injunction of the apostle for the submitting of secret sin to the keys of the Church. But you have

[m] Added from MS.

[n] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 1—11.

[o] These words, or something to the same effect, appear to have dropped out of the text.

also a possibility for the cure of sin without the authority of the Church; inasmuch as it had been too impertinent for the apostle to have given a precept of "confessing sin to one another," if no sin could be pardoned without having recourse to the Church.

[The sin unto death in St. John.]

§ 33. The same is the effect of St. John's words:—"If a man see his brother sin a sin not unto death," &c. For it is manifest, that that sin which one man sees, is not notorious to the Church. And yet the distinction, which St. John maketh between the sin which he commandeth a private Christian to pray for, and the sins which he commandeth not the Church to pray for, with the difficulties that the primitive Church had about it, shew, that those sins, which private advice cannot cure, he would have brought to the Church. And St. John's meaning is, that a man should pray for such sins of his brother, as he is sure are not "to death:" supposing, first, his brother disposed by himself, or by his advice, to take the course that may qualify him for forgiveness. But if it prove doubtful, whether "to death" or not: the apostle, by saying, that there are some sins
84 which he referreth to the Church, whether to pray for pardon of them (to wit, in order to restoring them to the communion of the Church) or not, supposeth, that they are reported to the Church by him that saw them, when the Church saw them not; but first supposing, that they might possibly have been cured without bringing them to the Church. And if these things be true, then is the "bringing of a sinner back from the error of his way" (according to that precept of St. James which followeth) an obligation that is to be discharged, not only by the office of a private Christian in convicting a private Christian of his sin and of the means that he is to use for his recovery, but also by bringing him to the Church, if the case require it: which obligation will necessarily lie upon the sinner himself, in the first place; but so, that his own skill and fidelity to his own salvation may possibly furnish him his cure at home.

[Our Saviour's own words about binding and loosing.]

§ 34. The tenor of our Saviour's words throughly enforceth the same: according to that which I observed in the first Book, p. 140 [p], that all Christians may be said to bind

[p] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 42, sq.

BOOK III.

sin, by shewing a Christian his sin, in case he refuse that cure, which he that convicts him of his sin, convicts him that [he [q]] is to use; and to loose sin, in case he embrace it: but this, in the inner court of the conscience, between God and the soul. For though the words of our Lord—"If thy brother offend thee, tell him of it between him and thee,"—extend to private injuries, obliging a Christian first to seek reparation by the good will of his party upon remonstrance of the wrong, then not to seek it out of the Church but by the Church; yet they necessarily comprehend all sins which another man knows, which to him are 'offences.' And therefore, when our Saviour saith, "If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother;" it is manifest, that the effect of His promise, which followeth,—"Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,"—is obtained by the act of a private Christian, without recourse to the public authority of the Church. And who will believe, that the skill and fidelity of some private Christian may not furnish him as good a cure, as he can expect to learn from any private Christian [r], to whom he can have recourse? And yet the process of our Lord's discourse shews, that the intent of it concerns in chief the exercise of the keys of God's Church, even upon those sins which are not notorious.

[St. Paul's injunction about restoring the incestuous man, concerns the Church as well as private Christians.]

§ 35. Which whoso considers, cannot refuse to grant, that St. Paul's injunction, for the restoring of him that is surprised in sin, concerns both the office of private Christians, and also of a whole Church and the body of it [s]. And, truly, considering what hath been said concerning Scripture and tradition [t], it cannot seem strange, that the apostles, leaving such authority with the Churches of their founding with general instructions to those whom they trusted them with, writing to the bodies of those Churches things respectively concerning all Christians, should give directions concerning all in general terms; which the visible practice of the said Churches might determine to the respective office of each quality and estate in those Churches: no more, than that our Lord, finding the power of the keys not yet visible before Christianity, should propose His instructions in that

[q] Added from MS.

[r] So in orig. text. ? from the Church or any particular priest of the Church.

[s] See above, § 22.

[t] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 7, &c.

generality, which only His apostles' orders, and the practice of their Churches upon their instructions, determineth. For the power of the keys in the Church enables it further, until the world's end, to limit further whatsoever shall appear to require further determination, to the end of binding and loosing of sin which it importeth, according as the present state of the Church in every age shall require. CHAP. IX.

§ 36. Let us now consider, that, though I have made evidence by consequence from the writings of the apostles, that remission of sins committed after baptism may be obtained without the keys of the Church, yet it is hard to find any express promise to that effect in their writings; unless it be that of St. John's first Epistle: in which, notwithstanding, a limitation of that confession, which the apostle requires, to the Church and to those that are trusted by the Church, may reasonably be understood, supposing the way of curing sin by the ministry of the Church to have been customary and therefore known at that time. And, on the contrary, though I do believe these consequences to be unreprovable, yet it is to be considered, that St. Paul's indul- 85 gence seems to be granted upon a particular occasion, incident to distemper the ordinary course of the Church; namely, the prevailing of some sin to a faction of some great or the greatest part of the Church: which, as it necessarily intercepteth[u] the use of the power of the keys, though provided and ordained by God for the curing of the said sins, so can it by no means argue, that God hath not appointed it for the ordinary means of curing them.

[Hard to find any express promise of remission of sins after baptism without the keys of the Church.] [1 John i. 9.]

[2 Cor. ii. 5—11.]

§ 37. As for the consequence, which was made[v] from the testimonies of the Law and the prophets and of the Gospels before the establishment of the covenant of baptism, to shew, that they take effect also in sins after baptism; it may easily be considered, that they take place no further, than that disposition which is requisite to the forgiveness of those sins, whereby the grace of baptism is violated, may be supposed to be produced without help of the Church. Which as I conceive I have proved to be possible, so I conceive no man living can prove to be so easy, that all those who stand

Wherein the necessity of using [the power of the keys] lieth.

[u] Corrected from MS.; "intercepted," in orig. text.

[v] Above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 5—8.

BOOK III.

in need of the remedy can presume (upon so good ground as the safety of the soul requires) to obtain it, or to have obtained it, of themselves, without that help which the ministry appointed by God in His Church furnishes. Which if it be true, it will inevitably follow, that the most part of Christians are for the most part bound in conscience to have recourse to the power of the Church, and the keys thereof, for the cure of those sins which are not of themselves notorious: and that other Christians may be tied in conscience to bring them to the Church for it, by making known those sins, which otherwise are not notorious; to wit, when they cannot reasonably presume, that of themselves they will apply themselves to the means which the cure requires. And if this be true, it will also follow, that it is in the power of the Church to make rules (of force to bind the consciences of those who are of the Church), limiting the terms upon which they shall stand bound to have recourse to the Church for that purpose.

[All such doctrine as this no way receivable by those, who hold justifying faith to consist in the knowledge of a man's own predestination.]

§ 38. Indeed, had the apostles delivered any such faith,—that a man is justified, by believing, that he is appointed by God to salvation immediately upon consideration of Christ without any disposition qualifying him for it (only limiting his right in this appointment to the time that this appointment is revealed to him, which revelation is that faith which alone justifieth);—I would then confess, that this interpretation of Scripture would no way be receivable: because, indeed, no such scriptures could have proceeded from those that delivered such a faith. It would then be sufficient, that he, to whom this predestination is revealed by justifying faith, should say, "Lord have mercy upon me," at breathing out his last; or, rather, it would be needless, nay damnable, for him to desire that mercy, which if he were not sure of before he said it, he must be damned for want of that faith which only saveth. But if all Christians be justified by sincerely undertaking the profession of Christianity, and that this sincerity is inconsistent with doing contrary to that which this profession containeth; then let all men of discretion and conscience judge (not, whether the Church hath reason to believe, that every such a one will voluntarily charge himself with that humiliation which may seem to

mortify the passions that made him sin afore, and make his profession sincere for the future, but), whether himself hath reason to believe, that either he knows how to value it, or will effectually perform it, not being instructed and obliged to it by the Church. CHAP. IX.

§ 39. Seeing, then, on the [one[x]] side, that God hath provided the ministry of the Church for the purpose (the effect of it in reconciling notorious sins being undeniable); on the other, [that] no reason can presume, that all Christians either know, or will supply to themselves, the work and effect of that ministry, being left to themselves: it followeth, that, though voluntary penance is not necessary for obtaining remission of every sin, yet it is necessary for the body of the Church, because there is no ground of presumption that the sins thereof are or can be cleansed without it. [How far the power of the keys necessary.]

86

CHAPTER X.

THE SECTS OF THE MONTANISTS, NOVATIANS, DONATISTS, AND MELETIANS, EVIDENCE THE CURE OF SIN BY PENANCE TO BE A TRADITION OF THE APOSTLES. SO DOTH THE AGREEMENT OF PRIMITIVE PRACTICE WITH THEIR WRITINGS. INDULGENCE OF REGULAR PENANCE FROM THE APOSTLES. CONFESSION OF SECRET SINS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. THAT NO SIN CAN BE CURED WITHOUT THE KEYS OF THE CHURCH, THERE IS NO TRADITION FROM THE APOSTLES. THE NECESSITY OF CONFESSING SECRET SINS, WHEREUPON IT STANDS.

And this is that, which the tradition of the Church, that is, the original and universal practice of penance[y] (evidencing that it could have no other beginning than the authority of the apostles, which only could oblige the whole Church), throughly justifieth. [The tradition of the Church throughly justifieth the above statements.]

§ 2. I told you at the beginning[z], how near Montanus his heresy was to the death of St. John, when the age of the apostles ended. And it will not be amiss to tell you here, that I shall shew you in another place[a], that in all proba- The sect of the Montanists evidences the cure of sin by pe-

[x] Added from MS.
[y] See Rt. of the Ch. in a Chr. St., c. i. § 19—21.
[z] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 12.
[a] See below, c. xxix. (misprinted xxviii. in folio edition), § 38, 39.

BOOK III.

nance to be a tradition of the apostles.

bility it is still elder by above twenty years than Eusebius[b] his account (which there I allowed) doth make it. The pretence thereof (among other austerities, which they pretended to impose for rules upon the whole Church upon the authority of prophecies, inspirations, and revelations, which they had or pretended to have[c]) was to exclude some great crimes from reconcilement with God by the means of the Church; that is to say, in the language of those times, from being admitted to penance. I demand now of any man, that will employ a little of his common sense upon the business, whether there had been any subject for Montanus to pretend the introducing of greater austerity than was practised in the Church in this point, if there had been no practice of penance then in the Church, capable of greater strictness than was commonly practised[d]. And if his common sense gives no sentence, let him advise, either with that which remains of Tertullian for Montanus, or against him in the records of the Church; and tell me, whether they do condemn the reconciling of sin by penance prescribed in the Church, or that strictness which Montanus pretended to introduce over and above the common practice: evidencing therefore the force of that penance, which [was[e]] generally practised, by condemning him for endeavouring to enhance it. Thus much for certain; had not Montanus pretended to impose the austerity which he affected for a rule upon the rest of the Church, the occasion for which he was excluded out of the Church had not been. He had reduced the Churches of Phrygia to his sense, rather by the credit of those revelations than by any authority which he stood [possessed[f]] of in them, so far as I learn; and from thence it came to pass, that his doctrine continued so long in force there, that the sect is [called[g]] "*Κατὰ φρύγας*"—"that which the Phrygians follow," and the sectaries, *Cataphryges*[h] in Latin. But when (according to the strict correspondence

[b] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 12. note b.

[c] See ibid., c. x. § 9. note t.

[d] See ibid., c. ix. § 12, sq.: and Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 32.

[e] Corrected from MS.; "as," in orig. text.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "professed," in orig. text.

[g] Corrected from MS.; "call," in orig. text.

[h] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 11. note z.

that then was exercised between all Churches) it came to be communicated to the Churches of Asia: we find by Eusebius, how his pretence of revelations was rejected as counterfeit, or as unsufficient; and by consequence the laws[l], which upon the authority of them he pretended to impose upon the Church[k]. That, being rejected by the neighbour Churches, he travelled to Rome, or sent to Rome to approve them there (that, being so received, he might upon new grounds tender them to his neighbours); we learn by Tertullian[l]. That, being rejected there also, Tertullian, out of the passion he had for them, being drawn away from the Church, maintained their profession in a Church erected by schism upon that account at Carthage till the times of St. Augustin (by whom they were reduced to the communion of the Catholic Church); we learn by Sirmondus his *Prædestinatus*[m], and the same St. Augustin[n]. But otherwise the Phrygians were counted sectaries by the rest of the Church[o], that is, necessarily schismatics, and perhaps heretics; if indeed, by being separated from the body of the Church, they became guilty of those excesses, which they are charged with by Epiphanius[p], St. Jerome[q], and others[r]. Of these particulars you may see [an account[s]] in St. Augustin *De Hæresibus*[t], and Sirmondus his *Prædestinatus*[u], both of them, *Hæresi* xxvi.

87

[l] Corrected from MS.; "law," in orig. text.

[k] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 9. note t.

[l] See below, c. xix. § 2.

[m] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 11. note y.

[n] See ibid., note z.

[o] See ibid., § 11.

[p] S. Epiphan., Adv. Hær., lib. ii. tom. i. Hær. 48; Op., tom. i. pp. 402. C—417. C.—He says of the Κατὰ Φρύγας, that "δέχονται πᾶσαν γραφὴν παλαιὰν καὶ νέαν Διαθήκην· καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμοίως λέγουσι· Μοντανὸν δέ τινα προφήτην αὐχοῦσιν ἔχειν, καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξιμίλλαν προφήτιδας· οἷς προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν ἐξετράπησαν· περὶ δὲ Πατρὸς καὶ Τίοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁμοίως φρονοῦσι τῇ ἁγίᾳ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἀπέσχισαν δὲ ἑαυτοὺς προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνης καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμόνων, λέγοντας, ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς, φησὶ, καὶ τὰ χαρίσματα δέχεσθαι." Ibid., p. 402. C, D.

[q] S. Hieron., Epist. xxvii. (alias liv.), Ad Marcellam; Op., tom. iv. P. 2. pp. 64, 65: who accuses them of believing Montanus to be the promised Paraclete, and of Sabellianism, and of holding second marriages to be fornication, and of certain horrid rites in the eucharist: which last however he does not wholly believe.

[r] See Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. cc. 14—19. pp. 178. C—187. D: and the authors there quoted.

[s] These or some similar words seem to have dropped out of the text.

[t] S. Aug., De Hæres., c. xxvi.; Op., tom. viii. p. 10. A—C: mentioning the same points as S. Jerome, except that he says nothing of Sabellianism.

[u] Prædestinatus, lib. i. De Hæres., c. lxxxvi., Tertullianistæ; Op. Sirmond., tom. i. pp. 501. E, 502:—"Nihil in fide mutavit. Nam et secundas nuptias condemnat, . . animam ex traduce venire adserit, et nos Catholicos Psychicos titulat."

BOOK III.

and lxxxvi. But all the while the subject of this separation is the discipline of penance, received by the whole Church as from the apostles; the limitation of the practice thereof being the ground, upon which the difference is stated. And for the ground of this ground: whether it could then be pretended, that the keys of the Church could do no more than cure the scandal of notorious sin, on the one side; or whether it could then be pretended, on the other side, that the keys of the Church import any power to pardon sin immediately, not supposing that disposition which qualifieth for pardon visible to the Church, and procured by those actions, which the authority of the Church enjoineth: all this I am content to refer to that common sense, which is capable to understand these particulars.

[So also] the sects of the Novatians, Donatists, and Meletians.

§ 3. I shall not need to say much of the Novatians at Rome and elsewhere, the Donatists in Africa, of the Meletians in Egypt, having said this of the Montanists; all of them (if we regard the subject of the separations, which they made in several parts of the Church) being nothing else but branches of the same sect, and forsaking the unity of the Church for their part of that cause which engaged Montanus: the Novatians, because they would not endure, that those, who fell away from the faith in the persecution of Decius, should be re-admitted to the communion of the Church upon demonstration of repentance[x]; the Meletians, for the same cause, in Egypt, under the persecution of Diocletian[y]; the Donatists, upon some appertenance of the same cause[z]. Only they serve to evidence the discipline of penance to have been as universal as the Church of Christ; when no part of it is found free from debates about the terms limiting the exercise of it. They serve also to evidence the ground and the pretence of the power of the keys in the discipline of penance, by the same reason which I alleged afore[a].

So doth [also] the agreement of primi-

§ 4. After these times, when the customs of the Church (which from the beginning was governed by unwritten law,

[x] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. viii. § 9, ix. § 13. note c: and below, c. xix. § 6.

[y] See ibid., c. x. § 41: and below, c. xix. § 6.

[z] See ibid., c. x. § 40: and below, c. xix. § 14.

[a] Scil. in § 2.

delivered by word of mouth of the apostles, but limited more and more by the governors of several Churches) began to be both reduced into writing, and also more expressly determined by the canons of several councils, greater and less: it were too vain to prove that by discourse, which of itself is as evident, as it is evident that there are such rules extant, which in their time had the force of law to those parts of the Church, for which they were respectively made. Only I do observe the agreement, that is found between the original practice of the Church in this point, and that order which I have shewed you out of the apostles' writings[b]; evidencing that interpretation, which I have given of them, by that rule which common sense enforces, that the meaning and intent of every law is to be measured by the primitive practice of it. For we see so much doubt made, whether those three great crimes of idolatry, murder, and adultery, were to be reconciled by penance (that is, by the visible and outward demonstration of inward repentance) to the Church, not only by Montanus, but partly by Novatians; that the[c] great Church of Antiochia remained doubtful a great while, whether Cornelius or Novatianus should be acknowledged the true bishop of Rome[d]. We see the Eliberitan canons (which were unquestionably made divers years before the council at Nicea, and therefore may be counted as ancient as any that the Church hath) exclude some branches of those sins from reconciliation with the Church[e]. We see this [rigour[f]] abated by the succeeding discipline of the Church[g].

tive practice with [the apostles'] writings.

§ 5. It is indeed said in the Church of Rome at this time, that the ground of the heresy (as without ground they call it[h]) of the Montanists and Novatians was this: that,

[The true cause of the schisms of Montanists and Novatians.]

[b] Above, c. ix. § 15, sq.

[c] Corrected from MS.; "that," in orig. text.

[d] See Bk. I. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. x. § 14, sq.

[e] See below, § 6, notes m—d.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "vigor," in orig. text.

[g] See § 7.

[h] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. v. c. 1. § 11. p. 252. 1. D, E.,—"Post Tertullianum et Montanistarum hæresim, qui mœchiæ, homicidio, et idololatriæ, veniam ab ecclesia dari posse negabant, ecclesiæ disciplina in pœnitentes severior esse cœpit; sic ratione postulante, peccata hominum quo frequentiora sunt, eo severioribus pœnis esse coercenda." Morinus, ibid., lib. iv. c. 10. § 1. p. 185. 2. C.—c. 9. (pp. 182. 2. C, sq.) is employed in proving, that "pœnas sceleribus impositas a nascente ecclesia ad hæresim usque Montani breves admodum fuisse:" and c. 10. (pp. 185. 2. C, sq.), that "easdem pœnas a Montano ad Novatum paulo auctas, breves tamen admodum fuisse cum sequente severitate comparatas."

BOOK III.

acknowledging the Church to have power to forgive less sins, they (the Novatians) denied it the power to forgive apostasy or idolatry; to which the Montanists added murder and adultery. But I have shewed in my Book of the Right of the Church, pp. 17—27[i], that within the Church also, as well as among the Montanists and Novatians, some of these sins were not admitted to communion; no, not at the point of death. And that there never was any opinion in the 88
ancient Church, that the Church hath any power to forgive sin immediately, but only by the medicine of penance which it enjoineth; I refer myself to that which here followeth. Now it is plain, that neither those parts of the Church, nor the Novatians, did hold those sins desperate, but exhorted them to penance as their cure in God's sight; agreeing in not re-admitting them, whether for the maintenance of discipline, or for fear the Church, warranting their pardon who might prove not qualified for it, should become guilty of their sins: according to St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 22, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, nor partake in other men's sins." For St. John, and the apostle to the Hebrews, had authorized the Church to make difficulty of it; though St. Paul had re-admitted a branch of one of them (the incestuous person at Corinth), whether for the unity of that Church, then in danger to be divided upon that occasion, or as reasonably satisfied of the truth of his repentance. But when the zeal of Christianity decreased, as the number of Christians increased within, and persecution without withdrew so many that there was no means left to preserve the body without abating this severity (the number of apostates in some persecutions being considerable to the number of Christians[k]); we need seek no other reason, why the Montanists and Novatians should be schismatics (not properly heretics[l]), than their separating from the Church rather than condescend to that which the body of the Church found requisite to be granted.

[1 John v. 16, 17: Hebr. vi. 4—6, x. 26, 27, xii. 15—17: 1 Cor. v. 2—13, 2 Cor. ii. 5—11.]

[The Eliberitan canons.]

§ 6. Let us see what crimes they are, which the Eliberitan

[i] c. i. § 19—28.

[k] See e. g. S. Cypr., Ep. xiv. p. 31:—"Quoniam infesta tempestas, quæ plebem nostram ex maxima parte prostravit, hunc quoque addidit nostris doloribus cumulum, ut etiam cleri portionem sua strage perstringeret," &c.

[l] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 24.

canons (that is, the canons of the council of Elvira in Spain[m]) exclude from the communion, even in case of death. As, if a man at age after baptism commit adultery in the temple of an idol (c. i[n]). If an idol-priest, having been baptized, shall sacrifice again (c. ii[o]). If such a one after penance shall have committed adultery (c. iii[p]). If a Christian kill a man by witchcraft, wherein there is idolatry (c. vi[q]). If a Christian commit adultery after penance (c. vii[r]). If a woman, leaving her husband without cause, marry another (c. viii[s]). If a father or mother sell a child into the stews, or a child itself (c. xii[t]). If a professed virgin shall live in uncleanness (c. xiii[u]). If a man marry his daughter to an idol-priest (c. xvii[x]). If a clergyman commit adultery (c. xviii[y]). If he, who is admitted to communion (upon adultery) in danger of death, shall commit adultery again (c. xlvii[z]). If a woman kill the child which

[m] Concil. Eliberitanum, A.D. 305. See Cave. Hosius of Cordova was present at it.—To the canons quoted in the text, should be added the 64th (a woman persisting in adultery "usque in finem mortis"), the 79th (a husband conniving at his wife's adultery), and possibly the 10th, where however the readings of the editions differ.—Labb., Conc., tom. i. pp. 971. E, 977. C, 978. A.

[n] "Placuit inter eos, qui post fidem baptismi salutaris, adulta ætate, ad templum idololatraturus accesserit et fecerit, . . nec in fine eum communionem accipere." Conc. Elib., can. 1: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 969.

[o] "Flamines qui post fidem lavacri et regenerationis sacrificaverunt; eo quod geminaverint scelera, accedente homicidio; vel triplicaverint facinus, cohærente mœchia; placuit eos nec in fine accipere communionem." Ibid., can. 2. ibid., pp. 969. E, 971. A.

[p] "Item ipsi" (flamines, &c.), "si post pœnitentiam fuerint mœchati, placuit ulterius his non esse dandam communionem: ne lusisse de Dominica communione videantur." Ibid., can. 3: ibid., p. 971. A.

[q] "Si quis vero maleficio interficiat alterum; eo quod sine idololatria perficere scelus non potuit, nec in fine impertiendam esse illi communionem." Ibid., can. 6; ibid.. C.

[r] "Si quis forte fidelis post lapsum mœchiæ, post tempora constituta, accepta pœnitentia, denuo fuerit fornicatus, placuit nec in fine habere eum communionem." Ibid., can. 7; ibid.

[s] "Item fœminæ, quæ, nulla præcedente causa, reliquerint viros suos, et se copulaverint alteris, nec in fine accipiant communionem." Ibid., can. 8; ibid., D.

[t] "Mater vel parens vel quælibet fidelis, si lenocinium exercuerit, eo quod alienum vendiderit corpus, vel potius suum, placuit eas nec in fine accipere communionem." Ibid., can. 12; ibid., p. 972. A, B.

[u] "Virgines quæ se Deo dicaverint, si pactum prodiderint virginitatis atque eidem libidini servierint, non intelligentes quod amiserint, placuit nec in fine eis dandam esse communionem." Ibid., can. 13; ibid., B.

[x] "Si qui forte sacerdotibus idolorum filias suas junxerint, placuit nec in fine eis dandam esse communionem." Ibid., can. 17; ibid., E.

[y] "Episcopi, presbyteri, et diacones, si in ministerio positi, detecti fuerint quod sint mœchati, placuit, et propter scandalum, et propter profanum crimen, nec in fine eos communionem accipere debere." Ibid., can. 19. (18 in the text is a mistake); ibid., p. 973. A.

[z] "Si quis fidelis, habens uxorem, non semel sed sæpe fuerit mœchatus, in fine mortis est conveniendus. Quod si se promiserit cessaturum, detur ei communio. Si resuscitatus rursus fuerit mœchatus, placuit ulterius non lu-

BOOK III.

she hath conceived of adultery (c. lxiii[a]). If a clergyman, knowing that his wife hath committed adultery, dismiss her not (c. lxv[b]). Sodomites (c. lxxi[c]). If a woman, forsaking an adulterer whom she had married afore, marry another (c. lxxii[d]). If a Christian be slain or confiscate upon the information of a Christian (c. lxxiii[e]). If a man accuse a clergyman (to wit, criminally, as a subject a subject, before secular powers) of a crime which he cannot prove (c. lxxv[f]).

[They are less severe than earlier, severer than later, rules of the Church.]

§ 7. We see by these very particulars an abatement of that which Tertullian stood upon, that no adultery should ever be restored to communion again. For here penance is allowed adultery the first time, by the seventh[g]. And she, that leaves her husband and marries another, is allowed the communion in danger of death, as also after her first husband is dead, by the ninth[h]. And so are virgins that turn whores, if afterwards they repent and abstain before death, by the thirteenth[i]. So for murder: a Christian woman, that kills her maid, is admitted to penance by the fifth[k];

dere eum de communione pacis." Ibid., can. 47; ibid., p. 975. E.

[a] "Si qua mulier per adulterium, absente marito, conceperit, idque post facinus occiderit; placuit neque in fine dandam esse communionem, eo quod geminaverit scelus." Ibid., can. 63; ibid., p. 977. B, C.

[b] "Si cujus clerici uxor fuerit mœchata, et scierit eam maritus suus mœchari, et non eam statim projecerit; nec in fine accipiat communionem." Ibid., can. 65; ibid., D.

[c] "Stupratoribus puerorum, nec in fine dandam esse communionem." Ibid., can. 71; ibid., p. 978. A.

[d] "Si qua vidua fuerit mœchata, et eumdem postea habuerit maritum, post quinquennii tempus, acta legitima pœnitentia, placuit eam communioni reconciliari; si alium duxerit, relicto illo, nec in fine dandam esse communionem." Ibid., can. 72; ibid., A, B.

[e] "Delator si quis extiterit fidelis, et per delationem ejus aliquis fuerit proscriptus vel interfectus; placuit eum nec in fine accipere communionem." Ibid., can. 73; ibid., B. For "nec in," some editions read, "non nisi in."

[f] "Si quis autem episcopum vel presbyterum aut diaconum falsis criminibus appetierit, et probare non potuerit, nec in fine dandam ei communionem." Ibid., can. 75; ibid., D: where again, for "nec in," is read, "non nisi in."

[g] See above in note r.

[h] "Item fœmina fidelis, quæ adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem, et alterum ducit, prohibeatur ne ducat; si duxerit, non prius accipiat communionem, nisi quem reliquerit, prius de sæculo exierit; nisi forte necessitas infirmitatis dare compulerit." Conc. Elib., can. 9; ibid., p. 971. D.

[i] The remainder of the canon quoted above in note u, runs thus—"Quod si semel persuasæ, aut infirmi corporis lapsu vitiatæ, omni tempore vitæ suæ hujusmodi fœminæ egerint pœnitentiam, ut abstineant se a coitu, eo quod lapsæ potius videantur, placuit eas in fine communionem accipere debere."

[k] "Si qua domina furore zeli accensa flagris verberaverit ancillam suam, ita ut in tertium diem animam cum cruciatu effundat; eo quod incertum sit, voluntate an casu occiderit; si voluntate, post septem annos; si casu, post quinquennii tempora, acta legitima pœnitentia, ad communionem placuit admitti. Quod si infra tempora constituta fuerit infirmata, accipiat communionem." Ibid., can. 5; ibid., p. 971. B.

and a *catechumena* (that is, a woman professing Christianity before baptism), that kills the child conceived of adultery, by the sixty-eighth[l]. So in idolatry: those, who only wear such a crown as those that sacrificed did wear, but sacrifice not nor are at the charge of sacrificing, by the fifty-fifth[m]. And truly that seventh canon, which allows penance upon adultery only the first time, but refuses the communion the[n] second time, even in danger of death, is manifestly more severe than that rule, which divers of the fathers (Origen, *In Levit.* xxv. Hom. xv.[o]; St. Ambrose, *De Pœnit.* ii. 10, 11[p]; St. Augustin, *Epist.* liii.[q] liv.[r] *Homil.* l.[s]) do mention as in force and use at their time, to wit, that penance cannot be done the second time. For though a man be not re-admitted to communion by penance upon falling into the same or a more grievous crime the second time, yet may he
89 be allowed the communion in danger of death. Just as St. Ambrose, *Ad Virginem Lapsam* cap. viii.[t], censures her to do penance till death.

[l] "Catechumena, si per adulterium conceperit, præfocaverit" (leg. "et conceptum necaverit"), "placuit in fine baptizari." Ibid., can. 68; ibid., p. 977. E.

[m] "Sacerdotes qui tantum" (add. "sacrificantium") "coronam portant, nec sacrificant, nec de suis sumptibus aliquid ad idola præstant, placuit post biennium accipere communionem." Ibid., can. 55; ibid., p. 976. D.

[n] "Communion of the," in orig. text; by an apparent misprint.

[o] "In gravioribus enim criminibus semel tantum vel raro pœnitentiæ conceditur locus. Ista vero communia, quæ frequenter incurrimus, semper pœnitentiam recipiunt et sine intermissione redimuntur." Origen., In Levit. c. xxv. Hom. xv. § 2; Op., tom. ii. p. 262. 2. C.

[p] See the passages above, in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 20. note y.

[q] S. Aug. Epist. clii. (liii. edd. bef. Bened.) is the Epistle of Macedonius to which that quoted in note r is the reply: in Op. S. Aug., tom. ii. pp. 523. D—524. B.

[r] "In tantum autem hominum aliquando iniquitas progreditur, ut etiam post actam pœnitentiam, post altaris reconciliationem, vel similia vel graviora committant, et tamen Deus facit etiam super tales oriri solem Suum; nec minus tribuit quam ante tribuebat largissima munera vitæ ac salutis. Et quamvis eis in ecclesia locus humillimus pœnitentiæ non concedatur, Deus tamen super eos," &c. Id., Epist. cliii. (Epist. liv. edd. bef. Ben.), Ad Macedonium, § 7; Op., tom. ii. p. 526. C.—And see above, in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 20. note y.

[s] Serm. cccli. (Serm. l. ex Homil. l. edd. bef. Bened.) treats "de utilitate agendæ pœnitentiæ" (Op., tom. v. pp. 1350. D, sq.): but does not expressly assert, that formal penance from mortal sins cannot be repeated: unless that S. Aug. contrasts such penance at length with the *daily* repentance for sins of infirmity needed by all Christians. Neither is there anything of the kind in Serm. ccclii., on the same subject (Serm. xxvii. ex Homil. l. edd. bef. Bened.); ibid., pp. 1363. B, sq.

[t] "Sed tu quæ jam ingressa es agonem pœnitentiæ, insiste misera: fortiter inhære tanquam in naufragiis tabulæ, sperans per ipsam te de profundo criminum liberari; inhære pœnitentiæ usque ad extremum vitæ; nec tibi præsumas ab humana die veniam dari, quia decipit te qui hoc tibi polliceri voluerit. Quæ enim proprie in Dominum peccasti, ab Ipso solo te convenit in die judicii exspectare remedium." S. Ambros., De Lapsu Virginis Con-

BOOK III.

[The Church obliged at first to be strict in consideration of the times.]

§ 8. Innocent I., Pope, *Epist.* ii.[u], expressly affirms, that this was done in consideration of the times; because, if men were lightly admitted after having fallen in persecution, who would hazard life for the profession of his faith? but that afterwards, either the Church must be Novatians, or grant penance in danger of death. And truly the breach, which the Novatians made, must needs oblige the Church to re-admit unto communion in danger of death. But if the Church were obliged to be strict, when there was fear of persecution, lest all should fall away; then was it obliged to abate, when many were fallen away, that the body thereof might be recovered and restored. And the words of Innocent that follow, are sufficient to shew, how much the Church then presumed upon that penance, that absolution, that communion, which a man was admitted to upon confession of sin in danger of death: for he saith, "*Tribuetur ergo cum pœnitentia extrema communio*"—"The last communion therefore shall be allowed with penance[x]." Now it is evident by the canons which Gratian hath compiled (XXVI. *Quæst.* vi. [cap.] 7[y], [*et*] 8[z], *et Quæst.* vii. cap. 1[a]), that, when a man

secratæ, c. viii. § 38; Op., tom. ii. p. 315. C, D.

[u] The question put to Innocent, was, "Quid de his observari oporteat qui post baptismum omni tempore incontinentiæ voluptatibus dediti, in extremo fine vitæ suæ pœnitentiam simul et reconciliationem communionis exposcunt." The answer sets forth both the ancient and the more recent custom of the Church—"De his observatio prior, durior; posterior, interveniente misericordia, inclinatior est: nam consuetudo prior tenuit, ut concederetur eis pœnitentia, sed communio negaretur. Nam cum illis temporibus crebræ persecutiones essent, ne communionis concessa facilitas homines de reconciliatione securos non revocaret a lapsu, negata merito communio est, concessa pœnitentia, ne totum penitus negaretur; et duriorem remissionem fecit temporis ratio. Sed posteaquam Dominus noster pacem ecclesiis Suis reddidit, jam terrore depulso, communionem dari abeuntibus placuit, et propter Domini misericordiam quasi viaticum profecturis, et ne Novatiani hæretici, negantis veniam, asperitatem et duritiam sequi videamur. Tribuitur" ("tribuetur," in Morinus) "ergo cum pœnitentia extrema communio, ut homines hujusmodi, vel in supremis suis pœnitentes, miserante Salvatore nostro, a perpetuo exitio vindicentur." Innocent. I., Epist. iii. Ad Exuperium, c. 2: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1255. C, D. —See Morinus, De Pœn., lib. x. cc. 1. § 8, sq. and 2. § 1—4; pp. 721. l. C, sq.

[x] See last note.

[y] Decreti Pars II. Causa xxvi. Qu. vi., An Excommunicatus ab Episcopo possit reconciliari a Presbytero, illo inconsulto: under which quæstio, canon 6. ex Concilio Martini Bracarensis, A.D. 572, enacts, that, "si (quis) in desperatione positus post acceptam communionem iterum sanus fuerit factus, tantum oratione particeps sit; sacramentum vero non recipiat, donec constitutum pœnitentiæ impleat tempus" (tom. i. p. 354. b. ed. Pithæi FF. Paris. 1687):—and can. 7. ex Conc. Arausic. A.D. 441; that, in a similar case, "si supervixerint, stent in ordine pœnitentium" (ibid.).

[z] Ibid., can. 8. ex Conc. Carth. IV. A.D. 398 (ibid., p. 355. A): that "is, qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, si casu, dum ad eum sacerdos invitatus venit, oppressus infirmitate obmutuerit vel in phrenesim versus fuerit,

was admitted to penance upon confession in danger of death, the communion was given him provisionally, as well to obtain the grace of God to strengthen him in that exigent, as for the quiet of his conscience: but nevertheless he stood bound over to perform the penance, which was or should be enjoined, in case he recovered. And therefore, when Pope Celestine I., *Epist.* i.[b], inveighs against those who refused absolution and the communion in danger of death; and Leo I. Pope, *Epist.* lix.[c], orders, that they be reconciled by giving them the communion: it is to be supposed, that they understand this penance to be enjoined in that case, because the custom of the Church required it.

§ 9. And this serves to void the doubt that may be made, what the keys of the Church can have to do in the remitting of sins as soon as they are confessed, which serve to loose sin no further than they serve to procure and to create that disposition which qualifies for forgiveness.

[Penance upon a death-bed, how far to be censured as inadequate.]

§ 10. You saw afore in the second Book[d], what difficulty the ancient Church made in warranting the salvation of those that repent upon their death-bed, though they proceeded to submit themselves and their sins to the keys of the Church for their absolution and the communion of the eucharist at their departure. And though Gennadius (*De Dogmatibus Eccles.* cap. lxxx.[e]) say freely, that "he is a Nova-

dent testimonium qui eum audierunt," &c. &c. "reconcilietur per manus impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia. Si supervixerit, admoneatur a supradictis testibus," &c., "et subdatur statutis pœnitentiæ legibus, quamdiu sacerdos, qui pœnitentiam dedit, probaverit." See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9. note u.—Similarly also ibid., can. 9. (ibid.) ex Conc. Nicæno A.D. 325.

[a] Ibid., Qu. vii., An Morientibus sit indicenda Pœnitentia sub quantitate temporis, can. 1. (p. 356. a); ex Theodori Archiep. Cantuar. Pœnitentiali,—that "ab infirmis in periculo mortis positis per presbyteros pura inquirenda est confessio peccatorum," &c.: and the communion not to be refused: "a quo periculo si Divinitus ereptus convaluerit, pœnitentiæ modum a sacerdote sibi impositum diligenter observet."

[b] "Agnovimus enim pœnitentiam morientibus denegari, nec illorum desideriis annui, qui obitus sui tempore hoc animæ suæ cupiunt remedio subveniri. Horremus (fateor) tantæ impietatis aliquem reperiri, ut de Dei pietate desperet," &c., &c. Celestinus I., Ep. ii. Ad Episcopos Provinc. Vienn. et Narbon.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1619. D: and in Gratian, Decret. P. II. Causa xxvi. Qu. vi. Can. 13. p. 355. b.

[c] "His qui in tempore necessitatis et in periculi urgentis instantia præsidium pœnitentiæ et mox reconciliationis implorant, nec satisfactio interdicenda est nec reconciliatio deneganda." S. Leon. M., Epist. cviii. (alit. lxxxiii.), Ad Theodorum Forojuliens. Episc.; c. 4; Op., tom. i. p. 1175. Venet. 1753.—lix. in the text is a mistake. Morinus, citing apparently from Labbè, reckons it xci.

[d] Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9.

[e] "Pœnitentia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, etiam si in ultimo

BOOK III.

[Matt. xviii. 11.]

tian and not a Christian," that presumes not faithfully of God's merciful purpose to save that which was lost, even in him that departs upon confessing his sin; yet still this is but a presumption of what may be, not a warrant of what is, which the power of the keys regularly used promises. Otherwise, what would Gennadius say to the great council of Arles under Constantine, which denies absolution in that case, can. i.[f]: as you see the Eliberitan canons[g] do. True it is, which St. Cyprian saith; "*Nunquam sera est pœnitentia, si sit vera*"—"Repentance is never late, if it be true[h]." But who will maintain that to be true, which the terror of death and remorse of conscience may rack out of him, in whom the love of God and goodness hath not formed that resolution of maintaining his professed Christianity, which makes God the end of all his actions? whenas all that is done in such a case, by common experience, may be imputed to a true grounded desire of avoiding punishment for his own sake, with a superficial desire of doing well for God's sake.

[How far to be presumed solid.]

§ 11. Though, on the other side, it may be presumed, that such a one is not first moved with dislike of his sin, when first he submits it to the keys of the Church: but hath first done many such acts of sincere contrition, as his own judgment directed him to, for the gaining of God's grace; and at length, to give himself further satisfaction, resolves to humble himself, not only to the declaring of his own shame, but to the undergoing of that penance, upon performance whereof the rules of the Church also warrant his forgiveness.

vitæ spiritu admissorum pœniteat et publica lamentatione peccata prodantur: quia propositum Dei, quo decrevit salvare quod perierat, stat immobile: et ideo quia voluntas Ejus non mutatur, sive emendatione vitæ, si tempus conceditur, sive supplici confessione, si continuo vita exceditur, venia peccatorum fideliter præsumatur ab Illo, Qui non vult mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur a perditione pœnitendo et salvatus miseratione Domini vivat. Si quis aliter de justissima Dei pietate sentit, non Christianus sed Novatianus est." Gennad., De Dogm. Eccl., c. xlvii.; in Append. ad Op. S. Aug., tom. viii. p. 80. C.—lxxx. in the text is a mistake.

[f] "De his qui apostatant, et nunquam se ad ecclesiam repræsentant, ne quidem pœnitentiam agere quærunt, et postea infirmitate correpti" (alit. "arrepti) petunt communionem; placuit eis non dandam communionem, nisi revaluerint, et egerint dignos fructus pœnitentiæ." Conc. Arelat., A.D. 314; can. 22; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 1429. c.

[g] See above, § 6. notes m, sq.

[h] "In isto adhuc mundo manenti pœnitentia nulla sera est. Patet ad indulgentiam Dei aditus, et quærentibus atque intelligentibus veritatem facilis accessus est. Tu sub ipsb licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu, pro delictis roges: et Deum, Qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis Ejus implores. Venia confitenti datur; et credenti indulgentia salutaris de Divina pietate creditur." S. Cypr., Ad Demetrianum (*a heathen*); Op., p. 196.

CHAP. X.

§ 12. Between these contrary presumptions, the primitive severity of the Church, it appears, refused absolution and the communion, even in danger of death, to some of the most grievous sins (which afterwards was thought fit to be abated): not proclaiming despair to any sinner, but to oblige him not lightly to presume upon pardon of that sin, which the Church could never presume, that a man can repent him of enough. For, on the other side, it appears, what inconvenience the granting of reconcilement to all at the point of death may produce, if the intent of the Church in binding over to penance him that escapes, be not understood: namely, to give men cause to presume of pardon by the Church, when the keys thereof cannot have their operation in producing the disposition that is requisite.

[The primitive Church took a middle course upon the subject.]

§ 13. And thus the primitive practice of the Church seems to demonstrate, not only the tradition of the apostles concerning penance and excommunication, which it abateth, and the keys of the Church, which it manageth; but also the power, which it exerciseth, not to consist in pardoning sin at large and immediately, but in procuring that disposition to which the Gospel hath proclaimed forgiveness, and (upon knowledge thereof) in assuring the pardon which it pronounceth. For whoso considereth the premisses, can never be so mad as to imagine, that men were refused reconcilement even at the point of death, or reconciled with a reservation of penance to be performed if they survived, merely for the satisfaction of the Church and the example of others; but because the Church remained not satisfied, that God was satisfied with their present disposition, as qualifying them for pardon according to His promise.

[The primitive practice of the Church demonstrates the doctrine here laid down.]

§ 14. Some men have mistaken themselves so far as to imagine, that, when a man was admitted to absolution by imposition of hands and the communion in danger of death by the ancient Church, he could stand bound no further to any penance[1]. But it is very evident in the practice of the ancient Church, that, in regard some sins were not admitted

[Absolution did not supersede all further penance.]

[1] Morinus (De Pœnit., lib. x. c. 14. pp. 751. 1. D, sq.) argues, that "Ecclesia saltem Latina annis prope trecentis omnis pœnitentia ecclesiastica per reconciliationem in morbo accepta finiebatur:" which assertion he afterwards extends though with some hesitation to the Greek Church: see however his statement in the preceding chapter, pp. 749. 1. E, sq.

BOOK III.

to reconcilement by penance, therefore it concerned the penitent, in the first place, to make suit to be admitted; which being granted, and he having undertaken the penance imposed upon him, in the next place, he was admitted to the prayers of the Church (at all the solemn assemblies of the Church during the time of his penance) with imposition of hands, as the means to obtain pardon at God's hands[k]. So imposition of hands signified not absolution; but the way to it, and capacity of it, supposing the performance of penance imposed. And this is "*petere pœnitentiam, et accipere pœnitentiam per*[l] *manus impositionem*[m]," in the ancient canons (by name, *Concil. Tolet.* xi. *can.* 12[n].)—"to demand penance, and to accept of penance by imposition of hands:" as appears by that form of the public service of the Church, which you have in the Constitutions, ii. 8, 9°, where you have the form of prayer to be offered for penitents, when they were dismissed before the celebration of the eucharist, he that prayeth holding his hands over them kneeling. Neither was there any other absolution than this in use, according to the ancient custom of the Church. He, who, having declared himself offended at himself for that which he had done, had obtained of the Church to be admitted to penance, for the time that his penance continued, was prayed for by the Church, that his sin might be pardoned, in order to communion with the Church. The time of his penance being completed, his absolution was the restoring of him to communion with the Church in the sacrament of the eucharist. This is that absolution, upon which the Church warranteth his pardon; not by pronouncing him pardoned, but supposing him qualified for it by that disposition which his penance had produced. And though, afterwards, the form of absolution changed, and was pronounced by way of sentence, not by way of prayer desired[p]: yet was there still the

[k] See Bingham, XIX. ii. 4.

[l] Corrected in MS.; "propter," in orig. text.

[m] See Prim. Gov. of Churches, c. xi. § 2. note e.

[n] "Qui pœnitentiam in mortis agit periculo, non diutine a reconciliationis gratia referendus est; sed si præceptum mortis urget periculum, pœnitentia per manus impositionem accepta, statim ei reconciliatio adhibenda est." Conc. Tolet. xi. (A.D. 675), cap. 12; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 552. E.

[o] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 22—24. The reference in the text should be to lib. viii. c. 9. (ap. Cotel. PP. Apost., tom. i. pp. 399, 400).

[p] "Antiquitus ordinariam et vulgatam absolutionis formam fuisse deprecatoriam: post centum supra mille

more doubt to be made of the validity thereof, the more confidence it signified; because the more trust was reposed in the power of the Church, the less provision was made for that disposition, which the Gospel, before the being of the Church, requireth.

[Length of penance evidences the purpose with which it was enjoined.]

§ 15. One thing more I desire may be considered in the practice of the ancient Church, to evidence the same, which is this:—the Church, being necessitated to abate of the primitive strictness, and to admit all manner of sins to reconcilement by penance, that they might the better answer
91 their trust to God in not warranting the pardon of sin without reasonable trial of repentance, took a course of lengthening the time of penance; during which the conversation of the penitent might yield assurance of it. For the canons, whereby so many years' penance is prescribed upon such and such sins, were couched in writing long after the times of Montanus or Novatianus; and therefore the customs, whereby they came in force before they came in writing, had their beginning from that obligation, which the Church desired to discharge, of not warranting forgiveness of sin but upon due grounds. In this case then, and generally, whosoever was enjoined penance to qualify him for communion with the Church, if he did any eminent act which might evidence the sincerity and zeal of his conversion, or his forwardness and eagerness in taking revenge upon himself, was not only of custom and course so much the easier re-admitted by the Church, but was ordered by the canons to be so much the easier and sooner re-admitted[q]. For evidence whereof, as also of divers other particulars here alleged, I will remit the reader, that would be informed, to Morinus his great work *De Administratione Pœnitentiæ*[r]. It shall serve my turn here to point out to you the ground, which these effects evidence, to be this:—that the Catholic Church proceeded not in binding and loosing, as if it had any power to give pardon at large; but as supposing, that those, that are

annos aliquid indicativum formulæ deprecatoriæ addi cœptum: tandem formula indicativa in Occidente sola obtinuit." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. viii. tit. of c. 8. p. 529. 2. A.

[q] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 4. note u.

[r] Joan. Morinus, Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, &c. &c.; fol. Antv. 1682: first publ. in its full extent in 1651.

BOOK III.

bound by the Church, cannot be loosed but by the Church; nor loosed by the Church, but supposing the disposition that qualifieth for pardon produced in them by that penance, which the authority thereof constraineth to undergo: and, therefore, that in the power of enjoining penance fitting, as well as of declaring pardon, thepower of forgiving sins in the Church is by the tradition of the Church declared to consist.

[Firmilianus in St. Cyprian.]

§ 16. I will conclude with the words of Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea *Cappadociæ*, in his letter to St. Cyprian, among St. Cyprian's [Epistles, Epist.] lxxv.[s] He saith, that they used in their parts to hold synods every year; "*ut si qua graviora sunt, communi consilio dirigantur; lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare a diabolo vulneratis, per pœnitentiam medela quæratur; non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur*"—"that[t] business of greater weight may be ordered by common advice, and remedy found by penance for brethren that have fallen away, being wounded by the devil after the laver of salvation; not as if they got pardon of sins from us; but that, being by our means converted to understand their own sins, they may be constrained to make the fuller satisfaction to God." These are the very terms upon which my opinion standeth.

[Agreement between primitive practice and the apostles' writings.]

§ 17. Let us now compare the original and general practice of the Church with that which we have in the apostles' writings; and say, by the agreement, whether their authority were the beginning of it or not. Shall we think, that all, who ever questioned the reconciling of some sins, were utterly void of common sense, in imagining, that the apostle to the Hebrews, and St. John writing of the "sin unto death," intended not to speak of that pardon which the Church may or ought to give or not give; when we find no other motive for that severity, but never see any of the Church except, that they concern not that purpose, but, well and good, that they serve not to prove it? In like manner you have seen St. Paul witness the order then in the Church to "mourn" for those that were excluded the communion of

[Hebr. vi. 4, x. 26; 1 John v. 16.]

[2 Cor. xii. 21.]

[s] Epist. lxxv. p. 219. ed. Fell: lxxv. also in ed. Pamel.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "this," in orig. text.

CHAP. X.

[1 John v. 16; James v. 14—16.]

the Church. You have seen St. John and St. James, after our Saviour, signify, that the means of procuring remission of sin by the Church is to be expected from the prayers of the Church. You may see, on the other side, the primitive Church make great demonstration of sorrow at the discovery of those sins, for which somebody is shut out of the Church or reduced to penance: as you may see by the authorities alleged in Grotius, upon 1 Cor. v. 2[u]; and by Epiphanius his exposition of 2 Cor. xii. 21 (*Hær.* lix.[x]); especially by that eminent example of Natalis, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* v. 28[y]. And in the solemn service of the Church, before the celebration of the eucharist, from the beginning, you have seen[z] a prayer appointed to be made for those that were under penance (as well as for those that were not baptized, and
92 those that were vexed with evil spirits[a]); that so they might be dismissed before the eucharist, to which they were not to be admitted. I say therefore, they, who see this, if they will see what they do see, have evidence, what the apostles instituted in the Church, as also upon what ground, and to what purpose; by what the Church immediately after them did practise.

Indulgence of regular penance from the apostles.

§ 18. A third thing there is, which visibly derives, not only these ordinances, but the true intent and meaning of them, from the institution of the apostles; and that is the indulgence, which St. Paul useth, in abating the penance of that incestuous person whom I spoke of at Corinth. Indulgence, in Ammianus[b], signifies the discharging of taxes

[u] "Quia ecclesia, cum aliquem esset a suo consortio exclusura, lugentium sumebat habitum; eo factum ut *lugere* dicatur pro *excommunicare*. Sic *πενθήσω* (*lugebo*) interpretantur veteres 2 Cor. xii. 21. Clemens, Constitutionum ii., . . Tertullianus, De Pudicitia, . . Origenes, Contra Celsum iii., . . Episcopi Synodi Ephesinæ ad Ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam narrantes depositionem Nestorii. . . Sic et Theodoretus, Sermone Duodecimo adversus Græcos." Grot., Ad 1 Cor. v. 2.

[x] "'Αλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ οὕτως φησί· 'Πενθήσω πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραπεσόντας, καὶ μὴ μετανοήσαντας.' 'Ως δεικνὺς, ὅτι εἰ καὶ παρέπεσον καὶ μετενόησαν, εἰσδεκτοὶ οὗτοι γίνονται." S. Epiphan., Adv. Hær., lib. ii. tom. i. Hær. lix. (Cathari); § 5: Op., tom. i. p. 497. C, D.

[y] Natalis had been made "a Bishop of the heresy" of Theodotus: but is related by Eusebius (lib. v. c. 28. p. 197. A, B.), when brought to repentance, "ἔωθεν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον, καὶ σποδὸν κατασπασάμενον, μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων προσπεσεῖν Ζεφυρίνῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλιόμενον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν· συγχέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσι τὴν εὔσπλαγχνον ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ," κ.τ.λ.

[z] Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 22—24.

[a] Ibid.

[b] "Id eum" (sc. the Emperor Julian) . . "scimus utiliter observasse, ne per indulgentias, quas appellant, tributariæ rei concederet reliqua." Ammian. Marcell., lib. xvi. c. 5. pp. 117, 118. ed. Vales.

BOOK III.

imposed upon the provinces of the Roman empire, by an act of grace of the emperors, upon remonstrance of reasons wherefore this or that province might deserve to be eased. What can be more like this, than the abatement of that hardship, whereby those, that were prescribed penance, were to demonstrate their inward repentance to the Church? St. Paul, we see, upon representation of the submission of the Church and the guilty person both to the censure which he had ordered, and of the real demonstration of sorrow made on his part, and the intercession of the Church for his reconcilement, thus condescends;—"To whom you grant any thing, I also grant it: for if I have granted any thing, it is for your sakes that I have granted it to him [to] whom I have granted it, in the person of Christ; that Satan may have no advantage over us: for we are not ignorant of his devices" (2 Cor. ii. 10, 11). I shewed you before two reasons, which St. Paul may be thought to point at by these words[e]. For he acknowledgeth by the premisses a very considerable demonstration of conversion in the penitent; sufficient to argue, that St. Paul thought him really qualified for remission of sin. But in regard he declares here, that it is for the Church's sake that he condescendeth, to prevent the advantage that Satan might have against them; he intimates a jealousy of some mutiny in the Church against his authority, in case he condescended not. For though he grant absolution in this regard; yet he may well say he "granteth it in the person of Christ," though we suppose the party not really qualified for it; supposing, that he doth it to preserve the unity of the Church, chiefly concerning the common good of Christ's flock. For what St. Paul does by virtue of the office committed to him by Christ, that he may well say he doth "in the person of Christ," as tending to the upright discharge of his office. By the former of these reasons, we evidently see the intent and effect of the keys of the Church in purging of sin by the discipline of penance. For if indulgence be granted in consideration of evidence, that appears to ground a presumption that the party is qualified for remission of sins in the judgment of the Church; then is all the discipline of penance to no other purpose, but to oblige

[e] c. ix. § 16.

sinners to take that course, whereby they may appear to the Church qualified for remission of sin.

[And in the primitive Church.]

§ 19. But that which St. Paul here doth, is the very same, that the primitive Church always did from the beginning. For whoso shewed such zeal in taking revenge upon himself for his transgressions, that the Church might be satisfied, that God remained satisfied of his repentance; to him the severity of this discipline was so fully released[d], that those strict canons, that enjoined so many years' penance for divers great sins, may seem to have been but threatenings, inviting to shew that zeal in conversion from sin, that the Church might have cause to be satisfied of their inward repentance. And as often as there was fear of schism in any Church, the practice of the primitive Church witnesseth, how ready they were to receive those that would return, abating the hardship of penance: the reason being this, that what the Church condescended to for the avoiding of a greater mischief to the body thereof, which is schism, in that she could not be understood to warrant forgiveness of sins to those whom she received; further than that disposition of mind, which the parties themselves know that they returned with, might warrant it. For inasmuch as it was evident, that the Church waived the rule, by which they used to proceed, for unity's sake; it remained also evident, that the charge of making good that disposition, which qualifieth before God for the
93 communion of the Church, devolves upon the conscience of them, that impose the necessity of waiving such wholesome rules upon the Church: whatsoever the form were, in which they were reconciled.

Confession of secret sins in the primitive Church.

§ 20. Let us now see, whether the primitive practice of the Church will justify the voluntary confession of secret sins to the Church, as the means to obtain the pardon of them at God's hands.

[Tertullian.]

§ 21. Tertullian, in his book *De Pœnitentia*[e], is very earnest in persuading, not those that were fallen into notorious sins—for what need he persuade them to undergo penance, who, if they would continue Christians (that is, if they

[d] See § 15. note q.

[e] Written whilst he was a Catholic: sc., accord. to Pamelius (Vita Tertull., p. xxxiii. a., prefix. Opp. Tertull. Venet. 1744), A.D. 201.

BOOK III.

would enjoy the communion of the Church), could not avoid it?—but, as it appears by his words, those that could not be constrained to have recourse to that penance, which the Church required for the purging of their sins or for assuring that they were purged. For when he pronounceth, that sins of the will, which no man but the party is guilty to[f], are to be purged by this penance (as he doth in the third and fourth chapters of that book[g]); shall we imagine, that he undertakes of his own head to bring in a thing that was not wont to be done in the Church? Then might he have been rejected, as well as his master Montanus, when he went about to impose new laws upon the Church. But those new laws, I shew you, were excepted against from the beginning of pretending them. Let any man shew me, that voluntary confession of secret sins was ever excepted against in Tertullian; who writ that book when he was of the Catholic Church, earnestly persuading to it. Likewise, though he writ his book *De Pudicitia* when he was become a Montanist[h], yet it is easy to discern what he speaks in it as a Montanist, by discerning what the Catholic Church contests and what it allows of his doctrine. In the seventh chapter of that book[i], it is manifest, that he calls those sins to penance, which he were a mad-man that should take either for scandalous or for notorious. The Novatians, being a branch of the Montanists, and refusing to reconcile the greatest sins, are to be thought to have followed their order in reconciling less sins[j]; as it is manifest by St. Am-

[f] So in orig. text.

[g] Dividing sins into "carnalia" or "corporalia," and "spiritalia," he continues—"Exinde spiritalia et corporalia nominantur, quod delictum omne aut agitur aut cogitatur: ut corporale sit quod in facto est, quia factum et corpus et videri et contingi habet; spiritale vero, quod in anima est, quia spiritus neque videtur neque tenetur: per quod ostenditur, non facti solum verum et voluntatis delicta vitanda et pœnitentia purganda esse" (De Pœn., c. iii. Op. p. 122. A, B): and similarly through c. iv. (ibid., pp. 122. D—123. B).

[h] Seil. A.D. 216 accord. to Pamelius (as above quoted, p. xxxiii. b), who dates his turning Montanist in 211 (ibid., p. xxx. a).

[i] "Perit igitur et fidelis elapsus in spectaculum quadrigarii furoris," &c. &c.; "in verbum ancipitis negationis aut blasphemiæ impegit; ob tale quid extra gregem datus est; vel et ipse forte ira, tumore, æmulatione, quod denique sæpe fit, dedignatione castigationis abrupit, debet requiri atque revocari. Quod potest recuperari, non poterit, si foris perseveraverit. Bene interpretaberis parabolam, viventem adhuc revocans peccatorem. Mœchum vero et fornicatorem quis non mortuum statim admisso pronuntiavit?" Tertull., De Pudic., c. vii.; Op., p. 560. A.

[j] "Et hic enim illam Joannes commendavit, quod sint quædam delicta quotidianæ incursionis, quibus omnes

brose, *De Pœnit.* v. 2[k], that they did. Therefore they, and therefore the Catholic Church, did practise the discipline of penance upon sins neither notorious nor scandalous.

[St. Cyprian.]

§ 22. In St. Cyprian you have several places, where he mentions penance for those sins, which were to be confessed according to the custom of the Church after a certain time of humiliation; when they were to be admitted to imposition of hands, that is, to the prayers of the Church for the pardon of him, whom the bishop's blessing (which the imposition of hands signifies) acknowledged hopeful for remission of sins: *Epist.* x.[l] *et* lv.[m] The same St. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*[n], manifestly instances in those, that had committed idolatry secretly or had resolved towards it, what befel them because they revealed it not to the Church; so that sometimes they did reveal it.

[The fact of Nectarius.]

§ 23. Here cometh in the fact of Nectarius, related by Socrates v. 19[o]: because, the custom being to confess to a

simus objecti. Cui enim non accidit, aut irasci inique et ultra solis occasum," &c. &c. "Horum ergo erit venia per exoratorem Patris Christum. Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut graviora et exitiosa, quæ veniam non capiant, homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et mœchia et fornicatio, et si qua alia violatio templi Dei. Horum ultra exorator non erit Christus; hæc non admittet omnino, qui natus ex Deo fuerit, non futurus Dei filius si admiserit." Id., ibid., c. xix. p. 582. B, C.

[k] "Sed aiunt se" (sc. Novatiani), "exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus." S. Ambros., De Pœnit., lib. i. c. 3. § 10; Op., tom. ii. p. 393. B.—v. 2. in the text seems to be a mistake.

[l] "Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesim veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant," &c. S. Cypr., Epist. xvi. (x. ed. Pamel.), Presbyteris et Diaconibus; Epist. p. 37. ed. Fell: and see Fell's note.

[m] "Honor ergo datur Deo, quando sic Dei majestas et censura contemnitur, ut . . proponatur a sacrilegis atque dicatur; ne ira cogitetur Dei, ne timeatur judicium Domini, ne pulsetur ad ecclesiam Christi; sed sublata pœnitentia, nec ulla exomologesi criminis facta, despectis episcopis atque calcatis, pax a presbyteris verbis fallacibus prædicetur," &c. Id., Epist. lix. (lv. ed. Pamel.), Ad Cornelium; ibid., p. 135.

[n] "Nec sibi quominus agant pœnitentiam, blandiantur, qui etsi nefandis sacrificiis manus non contaminaverunt, libellis tamen conscientiam polluerunt. . . Denique quanto et fide majores et timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud sacerdotes Dei dolenter et simpliciter confitentes, exomologesim conscientiæ faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquirunt; scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur." Id., De Laps.; Op., pp. 133, 134.

[o] "Γυνή τις τῶν εὐγενῶν προσῆλθεν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβυτέρῳ· καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐξομολογεῖται τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἃς ἐπεπράχει μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα· ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος παρήγγειλε τῇ γυναικὶ νηστεύειν καὶ συνεχῶς εὔχεσθαι, ἵνα σὺν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἔχῃ τῆς μετανοίας ἄξιον· ἡ δὲ προβαίνουσα, καὶ ἄλλο πταῖσμα ἑαυτῆς κατηγόρει· ἔλεγε γὰρ, ὡς εἴη συγκαθευδήσασ αὐτῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάκονος· τοῦτο λεχθὲν, τὸν μὲν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκπεσεῖν παρεσκεύασε· ταραχὴ δὲ κατέσχε

BOOK III.

priest deputed to that purpose sins not otherwise known (who was to direct what she should publicly declare, when she came before the congregation), a certain noble woman, whose case is there related, proceeded to declare that, which caused such scandal, that thereupon Nectarius, then bishop of Constantinople, thought fit to put down the office, which that priest then held and executed, of receiving the confession of those sins, which were afterwards in part to be made known to the Church, as the priest intrusted should direct. For Socrates, relating the discourse which he had with the priest which advised Nectarius to abolish the office aforesaid, saith, that he told him it was to be feared, that he had given occasion to bring St. Paul's precept to no effect, which saith, [Ephes. v. 11.] "Communicate not in the fruitless works of darkness, but rather reprove them:" which must suppose the publishing of those sins, which a man may pretend by brotherly correction to restore. And it is manifest, that secret confession of sins hath remained in the Eastern Church[p], and in that of Constantinople particularly[q], even to this time: so that no man can imagine, that it was abrogated by Nectarius.

[Origen.] § 24. Origen (*In Psal.* xxxvii. Hom. ii.[r]) advises, indeed, to look about you for a skilful physician, to whom you may open the disease of your soul. Good reason. For, there being a number of presbyters by whom every Church was 94

τὰ πλήθη· .... διασυρομένων δὲ ἐκ τούτου τῶν ἱερωμένων ἀνδρῶν, Εὐδαίμων τις τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος, .. γνώμην τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ δίδωσι Νεκταρίῳ, περιελεῖν μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβύτερον, συγχωρῆσαι δὲ ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι τῶν μυστηρίων μετέχειν· οὕτω γὰρ μόνον ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ ἀβλασφήμητον. Ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος ἀκούσας ἐγὼ," κ.τ.λ. "ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Εὐδαίμονα πρότερον ἔφην, Ἡ συμβουλή σου, ὦ πρεσβύτερε, εἰ συνήνεγκεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἢ εἰ μή, Θεὸς ἂν εἰδείη· ὁρῶ δὲ ὅτι πρόφασιν παρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ἐλέγχειν ἀλλήλων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, μὴ δὲ φυλάττειν τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου παράγγελμα τὸ λέγον, Μηδὲ συγκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάρποις τοῦ σκότους, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐλέγχετε." Socrat., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. c. 19. pp. 278. D, 279. D. ed. Vales. 1668.

[p] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. vi. c. 23. pp. 419. 1. D, sq.

[q] See Morinus, ibid., § 3. pp. 420. 1. A—C: referring to the Penitentials of John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, and of others of the Greek Church; down to the Patriarch Jeremy, against the Lutherans.

[r] "Tantummodo circumspice diligentius, cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum. Proba prius medicum, cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi et compatiendi noverit disciplinam: ut ita demum, si quid ille dixerit qui se prius et eruditum medicum ostenderit et misericordem, si quid consilii dederit, facias et sequaris; si intellexerit et prævideris talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et cæteri ædificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari, multa hoc deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est." Orig., Hom. ii. in Psalm. xxxvii. § 6; Op., tom. ii. p. 688. 2. A, B.

governed, and it being in a man's choice whom he would have recourse to, were he not to blame, that should not make diligent choice? But when he adviseth further, that, if he think the sin fit to be declared to the assembly of the Church, as where it is to be cured[s]; doth he not require necessary penance upon voluntary confessions? CHAP. X.

§ 25. St. Ambrose (*De Pœnit.* ii. 7. i. 6. ii. 8, 9.[t]) labour-eth to abate the shame of confessing sins. If he speak of public sins, there can be no reason why. For what hath he to do to abate that shame that cannot be avoided? That which may be avoided, is that, which cometh by confessing such sins as it is in a man's power to conceal. [St. Ambrose.]

§ 26. The same is evident in St. Augustin, *Hom. ult. ex Quinquaginta*[u]. [St. Augustin.]

§ 27. And is further cleared by this, that it is evident, that he, who was discovered not to have discovered to the Church that sin which he was privy to but the world was not, is by many acts of the Church constrained to undergo penance for that default[x]. And in the Eliberitan canons it is provided, that he, who confesseth of his own accord, shall come off with a lighter penance; he, who is revealed by another, shall be liable to a harder censure: can. lxxvi.[y] [Canons of the Church.]

§ 28. But no evidence can be so effectual, as the introducing of the law of auricular confession; that is, of confessing once a year, as well as receiving the eucharist once a year[z]. For be it granted, as it is most true, that this law comes into force and effect by the secular power of those sovereignties of Christendom, which, complying with the interest of the Church of Rome, have agreed and do agree to [Law of auricular confession.]

[s] So in orig. text. For the quotation, see the last note.

[t] Lib. ii. c. 7. § 52, sq.; Op., tom. ii. pp. 428. A—430. D:—Ibid., c. 8. § 66, sq.; ibid., pp. 430. F—433. E.—lib. i. c. 6, and lib. ii. c. 9. do not appear to relate to the subject.

[u] E. g. "Nos vero a communione prohibere quemquam non possumus (quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum sit mortalis sed medicinalis), *nisi aut sponte confessum*, aut in aliquo sive sæculari sive ecclesiastico judicio nominatum atque convictum." S. Aug., Serm. cccli. (alias l. ex Hom. I). § 10; Op., tom. v. p. 1359. F, G.

[x] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. ii. c. 6. pp. 79. 2. C—81. 2. D.

[y] "Si quis diaconum se permiserit ordinari, et postea fuerit detectus in crimine mortis, quod aliquando commiserit; si sponte fuerit confessus, placuit eum, acta legitima pœnitentia, post triennium accipere communionem. Quod si alius eum detexerit, post quinquennium, acta pœnitentia, accipere communionem laicam debere." Conc. Eliber. A.D. 305. can. lxxvi.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 978. D.

[z] See above, c. ix. § 2. note s; and below, § 34. note s.

BOOK III.

enact the decrees of those councils, which have been held by the authority of it (or the provisions thereof, during the time that no councils are held), by temporal penalties upon their subjects. Is it therefore imaginable, that the council could have pretended to introduce this limitation, and demand the secular power to enact it; had it not been a custom in force before that act was done, that people should submit themselves to penance for those sins, which the Church without themselves could not charge them with? Could any man offer so much violence to his own reason as to affirm that which himself cannot believe, he would easily be convinced by producing the fashion of Ash-Wednesday; and the order for the greatest part of Christians to declare themselves penitents at the beginning of Lent, with a pretence of obtaining absolution to the intent of receiving the communion of the eucharist at Easter: which, being more ancient than that law[a], sufficiently demonstrateth, that the effect of it was not to introduce the confession of secret sins, which always had been in use and force in the Church; but expressly to limit and determine that, which had been always done formerly, for the future to be done by all, and at the least once a year.

There is no tradition from the apostles, that no sin can be cured without the keys of the Church.

§ 29. It remains now to shew, [by[b]] the original and general practice of the Church, that there is no tradition to evidence, that no sin after baptism can obtain remission but by the Church (speaking of such sins as make the grace of baptism void): which is sufficiently done already, if we remember, that not only the Montanists or the Novatians, but the Church also, did sometimes exclude some sins from all hope of reconciliation by the Church; not excluding them nevertheless from hope of pardon with God, but not engaging the Church to warrant it[c]. For I demand, in what consideration that pardon is obtained, which the Church supposes possible for them to obtain. Is it not upon the same score as all Christians obtain pardon of sin? to wit, by being qualified for it with that disposition of mind which the

[a] See Bingham, XVIII. ii. 2: who throws considerable doubt upon the antiquity of this practice as connected with Ash-Wednesday. It would seem to be at any rate a tradition more ancient than the law of the Lateran Council referred to above (text to note r), for which see below, § 34. note a.

[b] Added from MS.

[c] See Bingham, XVIII. iv. 4, 5.

Gospel requires: which therefore may be obtained without the ministry of the Church. For if it be said, that these persons would willingly undergo penance upon condition of being restored to the communion of the Church (upon supposition, that by the ministry thereof they are restored to God's grace), and that therefore the desire of reconciliation by the Church supplies it, as the desire of baptism is accepted when it cannot be had; if this be said, I will allow, that he who refuses the ministry of the Church (tendering him a reasonable presumption of attaining reconcilement with God by the means of it, according to the just laws of Christianity), can have no cause to promise himself pardon without
95 it. In the mean time, it is not the desire of reconcilement by the Church, that qualifies him for remission of sin; but only takes away the bar, that hinders God's grace to work that disposition in him, which qualifies for it. For if it be a part of Christianity to be a member of the Catholic Church, then are not they capable of the promises made to Christians, that will not seek them by the ministry of the Church, when, and how far, and according as, their Christianity shall oblige them to seek them. To the same purpose I allege also the second reason of St. Paul's indulgence, and the effects of it in the practice of the primitive Church: to wit, the admitting of those, that had committed idolatry in time of persecution (or who were otherwise borne out in their sins by faction in the Church), to communicate with the Church[d]; when in such cases there could be no presumption of sufficient disposition in the parties for forgiveness from God, but only to avoid a breach in the Church, of all things most prejudicial to the general good of the body. For can there be any appearance, that the Church in such cases could be satisfied of the true sufficient conversion of those that are admitted upon such terms; when it is manifest, that they are not admitted of choice, but to avoid a further inconvenience? Wherefore, seeing the Church could not justify the doing of it, if there were not possibility of their being qualified for the communion of the Church; it follows, that this possibility consists, in that the means of grace, being sufficient for all within the Church, may be

[d] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. ix. c. 6. § 2—6. pp. 625. 2. E—627. 1. B.

BOOK III.

effectual without the ministry thereof, provided it be within the unity of it.

[Penance, in certain cases, not imposed upon clergymen in the primitive Church.]

§ 30. Here I must allege the custom, even of the primitive Church, imposing no penance upon clergymen, that were degraded for those crimes, for which laymen were reduced to penance[e]. I remember the first book *De Synedriis*[f] alleges this for an objection against the necessity of excommunication, seeing it was not necessary for the clergy: not considering, that excommunication is abated by penance, as penance is abated by degradation, in the clergy; but casting a foul aspersion upon the whole Church for imposing penance upon the people, whenas nothing required it, if the clergy needed it not: and this upon a mistake, whether in point of fact, or in point of right. For it is not true, that the clergy were not subject to penance, especially in the first times of Christianity; either when the crime was of a deeper nature than such as ordinary laymen did penance for, or when a clergyman, having been censured to communicate among the people (which was degradation at that time), relapsed[g]: though afterwards they were remitted to do their penance in private, not bringing them before the congregation for the prayers thereof with imposition of hands[h]. Neither is the reason, which the ancient canons give[i], to be neglected in point of right. For the loss of their rank in the Church being to them a rebuke, whereof lay Christians are not capable; it is necessary, that a difference should be made between them and the people. Especially, the interest of the Church requiring it in regard of another rule,—that no man, that had done penance, should ever be admitted to the clergy[k]; because of the common Christianity imbased in

[e] See Bingham, XVII. i. 2.

[f] Selden, De Synedr. Ebræorum, lib. i. cc. x., xiii., argues at length, that the power of exercising discipline is not "jure Divino:" dwelling, among other arguments, upon the "temperamenta et modi," wherewith the exercise of that power was modified and altered as time and circumstances varied; and instancing, among a list of particulars, "ordinum exemptiones" (Op., tom. i. p. 1072). But there appears to be no argument directly answering to the reference in the text. The only express mention of the subject (c. ix. p. 919) implies, that, if degradation or lighter punishments failed to effect a cure, the greater excommunication *was* resorted to in the case of clergy, as of laity.

[g] See Bingham, XVII. i. 3: and Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. iv. c. 12. pp. 191. 1. A, sq.

[h] See Morinus, ibid.

[i] E. g. "Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ, Οὐκ ἐκδικήσεις δὶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό." Can. Apost., c. xxiv.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 30. C.

[k] See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 15. notes s, u.

them who have done penance, which in those, who are promoted to the clergy, is required of the best. For those, who for their qualities might best serve the Church, if they had done penance, were ever after unserviceable; if not, might be restored. Whereby it appeareth, that the Church presumed of them who knew their duty better than ordinary Christians, that the loss of their rank would be sufficient to reduce them to true repentance, without further constraint from the Church: as afterwards they were trusted to do their penance in private. But this is full evidence, that the Church did not think all sin incurable without the keys of the Church. For then the Church could not have referred the applying of the means of pardon, which they procure, to any presumption of any man's good conscience.

[The reconciling of heretics and schismatics.]

§ 31. The like appears in the reconciling of heretics and schismatics to the unity of the Church by shoals, that is, by whole Churches at once: upon whom as it is impossible to imagine that the discipline of penance should pass, so is it known, upon evidence of historical truth, that those, who
96 were not to be baptized again (as some heresies were by the canons in force[l]), were admitted only with imposition of hands[m], that is, with the blessing of the Church, acknowledging thenceforth to pray for them as Christians, not as those for whom she prays that they may become Christians; which, not supposing possibility of pardon for them, not undergoing the discipline of the Church, could not have been granted. I avow it to be truly said in this case, that the baptism received among heretics revives and comes to effect by this blessing of the Church[n]. For, seeing that the only necessary bar to the effect of it was the denying of that point of Christianity which distinguishes every heresy from the Catholic Church (or the destroying of the unity of the Church, speaking of schismatics), those that so return, professing thenceforth the whole faith, and maintaining the communion of the Church, cannot be said to want anything necessary to

[l] E.g. the Paulianists, by Conc. Nicæn. (A. D. 323) can. xix. (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 38. D, E): and so also the Montanists, Eunomians, Sabellians, Photinians, Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites (i.e. all such heretics "as had not been truly baptized with due form of baptism"), by subsequent Councils: see Bingham, XVIII. ii. 8.

[m] See authorities in Bingham, Lay-Baptism, c. i. sect. 21: and, at greater length, Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. ix. cc. 7—13; pp. 627. 1. C—658. 1. E.

[n] See above, c. ix. § 28. note i.

BOOK III.

qualify them for the promises of Christianity. Seeing then this possibility is not grounded upon the ministry of the Church, which passes not upon them, but upon the common profession of Christians, made by them when they were baptized, and the taking away of that bar which made it ineffectual afore, by returning to the unity of the Church though without any ministration of penance: neither can it be said, that the disposition qualifying for remission of sin is not to be attained in the Church without the ministry of the Church by the discipline of penance, nor that it is attained by the desire of it; but only that the bar is removed by submitting to it.

[The reconciling of England to the Church of Rome in Queen Mary's days.]

§ 82. A visible instance hereof I will propose, in the reconciling of England to the Church of Rome in Queen Mary's days, an act of the highest nature that the power of the keys could do; and yet it is notorious, that pardon and absolution and the blessing of the Church was given them, who could not be induced to restore the Church goods, seized by Henry the eighth: a thing excluding all pretence for any presumption of true conversion in them whom it concerned, and yet found necessary for the restoring of the body in unity; but so, that the said necessity made it to be evidently for the general good, even upon these terms. For, maintaining those, who could not be induced to do right in the point, in the unity of the Church, there was no reason why the Church should be thought to warrant that absolution as to God, which it granteth as to the Church: because it appears, that it is granted to avoid a greater mischief; leaving them, who find themselves concerned by the ministry of the Church, the communion whereof they regain, to be reduced to that course which may assure their absolution as to God. But I use this instance only *ad hominem*, that my reason may be understood; not intending to justify the proceeding in point of right: as I do undertake to justify the Council of Nicæa[o], in admitting the Meletians, who were

[o] "Ἔδοξεν οὖν Μελίτιον μὲν . . μένειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν μήτε χειροθετεῖν," κ.τ.λ. "τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστα θέντας, μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας, κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι ἐξάπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ τε καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου προκεχειρισμένων." Conc. Nic. Epist. Synodic. &c.: ap. Socrat., Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 9. p. 28. C, D. ed. Vales. 1668: and Theodoret., Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 9. pp. 30. D, 31. A. ed. Vales. 1673.

guilty of the crime of schism, not only without satisfaction of their repentance, but all in their ranks, only suspending the exercise of their offices till those that were presently possessed should depart: or as I might undertake to justify Pope Melchiades, in offering to do the like for the Donatists[p]; for which he is commended by St. Augustin (*Epist.* xlvii.[q]): which the Church, supposing schism to be a mortal sin (that is, of that number which the now Church of Rome enjoins penance), could not do upon other terms than I have said; and if it had thought no sin reconcileable without the Church, could by no means have done.

[Of those who are excommunicated without cause.]

§ 33. The same is to be said of those who are excommunicated and cast out of the Church without cause. For as no man ever doubted that to be a case which comes to pass, so can no Christianity allow, that a man should be excluded the kingdom of God for another man's fault. He, therefore, that hath the knowledge in Christianity, and the resolution for it, to keep himself to the duty of a Christian in such a case (though, being destitute of all advantage by the communion of the Church, it is difficult to do); he, I say, shall obtain pardon of sin without help of the Church, and not by desiring the ministry thereof, otherwise than as not desiring[r] of communion with the Church remains a bar to the work of God's grace.

The necessity of confessing secret sins—whereupon it stands.

§ 34. In fine, consider the primitive order of the Church, and that of the Church of Rome at this day by the law of
97 secret confession once a year[s]. For he, that considers how

[p] See Tillemont, Mém. Eccl., tom. vi., Sur les Donatistes, Art. xv.

[q] "Et tamen qualis ipsius beati Melchiadis ultima est prolata sententia, quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica, qua neque collegas, in quibus nihil constiterat, de collegio suo ausus est removere, et Donato solo, quem totius mali principem invenerat, maxime culpato, sanitatis recuperandæ optionem liberam ceteris fecit, paratus communicatorias litteras mittere etiam iis quos a Majorino ordinatos esse constaret." S. Aug., Epist. xliii. (al. clxii). § 16, Ad Glorium, Eleusium, &c.; Op., tom. ii. p. 95. C, D.—xlvii. is a misprint.

[r] Miscorrected in MS. into "as by not desiring."

[s] "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiæ sacramentum." Conc. Lateran. IV. (A.D. 1215), can. 21; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xi. pp. 172. E, 173. A.—The Decretum Eugenii Papæ ad Armenos, in the Council of Florence, ibid., tom. xiii. p. 538. A, B, limits confession to "omnia peccata quorum memoriam habet."—For the Council of Trent, see above, c. ix. § 2. note s.—And see Bingham, XVIII. iii. 4: and Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit, Works, vol. iii. p. 114. ed. Elrington.

BOOK III.

much business the reconciling of a penitent made the Church in those days, will never imagine, that it could be presumed, that all sins, which now come under secret confession, should then be expiated by the keys of the Church.

[Origen.]

§ 35. I have given you the testimony of Origen[t]; directing to make choice of some of the presbyters of the Church, to make acquainted with secret sin, that, if he should require penance to be done in the face of the congregation, his prescription might be followed. This enforces us to understand the other part of the alternative; that, if he required no such thing, it should be enough to take that course of humiliation and mortification which he should prescribe in private.

[The council of Elvira.]

§ 36. And, truly, one of the canons of the Council at Elvira (xxxii.[u]) orders penance to be enjoined by a priest, not by the bishop: which I understand to be, in private, and not in public; allowing it very probable, that this is not properly counted penance, but only suspension from the eucharist, enjoined by some of those canons in some case (xxi. l. lxxvii.[x]), and is opposed to penance, can. xiv.[y]; so that, probably, one of the presbyters might enjoin it in secret by these canons. But otherwise, seeing that all this while there was no penance but by order of the bishop[z] (or,

[t] Above, § 24. note r.

[u] "Apud presbyterum, si quis gravi lapsu in ruinam mortis inciderit, placuit agere pœnitentiam non debere, sed potius apud episcopum: cogente tamen infirmitate, necesse est presbyterum communionem præstare debere, et diaconum, si ei jusserit sacerdos." Conc. Eliberit. (A.D. 305), can. xxxii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 974. B.—In another edition, however, the canon stands thus—"Si quis gravi lapsu in ruinam mortis inciderit, placuit, agere pœnitentiam non debere sine episcopi consultu, sed potius apud episcopum agat, cogente tamen infirmitate. Non est presbyterorum aut diaconorum communionem talibus præstare debere, nisi eis jusserit episcopus." Ibid., B, C.

[x] "Si quis in civitate positus tres dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit, pauco tempore abstineat, ut correptus esse videatur." Ibid., can. xxi.; ibid., p. 973. B.—"Si quis vero clericus vel fidelis cum Judæis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere, ut debeat emendari." Ibid., can. l.; ibid., p. 976. B.—"Si quis fidelis, habens uxorem, cum Judæa vel gentili fuerit mœchatus, a communione arceatur. Quod si alius eum detexerit, post quinquennium, acta legitima pœnitentia, poterit Dominicæ sociari communioni." Ibid., can. lxxviii.; ibid., p. 978. E: lxxvii. in the text appears to be a mistake for lxxviii., the former of the two canons being wholly irrelevant to the present subject.

[y] "Virgines quæ virginitatem suam non custodierint, si eosdem, qui eas violaverint, duxerint, et tenuerint maritos; eo quod solas nuptias violaverint, post annum, *sine pœnitentia*" (but another reading is—"*post pœnitentiam unius anni*), reconciliari debebunt." Ibid., can. xiv.; ibid., p. 972. C.

[z] See Bingham, XVIII. iv. c. 7—9, XIX. iii. 1: and Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. ix. c. 33. pp. 703. 1. D, sq.

as in some of St. Cyprian's Epistles[a], of the bishop and presbyters; sometimes, when the case was difficult, as in Firmilianus[b] quoted afore, by order of a synod); what appearance is there in common reason, that all sins, that now come under secret confession, could then come under the keys of the Church?

[The order which Nectarius abolished.]

§ 37. In the order which Nectarius abolished[c], any man may discern, there was nothing but a course of abridging public business of the Church by referring penitents to one priest set aside to that purpose. When that course was abrogated, still they had recourse to the bishop and presbyters; but it is manifest, so many could not be dispatched as afore.

[Some sins left unconfessed even in the present order of the Church of Rome.]

§ 38. And now it is manifest, that to require of every man to confess all the sins, that ever he did since he confessed last, would be an unsufferable torture to men's consciences; and therefore it is only required, that they confess those which they have in remembrance[d]. I ask then, how those which they have not in remembrance come pardoned? If by inward repentance, restoring the disposition of a Christian; it is that which I seek. If by being willing to confess them, if I had them in remembrance; he that is not qualified for remission of sins as Christianity requireth, is not qualified, because he would have been so qualified had it not been his own fault.

[a] E. g. "Si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint (pœnitentes); non exspectata præsentia nostra, apud presbyterum quemcumque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cæperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint." S. Cypr., Epist. xviii. (Pamel. xiii.), Ad Clerum; Epist. p. 40. ed. Fell: and see also Epist. xix. (Pam. xiv.), Ad Clerum; ibid., p. 41.—"Nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur." Id., Epist. xvi. (Pam. x.), Ad Clerum; ibid., p. 37.—"Ante manum ab episcopo et clero in pœnitentiam impositam," &c. Id., Epist. xv. (Pam. xi.), Ad Mart. et Conf.; ibid., p. 84.—"Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi ab episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita." Id., Epist. xvii. (Pam. xii.), Ad Plebem; ibid., p. 39.—See Bingham, XIX. iii. 3.

[b] See above, § 16.

[c] See above, § 23. note o.

[d] "Neque enim omnia omnino peccata enumerari oportere lex nostra jubet, sed ea solum, quæ post diligentiam in examine positam menti occurrerint: diligentiam autem moralem intelligimus, qualem in negotiis gravioribus adhibere solemus." Bellarm., De Pœnit., lib. i. c. 5; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1181. A: referring in particular to the Council of Trent; which enacts (Sess. xiv. Can. vii. De Pœnitentia, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 824. C, D), that, "Si quis dixerit, in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure Divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta," &c., "anathema sit."—See also above, § 34. note s.

BOOK III.

[The case of *clave errante*.]

§ 39. I add further, that it is at this day resolved by casuists of very good note, that a penitent is bound in conscience to impose upon himself further penance than that which his confessor enjoineth; in case he be satisfied in conscience, that he hath not imposed that which is sufficient. For in the case of *clave errante* it is manifest, that there is no remission by the keys; and yet remission is to be had by the Gospel antecedent to the Church. If then a man's own Christianity may supply that means of forgiveness which the keys of the Church fail of procuring, it is manifest, that the use of them is not absolutely necessary for every particular Christian; though absolutely necessary for the whole body of the Church.

[The testimony of ecclesiastical writers.]

§ 40. Add hereunto the testimonies of ecclesiastical writers; by which it appears, that, as they maintained the discipline of penance (which I also would maintain so far as truth will allow), so they supposed remission of sins attainable without it[e]. The exhortations of Tertullian[f] and St. Ambrose[g] to ecclesiastical penance, will no way infer, that it was then actually a law in force, that all sins, that void the grace of baptism, should be made known to the Church for the obtaining of pardon by the keys of it. For how ill doth it become any law to beg obedience by alleging reasons, which must enforce it, if they be good, were there no law? But, on the other side, what express testimonies, what necessary consequences there are to infer, that there was no such law in the primitive Church; I remit the reader to the collections of the Archbishop of Spalato, [lib.] v. [c.] vii. [sectt.] 10—20[h], and to the Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge in Ireland[i].

[e] See authorities in De Dominis and Ussher as quoted below, notes h, i.

[f] See above, § 21.

[g] See above, § 25.

[h] Marc. Anton. de Dominis, Archiepisc. Spalatensis, De Repub. Eccles., lib. v. c. vii. § 10—20; tom. ii. pp. 301. D—305. C. fol. Lond. 1620.

[i] Abp. Ussher, Works, vol. iii. pp. 90, sq. ed. Elrington.

98

CHAPTER XI.[1]

PENANCE IS NOT REQUIRED TO REDEEM THE DEBT OF TEMPORAL PUNISHMENT WHEN THE SIN IS PARDONED. WHAT ASSURANCE OF FORGIVENESS THE LAW OF AURICULAR CONFESSION AS IT IS USED IN THE CHURCH OF ROME PROCURETH. OF ENJOINING PENANCE AFTER ABSOLUTION [PRONOUNCED [m]]. SETTING ASIDE ABUSES, THE LAW IS AGREEABLE TO GOD'S [LAW]. OF THE ORDER TAKEN BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[Of the Romish doctrine of 'satisfaction' in penance.]

AND now it is time to infer from the premisses the judgment, that we are to make of the law of secret confession and penance in the Church of Rome; premising, in the first place (that which is evident, supposing the premisses), that the works of penance (which they call "satisfactions," because they will have them to make satisfaction for the debt of temporal punishment remaining, when the guilt and stain of sin is abolished[n]) were never required by the Church but (according to the word of God) to render the conversion of the penitent so sincere and resolute, as may qualify him for pardon and God's grace.

[God may, and sometimes doth, reserve a] debt of temporal punishment [in pardoning sin].

§ 2. It is not necessary for this purpose, that I undertake here to shew, that God, pardoning sin, cannot [n]or ever doth reserve a debt of temporal punishment, to be inflicted in consideration of it. It is manifest to any man, that is neither acted by passion nor by faction, that the death which God inflicted on David's child gotten in adultery, and the other judgments which the prophet pronounces against him (2 Sam. xii. 10, 11), were punishments inflicted in consideration of those sins which the nature and kind of them answers expressly: for murder, that the sword shall not de-

[1] Misprinted IX. in folio edition.

[m] The word "performed" is substituted for this in orig. text: seemingly by mistake. See below, § 12.

[n] Admitting, that "satisfactionem non offerri Deo neque exigi ab hominibus pro culpa,"—"restat" (says Bellarmine) "controversia solum de satisfactione qua justitiæ restauretur æqualitas: restituta siquidem amicitia per gratuitam Dei misericordiam et per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu:"—in discussing which Bellarmine lays down, 1. "quod sæpe, remissa culpa, maneat debitum luendæ pœnæ," 2. "reatum pœnæ temporalis qui interdum remanet post amicitiam cum Deo reformatam, bonis operibus redimi posse;" De Pœnit., lib. iv. cc. 1—3; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1421. C, sq.

BOOK III.

part from "his house;" for adultery, that his wives should be defiled "before the sun." Therefore when the prophet says to him, "The Lord hath set aside thine iniquity, thou shalt not die;" it will be requisite to take notice, that, though his sin is pardoned, speaking absolutely, because his life is spared, which was forfeit by God's law (though into no man's hands but God's), yet this pardon extended not to extinguish the sentence pronounced, nor yet that which he proceedeth further to pronounce concerning the child's death. Whether you will say, that in such a case sin is remitted, because, absolutely, the man is restored to God's grace; or not remitted, because, as to the punishments allotted, he suffers by God's vindicative justice: is a controversy about words, which I will not spend words to determine. This cannot be denied, that neither God's original justice, nor any covenant of His with man, hinders Him so to proceed.

[2 Sam. xii. 13.]

[2 Sam. xii. 14.]

[Yet] penance is not required to redeem [that debt] when the sin is pardoned.

§ 3. But what is this to the intent of penance imposed by the Church; which I have evidenced[o], both by the Scriptures and the original practice of the whole Church, to have pretended the abolishing of the guilt and stain of sin? Indeed it is not to be denied, that there is something more in that penance which the Church imposeth. For he, that exacts the same revenge upon himself at his own discretion and conscience, which the Church by the canons thereof should exact, pretends only to satisfy his own discretion and conscience, that God is satisfied with his repentance (and there lies the danger of satisfying a man's self with a palliative cure, instead of a sound one): whereas he, that does it upon the sentence of the Church, pretends to satisfy the Church, that God is satisfied with it, and [so[p]] to assure himself of his cure. But when this satisfaction to the Church presupposes satisfaction to God (at least, a presumption thereof, whether only legal or also reasonable); well may I, without this exception, make this the pretence of ecclesiastical penance. Neither had there been any cause to question the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church concerning the satisfaction of penance, had not the Church of Rome suffered it to be taught (for I should do them wrong to say

[o] Above, c. x. § 12—28.

[p] Added from MS.

CHAP. XI.

that they have enjoined it to be taught[q]), that it tendeth to recompense the debt of temporal punishment, remaining when the sin is remitted. For though under the Gospel also God may decree temporal punishment upon that sin, which afterwards comes to be remitted upon[r] repentance; yet he, who is restored to the state of God's grace (to whom
99 "all things co-operate to good," as St. Paul saith, Rom. viii. 28), though he suffer temporal punishment for his sin by God's justice, yet by God's grace, to which he is restored, it is converted into the means of salvation, and of bringing to pass God's everlasting purpose of it.

[The dispute concerning the change of attrition into contrition.]

§ 4. Before I go further, I must call you to mind that which I said of the change of attrition into contrition[s]: how it may be allowed by the covenant of grace; and how it intimateth an abusive opinion, that the change which qualifieth a man for the promises which the Gospel tendereth, taketh effect in consideration of the intrinsecal worth of it, and not only of God's promise; which you have seen to be false. This dispute was a long time canvassed in the schools without any reference to the remission of sin by the keys of the Church[t]. But the difficulty being started, that confession not made in charity (that is, out of the love of God above all things) may satisfy the positive precept, but cannot avail to the remission of sin; some sought a salve for this sore in the form of absolution, which then proceeded partly as a prayer, partly as a definitive sentence. For they thought the prayer obtained that grace, which might be a due ground for the sentence[u]. But when the opinion prevailed, that the form

[q] The Council of Trent however (Sess. vi. cap. 14. De Lapsis, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 762. E) decrees, that there are needed in order to the due penitence of a Christian, "non modo cessationem a peccatis," &c., "verum etiam eorundem sacramentalem confessionem," &c., "et sacerdotalem absolutionem, itemque satisfactionem per jejunia, eleemosynas, orationes, et alia pia spiritalis vitæ exercitia, non quidem pro pœna æterna, quæ vel sacramento vel sacramenti voto una cum culpa remittitur, sed pro pœna temporali, quæ, ut sacræ literæ docent, non tota semper, ut in baptismo fit, dimittitur illis, qui gratiæ Dei quam acceperunt ingrati [illegible] contristaverunt," &c.

[r] Corrected in MS. into, "by."

[s] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9.—For the saying, that "Attritio virtute clavium fit contritio," see the Romani Correctores Gloss. Gratian., Decret. P. II. Causa xxxiii. De Pœnit., Distinct. 1. p. 1812. Paris. 1612.

[t] See Bk. II., &c., ibid., note k.

[u] "Difficultatem eo tempore excitabat vulgata doctorum definitio, confessionem extra charitatem factam liberare quidem posse ab onere confessionis iterandæ, et præcepto ecclesiæ satisfacere; verum ad salutem nihil prodesse. Respondent nihilominus confessione propter [illegible] humilitatem attritum [illegible]

ought to be indicative; it remained to say, how confession and absolution should render him contrite, that comes only attrite [x]. Thomas Aquinas, to say how the keys of the Church may be understood to attain the production of grace, imagined the immediate effect of them to be a certain "ornament" of the soul, fitting it for grace: by virtue whereof that grace, which a man gets not by penance when he is not contrite, quickens in him when he becomes contrite; as he that is baptized without that resolution which obtaineth the promises, becomes estated in them when it is rectified [y]. And this opinion had vogue among his followers till the last age afore this: when, finding it more proper to raise than to resolve questions, it was laid aside by Cardinal Cajetan first [z],

gratiam consequenter acquirere. Quod si confessione nondum acquisita sit, acquiri posse respondent priori parte absolutionis quæ est deprecativa, ut tandem vere contrito dicere possit sacerdos, Absolvo te, &c. Verum, stabilita doctrina quæ absolutionem vult esse simpliciter indicativam, nullasque preces ei necessarias esse, aliter promiscue, sed potissimum a Thomistis antiquissimis, quæstioni responsum est; confessione scilicet et absolutione ejusmodi hominem fieri contritum, gratiamque ex suscepto sacramento reportare. Ex hoc postremo responso quæstionum novarum iliades ebullierunt. Quæ ex duobus præsertim fontibus scaturiebant. Cum primum constitit apud multos posse attritum absolutione sacerdotali fieri contritum, quæsitum est quæ fuerit sacerdotis absolventis in animam efficientia ad gratiæ productionem," &c. "Infinitarum quæstionum fons alter . . hujus rei fuit inquisitio, Qua ratione attritio virtute sacramenti fiat contritio." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. iii. c. 3. § 4, 5, 12; pp. 507. 2. D, E, 509. 2. E.—"Secundum primum modum potest gratiam impetrare, et ad hoc est idoneus: secundum secundum modum potest ecclesiæ reconciliare. Et ideo in signum hujus, in forma absolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum, et subjungitur absolutio per modum indicativum: et deprecatio gratiam impetrat; et absolutio gratiam supponit." Alex. Halens., Summ., P. IV. Qu. xxi. membr. 1.; et Bonavent., In Sentent., P. IV. Dist. xviii. art. 2. qu. 1: quoted by Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit, Works, vol. iii. p. 136.

[x] See Morinus as quoted in the last note.

[y] "Absolutionis minister qualitatem in anima imprimit, quæ ad gratiam dispositio est, quam peculiari nomine ornatum vocat, cujus ut characteris tria sunt munia. Primum, animam ad gratiam suscipiendam disponere. Secundum, pœnitentiæ sacramentum validum reddere et iterationi minime obnoxium. Tertium, contritione adveniente, si suscipienti sacramentum non adfuit, gratiam sacramentalem revocare et redintegrare, non secus ac gratia baptismalis fictione sive obice remoto per supervenientem contritionem animæ restituitur." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. iii. c. 3. § 7. p. 508. 2. B: as reciting the doctrine of S. Thomas Aquinas. And see S. Thom. Aq., In Sentent., P. IV. Dist. i. Qu. 1. art. 4; and his second tract In Sentent., on the same dist., qu., and article; and De Veritate, Qu. xxvii. art. 4. (Op., tom. vii. fol. 3: and in fin. tom. xvii. fol. 112. 1. A: and tom. viii. pp. 981—986. Antv. 1612): there referred to.

[z] "Quin ipse Sanctus Thomas istius sententiæ senex pertæsus videtur. Nam quæst. 62. art. 1. tertiæ Partis absolute docet sacramenta novæ Legis esse causas instrumentales gratiæ nulla facta ornatus vel characteris mentione. Sic primus S. Thomam intellexit Cajetanus Cardinalis, Thomistarum suo tempore coryphæus, quem cæteri hac in causa gregatim secuti sunt." Morinus, ibid., § 11. p. 509. 2. D.—And see Card. Cajetan., Opusc., tom. i. Tract. v. Quæst. 5. De Confessione Informi, fol. 52. b. Antv. 1612; and In Sentent., P. III. Qu. lxxxiv. artt. 1, 2: there quoted.

then by the rest of his followers [a]. In the mean time the dispute of the change of attrition into contrition remained, most maintaining contrition to be necessary before absolution [b], till the Council of Trent: upon the decree whereof, Sess. xiv. cap. 6 [c], Melchior Canus [d] first maintained sorrow conceived upon mere fear of punishment, with the keys, to qualify for pardon of sin. Whose opinion is now grown so ordinary, that those, who hardly satisfy themselves in giving warning of the harm their own doctrine may do, go down the stream notwithstanding, in yielding to an opinion that hath so great vogue [e]. I do not intend hereby to say, that the Council of Trent hath decreed this opinion, and obliged all to maintain it. The terms which it pitched upon are these [f],—that sorrow for sin 'in consideration of the deformity of it and the fear of hell, with hope of pardon, but without any intent to sin again, though of itself it bring not pardon,

[a] See proofs in Morinus as cited in last note.

[b] "Lectorem notare velim antiquam sententiam de necessitate contritionis ante absolutionem concipiendæ toto illo tempore ad usque concilium Tridentinum aliis omnibus" (scil. of the various attempts, of which Morinus enumerates seven, to define the exact quantity and kind of *attrition* necessary) "sigillatim sumptis prævaluisse, maximosque viros et magno numero paulo ante Concilium Tridentinum hanc sententiam mordicus defendisse, et alias improbasse. Sed post Concilium Tridentinum eæ sententiæ quæ attritionem sufficere docent antiquæ prævaluerunt, majore doctorum parte sensim in hanc sententiam inclinante... Non defuerunt tamen doctores insignes, post illud tempus in hunc usque diem, nec contemnendo numero, .. qui antiquam sententiam propugnaverunt aliisque longe præposuerunt." Morinus, ibid., § 12. p. 510. 1. A, B.

[c] "Contritio, quæ primum locum inter dicta pœnitentis actus habet, animi dolor ac detestatio est de peccato commisso, cum proposito non peccandi de cetero. Fuit autem quovis tempore ad impetrandam veniam peccatorum hic contritionis motus necessarius; et in homine post baptismum lapso ita demum præparat ad remissionem peccatorum, si cum fiducia Divinæ misericordiæ et voto præstandi reliqua conjunctus sit, quæ ad rite suscipiendum hoc sacramentum requiruntur... Illam vero contritionem imperfectam, quæ attritio dicitur, quoniam vel ex turpitudinis peccati consideratione vel ex gehennæ et pœnarum metu communiter concipitur, si voluntatem peccati excludat, cum spe veniæ, declarat (sancta synodus) non solum non facere hominem hypocritam et magis peccatorem, verum etiam donum Dei esse et Spiritus Sancti impulsum, non adhuc quidem inhabitantis, sed tantum moventis, quo pœnitens adjutus viam sibi ad justitiam parat. Et quamvis sine sacramento pœnitentiæ per se ad justificationem perducere peccatorem nequeat, tamen eum ad Dei gratiam in sacramento pœnitentiæ impetrandam disponit." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. cap. 4. (6 in the text is a mistake); ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 817. B—E.

[d] Morinus (ibid., c. 4. § 1. p. 512. 1. C) describes Canus as having been the first (with Henricus Salmanticensis) to teach, "Attritionem ex sola formidine pœnæ conceptam, talemque a pœnitente cognitam, et immutate sese habentem, legitimam et sufficientem esse præparationem ad gratiam in sacramento suscipiendam."—And see Melchior Canus, Relect. de Pœnit., P. vi.; Op., pp. 932, 933. Col. Agripp. 1605.

[e] See Morinus as quoted in note b; and the "monita," with which the authorities he cites qualify and guard their doctrine.

[f] See above in note c.

BOOK III.

yet disposeth to the attaining thereof by the keys of the Church.' Which may be true, though only sorrow for the offence, and for God's sake, qualify for pardon by the keys of the Church: if we suppose that sorrow for a man's own sake, which of necessity must first arise in him who discovereth himself surprized in sin, to be the way and the mean, which God's Spirit actually assisteth him with, that hath forfeited the gift of It, to work him to that sorrow for God's sake, which qualifieth for pardon by the keys of the Church.

[Confession the means to procure contrition, absolution the effect that presupposes it.]

§ 5. Now what I am to say, will easily appear before I say it, to him that considers what I have said concerning the disposition that qualifieth for remission of sin without consideration of the Church and the keys of it[g]: the ministry whereof [I[h]] suppose instituted to procure that disposition, as supposing the covenant of grace which requires it. That he, who finds himself in the state of damnation by sin, must, if God send him justifying faith, in the next instant[i] believe, that he is predestinate to life (without that resolution for his future Christianity, which necessarily includeth sorrow for the offence of sin, and for God's sake; without ground to presume of his perseverance till death in it): I have shewed to be an imagination utterly destructive to Christianity[k]. That he, who confesses out of slavish fear, being absolved, should get that love of God above all which his 100
pardon supposeth; though an imagination not more destructive to Christianity than that, may be destructive to the salvation of more Christians. That slavish fear of the punishment due for sin, though in a person guilty of sin, and not cured of the love of sin, is the work of the Holy Ghost, helping him that hath forfeited the gift of it; the way of recovering the state of grace lost demonstrateth. For if the Holy Ghost work not upon him that is in sin, how shall he recover out of it? But is it strange, that he, who, finding himself in the state of damnation by sin, knows the only means to be saved is to live as a Christian for the future, should resolve so to do in obedience to God and for His service; which he cannot do without that sorrow, which the present

[g] Above, c. ix. § 5—11.
[h] Added from MS.
[i] Misprinted "instance" in orig. text.
[k] Above in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 36—38.

loss of His favour implies? Surely, supposing the assistance of God's Spirit, it cannot be otherwise. If this be the case of a Christian as a Christian, what can the keys of the Church (founded by God upon supposition of Christianity, to bring men to it, and to salvation by it) do, but be instrumental and ministerial to the work of grace in this case? Confession therefore cannot require contrition (that is, sorrow for God's sake), nor absolution effect it. But confession must be the means to procure it, absolution the effect that must suppose it. When that course of humiliation and mortification, which the keys of the Church require, shall have had the operation in settling that resolution for Christianity which they may presume upon for the future, the sentence of absolution recovereth the effect of baptism, and reneweth the gift of the Holy Ghost; which "perfect love" that "casteth out fear" (according to the apostle) attendeth. This [1 John iv. 18.] the primitive and catholic practice of the Church, as well as the covenant of grace and the condition thereof, demonstrateth. It was not then the custom to receive confession of sin and immediately to give absolution; binding the penitent over to make satisfaction for a debt of temporal punishment, remaining when the sin is done away[1]. The first thing was to be admitted to penance; to undertake the state, and habit, and fashion of a mourner during the time; and so to gain the prayers of the Church for his pardon, to be joined with a man's own endeavours. Is not the means of changing attrition into contrition visible, according to this course? Can it be visible by a word of the penitent, though professing at the present to love God, and hate sin above all things? That the sentence of absolution should create that

[1] Bellarmine, having alleged in De Pœnit., lib. iv. c. 4. (Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1429. C—1432. C), that "opera laboriosa, quibus reatus pœnæ temporalis expiatur, sponte suscipi posse," and in c. 5 (ibid., pp. 1432. C—1435. C), that "opera quibus reatus peccati præteriti expietur, recte a sacerdotibus injungi," proceeds to affirm (c. v. p. 1433. B, C), that, "quamvis opera laboriosa pœnitentibus olim ante absolutionem imponebantur et explebantur, tamen non fuisse id absolute necessarium, sed potuisse etiam expleri post absolutionem, ut hoc tempore fieri solet; ac per hoc satisfactiones illas non tam ad culpam quam ad pœnam temporalem expiandam referri consuevisse, perspicuum est ex conciliis illis quæ in articulo mortis jubent pœnitentibus communionem dari, etiamsi nulla aut non plena præcesserit satisfactio; sed tamen admoneri, ut, si forte supervixerint, integre pœnitentiam sibi injunctam expleant."—And see ample evidence of the Roman doctrine in Launoy, De Satisf. in Sacram. Pœnit., Op., tom. i. P. i. pp. 208, sq. Col. Allob. 1731.

BOOK III.

disposition which it findeth not, agreeth no better with the original practice of the Church, than with the original condition upon which we are baptized. And whatsoever "ornament" the soul may be imagined to get by it; that grace, which quickens in him that becomes contrite, can never be imputable to the keys of the Church in penance, which were employed without effecting it. Nor can it be said to quicken by virtue of any such imaginary "ornament," which by virtue of the covenant of baptism quickens of course without imagining of it. The bringing in of a definite sentence of absolution, instead of the prayers of the Church, which a man was admitted to by undertaking penance (the communion of the eucharist being his actual and final reconcilement), argues as much change in the inward Christianity as in the outward form of the Church. But if the prayers of the Church, joined with the penance of the penitent, be a competent means to regain the state of grace; a prayer immediately upon confession, immediately before absolution, is not. How much less since the Council of Trent: which makes the definite sentence the substance, the prayers that are used but the accessories, of the means of regaining the state of grace by penance [m].

[The ministry of penance not rendered void by the Romish doctrine.]

§ 6. I proceed not hereupon to say, that the ministry of penance becomes void and uneffectual to the purging of sin, where it is exercised upon these terms. For as he, who relies upon the sentence of absolution for the producing of that disposition which is necessarily requisite to the remission of sin, must needs fail of that which he promiseth himself from that power of the Church, which God never granted upon such terms; so the imposing of penance may be understood to pretend the ransoming of temporal punishment no otherwise than loosing the bond of sin, whereby it may be turned into a spiritual blessing. For though the granting of absolution and the communion of the eucharist before penance, is, in reason, and according to the original 101[n]

[m] "Docet præterea sancta synodus, sacramenti pœnitentiæ formam, in qua præcipue ipsius vis sita est, in illis ministri verbis positam esse, Ego te absolvo, &c. Quibus quidem de ecclesiæ sanctæ more preces quædam laudabiliter adjunguntur, ad ipsius tamen formæ essentiam nequaquam spectant, neque ad ipsius sacramenti administrationem sunt necessariæ." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. cap. 3; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. pp. 816. E, 817. A.

[n] Misprinted 201 in folio edition.

practice of the Church, a contradiction to that sense; yet nothing hinders the reason and the faith of Christians to bear up, and not be carried away with those corruptions, to which the imperfection of laws naturally induceth the perverse inclinations which we are born with.

[Evil consequences respecting this subject, flowing from the conceit of infallibility in the Church.]

§ 7. In the mean time it is worth the while to consider, what consequences the conceit of infallibility in the Church (not distinguishing whether the present or the Catholic) creates, as well in the opinions of doctors, as in the practice of people. There is so much difference between the way of ministering of penance in the primitive Church and the practice of the auricular confession in the present Church of Rome, as must needs signify the hope of pardon to suppose the performance of penance in the one, in the other to be grounded upon a sentence of absolution that supposes it not. And yet it will not be acknowledged, that there is any decay of discipline, any fault, any defect in the laws and customs (for what is law but custom? what rule is there for men's actions, that custom enforceth not?) of the Church, that cause so much difference in the proceedings of it.

[Of commuting penances into the voyage of the Holy Land, and the fighting for Christians against infidels.]

§ 8. Howsoever the custom of redeeming penance came into the Church, and how prejudicial soever the voyage of the Holy Land, or the like, may have been to the discipline of it; the application of temporal good to some spiritual end was a poor cloak for such a corruption, in comparison of that zeal to Christianity, which fighting for Christians against infidels pretendeth. This is the most material occasion, that I find alleged [o] for that change, which the discipline of the Church hath suffered in granting absolution before penance; to wit, the indulgences granted them that undertook to fight for Christians against infidels. And this is enough to render the abuse, and the decay of discipline by the means thereof, visible.

[Of indulgences proposed for small sums of money.]

§ 9. But when indulgences are proposed for a small sum of money (presupposing indeed such qualifications, as need

[o] "Secunda occasio" (Morinus had been describing an earlier abuse, of redeeming penances for money) "imminuendarum pœnitentiarum fuit eorum æquatio et commutatio cum uno aliquo opere laborioso propter evidenter apparentem ecclesiæ utilitatem susceptо.. Magnum illud opus fere semper fuit, arma contra ethnicos, hæreticos, schismaticos ferre, aut qui ferat, modo non possit, suis sumptibus alere." Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. x. c. 19. § 1. p. 765. 1. B. And see that and the following chapters.

OOK III.

not the indulgences, if rightly understood and had, but as, not being rightly understood and had, render the indulgences dangerous delusions): whether poor people will not rather be induced by our common corruption to embrace that sense, which makes the pardon of their sins void, as so had [p], than that which makes them to be deceived of their money to no effect by the Church; I leave to the conscience of discreet Christians to judge. And whether this be not horribly to abuse the keys of the Church, I leave to God and man to judge. In the mean time I only remind you [q] of that difficulty, which the ancient Church made, in believing and admitting that those were saved, who, being admitted to the communion of the eucharist in danger of death, died before they could accomplish that penance, upon undertaking whereof they were admitted to it. For is not the case of him, that steadily purposeth to perform that penance which the Church imposeth according to rule if he survive, much more hopeful for salvation, dying afore, than his, that thinks his sin purged by the sentence of absolution without undertaking or performing any penance at all in order to the pardon of it?

at assance of iveness law of cular ession is used he urch of ne proth.

§ 10. And here I summon the consciences of the doctors of the Church of Rome. Suppose a man take revenge upon himself according to a good conscience, that is, proportionably to the weight of his sin, according to the rules that were in force in more uncorrupt times of the Church; another, according to the doctrine that is current in the Church of Rome, professing himself truly sorry for his sin and receiving absolution, presumes of pardon for it, intending to satisfy for temporal punishment that remains, as he is directed: whether of these is upon the better ground? whether of them pretends to pardon upon the better title, supposing the premisses concerning the covenant of grace? He, who, satisfying his conscience upon the original word of the Gospel and the primitive practice of the Church, that he hath appeased the wrath of God by taking revenge upon himself, and is thereby returned to his first resolution for Christianity; or he, who, being touched with sorrow for his

Cor. vii.

[p] "As believing it attained upon those conditions upon which 'tis not to be had." Added in margin in MS.

[q] See above, c. x. § 10.

sin and submitting the same to the keys of the Church, hath
102[r] done what the current practice thereof requires him to do, for redeeming the temporal punishment of it? For it is evident in the doctrine of the apostles and the primitive practice of the Church, that the satisfaction of penance appeaseth the wrath of God upon this ground, because it evidenceth that resolution for Christianity to be restored, which a man otherwise ought not to presume of in himself, when he knows in himself that it hath been interrupted; much less ought the Church to presume of it in him, when the interruption thereof hath been visible to the Church. He then, who, having conceived sorrow for his sin, submits himself to the keys of the Church, to be restored to God's grace by the ministry thereof, and does as he is enjoined to do, if the Church and the person whom the Church trusts for him do their duty (that is, supposing the laws of the Church to be good and sufficient, and well and sufficiently exercised), hath a good and sufficient presumption that he is restored. But he, who proceedeth upon the common faith of the Gospel and the primitive practice of the Church (whereby all that is doubtful in Christianity must be resolved), attaineth that assurance of his restoring to the state of salvation, which I have shewed[s] is attainable. But, not supposing the laws of the Church to be either sufficient or sufficiently executed, that presumption of pardon, which can be built upon it, is neither good nor sufficient, but rather [destructive[t]] to salvation, by palliating the crime which it ought to cure.

[Perilous nature of the present Romish practice.]

§ 11. Now for the ground, which the Church of Rome gives a reasonable man to presume hereof: it is not to be denied or dissembled, that the Council of Trent, Sess. xiv. cap. 8[u], declareth, that it is the duty of all confessors to enjoin "wholesome and competent penance" upon all penitents (and that, by virtue of St. Paul's charge, 1 Tim. v. 22, —upon which the power of the Church in imposing penance

[r] Misprinted 202 in folio edition.

[s] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 36, 44.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "peremptory," in orig. text.

[u] "Debent ergo sacerdotes Domini, quantum spiritus et prudentia suggesserit, pro qualitate criminum et pœnitentium facultate, salutares et convenientes satisfactiones injungere: ne, si forte peccatis conniveant," &c., "alienorum peccatorum participes efficiantur." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. cap. 8; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 821. A, B.

BOOK III.

is truly grounded, seeing the blessing of the Church, signified[x] by imposition of hands, is as much granted in penance as in ordaining,—"lest they become partakers of other men's sins"), declaring withal the intent which they ought to aim at in imposing them. But we know also and see thereby, that there is no effectual course taken to see that this be done (whether it be possible to take a course that may be effectual to be done or not); and we know besides, how great vogue that opinion hath, which maketh attrition with the keys of the Church (that is, the shame of declaring a man's sin to his confessor) a sufficient disposition to forgiveness[y]. And therefore it is justly to be questioned, whether the law of secret confession, with these abusive opinions and scandalous practices, under which it is now exercised in the Church of Rome, is for the best or not; that is to say, whether the greatest part of them who submit to it, do not unduly persuade themselves that their sins are cured by it, when indeed they are not. For considering the ground of all superstition and counterfeit religion to be this, that man, sensible of the wrath of God due to his sin on the one[z] side, yet favourable to that concupiscence which sin pleaseth on the other side, desireth a colour to persuade himself that he is reconciled to God by such means as indeed serves not the turn: I know not whether persuasion is the more catching (supposing the present division between the Reformation and the Church of Rome);—that a man is justified by believing that he is predestined to life, and by calling to mind the assurance which once he hath had of it;—or that he hath no more to do but to talk with his confessor and give him content, who it is great odds does not believe any penance to be required to qualify him for pardon, but to redeem the debt of temporal punishment remaining after it is had.

Of enjoining penance after absolution [pronounced].

§ 12. Whereby we may conclude, what to think of the performing of penance after absolution is pronounced. I do remember what I have said of St. James[a]: that, when he commanded the presbyters of the Church to be sent for to the sick, and to pray for him, with assurance of pardon for his sins, he

[x] Corrected from MS.; "signifieth," in orig. text.

[y] See above, § 4.

[z] Corrected from MS.; "other," in orig. text.

[a] Above, c. ix. § 21.

supposeth those sins to be declared by him to them (whereupon it follows immediately, "Confess your sins one to another and pray for one another"), together with his present disposition in regard of them; and that, if the case were such as required the hardship of laborious penance to satisfy the Church of [James v. 14—16.]
103[b] the sincerity of his conversion, though they prayed for him (that is, suffered him not to go out of the world without the communion of the Church), yet they bound him over to perform that penance, if he recovered, which the Church required in the like cases. For can any man certainly know, that the whole Church used so to do from the most ancient times that we have record of, and doubt, that the apostle, speaking of that very subject, should suppose the same? Neither do I doubt, knowing what varieties fall out in all kinds of moral matters, that the same proceeding may be either necessary or reasonable in other cases. But that the regular proceeding of the Catholic Church should be laid aside, that no further satisfaction should be demanded than whether a man hath performed all that was enjoined him when he confessed last or not: this, I say, leaves it free to every man's interpretation, whether it tend to abolish the sin or not; and, by consequence, whether a man can or ought so to rest satisfied, or, further, be bound to see himself qualified for pardon according to the covenant of grace.

§ 13. To which purpose the form of absolution by way of pronouncing sentence, not of seeking pardon from God, is to be considered. Not that I doubt, that the Church hath power to restore to communion with the Church (which this sentence effecteth) and to loose the bond of that sin which it hath tied. For if it be necessary for every Christian to be of the Church, then is it necessary for him to seek remission of those sins, which are under the ministry of the Church, by the means which the Church hath appointed. But because I know, that the primitive form of absolution must needs agree with those scriptures, which shew the means of obtaining remission of sin by the Church, for a great part, to consist in the prayers of the Church; and that the effect thereof did consist in nothing else but in being admitted to the prayers thereof for penitents, with imposition of hands

[The change in the form of absolution, from precatory to indicative, an evidence that the discipline of the Church is decayed.]

[b] Misprinted 203 in folio edition.

BOOK III.

signifying the same. And, therefore, the present form is an evidence, that the discipline of the Church is decayed in the matter of penance, since the zeal of Christianity came to decay; after that the powers of the world, professing Christianity, could not but countenance it with those privileges and penalties, which necessarily follow the religion of the state; and, by consequence, temporal respects were great ingredients in persuading men to be Christians.

[Scandal arising from the present practice.]

§ 14. What the effect hereof may have been, I will not undertake. But when the world is obliged to take the sentence for good, as from God, and not obliged to presuppose the means to produce that disposition, which only qualifieth for pardon; is not the scandal probable, in and to those, that have not more care of their souls than they see the Church have? Sentence of absolution is pronounced; penance is reserved in regard of temporal penalties due:—what doth this proceeding pretend, but that he, who saith he is sorry for his sin, so he be content to sue out his pardon from the Church, is qualified for it by the keys of the Church; that is, by the sentence of it, not by the ministry of it in producing that disposition which qualifies for it.

[The nature of the Church's jurisdiction in the matter of penance.]

§ 15. It is not then to be said, that the Church in the discipline of penance hath not a certain jurisdiction; as every corporation must necessarily have, in imitation of that, which by the Roman laws is first and originally called jurisdiction, which the sword of the empire enforceth. For if no corporation can stand without power to provide laws for themselves; if all such are mockeries, if they be not enforced by penalties obliging obedience: then is the corporation of the Church, if ordained by God, by God enabled to enforce and constrain obedience; upon supposition, that a man desires to be saved by his Christianity, and that the communion of the Church is a part of it. And the exercise of this power is rightly called the jurisdiction of the Church, which ariseth upon the original constitution of it. But if this jurisdiction suppose the covenant of grace, and therefore cannot discharge any man that is not qualified as it requireth; then is the sentence of absolution to presuppose the disposition requisite for pardon to have been produced by the keys of the Church: that is, by using the means, which the Church as a physician

prescribeth; but further, as a judge, constraineth him to take, that findeth it requisite to be reconciled to the Church, because he is a Christian.

104 § 16. And now it will not be difficult to judge of the law of auricular confession once a year, now in force by the Council of Lateran in the Church of Rome[c]. For having marked the abuses hitherto reproved, so that I cannot be taken by any man, that hath any conscience left, to allow any of them; and having formerly inferred by necessary consequence, that it is in the power of the Church to limit and determine the circumstances of doing that, which a good conscience always will endure and probably will require any man to do: I must conclude it to be a law which the Church hath power to make.

[The law of secret confession once a year one which the Church hath power to make.]

§ 17. Not as if God had commanded the ministry of the Church to be secret. For as I have shewed from the beginning[d], that the prayers of the Church are, by the appointment of our Lord Christ and the practice of His apostles, the means to obtain pardon; so I have shewed, that it was also practised by the primitive Church. And therefore I do maintain, that, from the beginning, there was not, nor could be, any difference between the inward and outward court of the Church: as now there must needs be, wheresoever excommuni[cati]on is inflicted upon notorious sins; and sins, that are not notorious, are cured in secret by the keys of the Church. For whether it were the knowledge of others, or a man's own conscience, that brought his sins to be cured by the ministry of the Church, they came before those that managed the power of the keys in behalf of the Church; and by their judgment, whether at large, or limited by canons provided afore-hand for the Church, was the cure appointed.

[Yet not commanded by God.]

§ 18. The Council of Trent granteth, that God hath not forbidden public confession of secret sin[e]. My reasons infer more:—that confession of sin in secret is an abatement of

[But an abatement of primitive discipline.]

[c] See above, x. § 34. note s.

[d] cc. ix. § 3, sq.

[e] "Cæterum quoad modum confitendi secreto apud solum sacerdotem, etsi Christus non vetuerit, quin aliquis in vindictam suorum scelerum, et sui humiliationem, cum ob aliorum exemplum, tum ob ecclesiæ offensæ ædificationem, delicta sua publice confiteri possit, non est tamen hoc Divino præcepto mandatum, nec satis consulte humana aliqua lege præciperetur, ut delicta, præsertim secreta, publica essent confessione aperienda." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. cap. 5; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 819. A.

BOOK III.

that discipline, which our Lord and His apostles instituted for the cure of sin by the Church; and, by consequence, an abatement to the efficacy of His ordinance. Neither can any thing be alleged for it, but the decay of Christianity by the coming of the world into the Church; and the necessity, which that bringeth upon the Church, to abate of that which the primitive institution requireth, that the ordinances of our Lord may be preserved to such effect as can be obtained with the unity of the Church.

[And may be abused.]

§ 19. And therefore I deny not, that this law may be abused to become a torture, and snare, and an occasion of infinite scandals, to well-disposed consciences. For who will provide laws for so vast a body, as the whole Church of Christendom yet is, that shall give no occasion of offence? They that pretend it, are but Absalom's disciples; that, to cure one, advance innumerable. No more do I deny, that the skill of all confessors (that is, all that must be trusted with that power which this law constituteth) is not, nor can probably be, able to value the sins that are brought to them, and to prescribe the cure which they require; supposing their conscience such, as will not fail to require that, which their skill finds to be requisite. In questions of this nature, though it were to be wished that such laws could be provided for the Church, as, being unblameable, might render the Church unblameable; yet they, that are capable of giving sentence what is best for so vast a body, will find it best (as in all other corporations or commonwealths) to improve the ordinances of God to the best of that, which can be obtained with the unity of the Church.

[2 Sam. xv. 3, 4.]

Setting aside abuses, this law is agreeable to God's [law].

§ 20. And, therefore, setting aside those gross abuses, which may follow upon the persuasion, that those penalties, which are to be imposed by the power of the keys to produce that disposition which qualifieth penitents for remission of sins, tend only to satisfy for the temporal penalty, remaining due when the sin is pardoned; and setting aside those abuses in the practice of penance which tend to introduce this persuasion: I must freely glorify God by freely professing, that in my judgment no Christian kingdom or state can maintain itself to be that which it pretendeth more effectually, than by giving force and effect to the law of private confession

once a year, by such means, as may seem both requisite and effectual to enforce it.

Of the order taken by the Church of England.

§ 21. Not that I do condemn that order, which the Church of England at the Reformation contented itself with (as ren-
105' dering the reformation thereof no reformation, and leaving men destitute of sufficient means for the remission of sin after baptism); to leave it to the discretion and conscience of those, who found themselves burdened with sin, to seek help by the means of their pastors; as appeareth both in the Communion Service, and in the Visitation of the Sick: but because I see the Church of England hath failed of that great piece of reformation, which it aimed at in this point; to wit, the [retrieving[g]] of public penance. This aim you shall find expressed in the beginning of the Commination against Sinners, in these words:—"Brethren, in the primitive Church there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of our Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be more afraid to offend: in the stead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again (which is much to be wished), it is thought good," &c.

[Mischief and peril of the want of Church discipline.]

§ 22. What is the reason, that so godly a desire of so evident a reformation could not take place, when reformation in the Church was so generally sought (besides those common obstructions, which[h] all good pretences will necessarily find in all communities of Christians); I shall not much labour to persuade him, that shall consider the tares of puritanism to have been sowed together with the grain of reformation in the Church of England. This I will say, that, where visible penance is exercised for sins of themselves visible (and much more, which the conscience of those who commit them makes visible), there is a reasonable ground of presumption, that those, who see this done upon others, will not advance to the communion of the eucharist without visiting their own consciences, and exacting competent revenge upon their sins,

105' Misprinted 205 in folio edit.

[g] Corrected from MS. (which also corrects into, "recovering"): "receiving," in orig. text.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "with," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

though they use not the help of their pastors in taxing it. That vulgar Christians would have been moved voluntarily to seek the help of their pastors in taxing the cure of their sins, without seeing the practice of that medicine upon notorious sins which the discipline of the Church required, who can imagine? For nothing but example teaches vulgar people the benefit of good laws. Nor did secret penance ever get the force of a general law but by example. But where there is no pretence of casting notorious offenders out of the company of Christians, that thereby they may be moved to submit to the cure of their sins by satisfying the Church of their repentance, because the secular power enforces no sentence of excommunication: it is no Christian kingdom or commonwealth, though Christians may live in it, as Christians may be cast upon a coast that is not inhabited by Christians. For he that believes, not only that there is a Catholic Church in the world, but that he must be saved by being a member of it, may and will find imperfection enough in those laws, by which the keys of the Church are employed and exercised; but if he find no reconciliation of sin by the keys of the Church, because no excluding of sinners from the communion of it, will find no part of the Catholic Church there, because no part of the Catholic Church was ever without it.

[The civil law ought not to be the measure of the Church law.]

§ 23. And, therefore, I must not fail to declare my opinion in this place: that in a Christian commonwealth, if by any means those, that are convicted of capital crimes by law, come to escape death, either by favour of the law or by grace of the sovereign (as many times it falls out), and likewise all those, that are convicted of crimes that are infamous, having satisfied the justice of the law, ought to stand excommunicate till they satisfy the Church. And, for the same reason, those whom the Church convicteth of crimes, which civil justice punisheth not, but Christianity maketh inconsistent with the hope of Christians, being excommunicate upon such conviction, ought not to be restored to the communion of the Church, until, by just demonstrations of their conversion, the Church be satisfied of them as qualified for reconcilement with God. For where there is means for those that are detected of notorious sins to be restored to the communion of the Church without the hardship of penance; there can be

no reason to imagine, that those, whose sins are secret, will of themselves submit themselves to the keys of the Church, to procure pardon, or to assure themselves of it.

[How the ecclesiastical law came to be enlarged to include all capital crimes under public discipline.]

§ 24. I find great reason to believe, that at the first those
106 sins which were brought under public penance by the primitive Church, were only those three great crimes of murder, adultery, and idolatry, which the Montanists and Novatians excluded from reconcilement by penance, and the branches that were reducible to the same. For Pacianus, *Paræneſi ad Pœnitentiam*[l], speaking expressly of this matter, expresses no more. But when the empire was Christian, and the Church became ingraffed into the state; then was the rule enlarged to all crimes that the laws of the state made capital[k]: to which, in point of conscience, those that are infamous by civil law are not inferior, though, being not so pernicious to the world, they are not by civil law punished with death. The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Law intended here under Edward VI. hath taken notice of these terms[l].

[The Presbyterians.]

§ 25. As for the Presbyterians, that would so fain be authorized by the state to swagger and domineer over the consciences of their poor neighbours, that they have not been ashamed to submit the original power of the Church to an appeal to the secular[m] (which is, in English, to let Parliament-

[l] "Reliqua peccata meliorum operum compensatione curantur: hæc vero tria crimina ut basilisci alicujus afflatus . . metuenda sunt. . . Quid vero faciet contemptor Dei? Quid aget sanguinarius? Quod remedium capiet fornicator?" S. Pacian., Paræn. ad Pœnit., in Bibl. PP. tom. iv. pp. 244, H, 245. A.

[k] See Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. v. cc. 1, 2, 4, 5; pp. 249. l. A, sq.

[l] "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, ex authoritate primum Regis Henrici 8. inchoata: Deinde per Regem Edouardum 6. prouecta adauctaque in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorem ipsarum reformationem in lucem ædita" (sic). Lond. 1571: and again in 1640, and 1641; and republished Oxf. 1850.—The Sect. de Excommunicatione, c. 3, Quibus in causis excommunicatio debet adhiberi, p. 168. (Oxf. 1850), restricts that sentence, somewhat vaguely, "ad horribilium criminum atrocitatem, . . in quibus ecclesia gravissimam infamiam sustinet, vel quod illis evertatur religio, vel quod boni mores perverturtur: illius autem generis sunt de quibus Paulus dicit, 'Qui talia faciunt in regnum Dei non introibunt,'" &c. But c. 16, De reis qui mortis sententiam acceperunt (p. 177), seems to assume that excommunication is due to all capital crimes.—The last clause in the text is altered in MS. into, "hath a provision in it concerning this business."

[m] On Oct. 20, 1645, "the Lords and Commons at Westminster gave directions in an ordinance for suspending scandalous persons from the Lord's Supper;" which "ordinance concludes with a proviso, that the members of both houses who are now members of the Assembly of Divines" (scil. at Westminster), "or any seven of them, shall be a standing committee to pronounce upon the causes of suspension from the Lord's Supper, not mentioned in this ordinance." Collier, Eccl. Hist. of Great Brit., Pt. ii. Bk. ix. vol. ii. p. 840. b.—"'Twas resolved by the Lords

BOOK III.

men live as they list, so themselves might be enabled to do what they listed with little ones): to give them the power of the Church, is to destroy the Church; the power whereof they pretend not to exercise to the curing of sin, but only to the abolishing of scandal [n], which the Church never pretended to abolish but by curing the sin. And yet they must give me leave to ask further: either how that conscience can be cured of sin, that is not wounded with it; or how it can be wounded with it, that is bound to believe the pardon of sin before repentance. So necessary it is, that they be required to disclaim the remission of sin, and the opinion of saving faith, without supposing repentance, and the same to be procured by the keys of the Church; before we suppose them to be a Church.

CHAPTER XII.[o]

THE UNCTION OF THE SICK PRETENDETH ONLY BODILY HEALTH, UPON SUPPOSITION OF THE CURE OF SIN BY THE KEYS OF THE CHURCH. OBJECTIONS ANSWERED. THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH EVIDENCETH THE SAME.

[The next question relates to Extreme Unction.]

BEFORE I leave this point, I am here to consider, what ecclesiastical power it is, and how well grounded, which the Church of Rome pretendeth to exercise in extreme unction: so called, because it belongeth to the sick in extremity; and, being accounted by them in the number of the seven sacraments, is applied unto the sick, over and above the sacraments of penance and of the eucharist [p].

and Commons in February following, a choice should be made of Elders throughout the kingdom of England and Wales. On the 14th of March this resolution was formed into an ordinance." Id., ibid., p. 841. a.—Collier goes on to remark, that "this scheme of religion is drawn upon Erastian principles; for the ordinance sets forth, that the congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, were all of them to be subordinate to the Parliament." Ibid.

[n] See above, c. ix. § 15. note i.

[o] Misprinted XI. in folio edition.

[p] See an ample statement (with citations) of the practice and doctrine of the Church of Rome, in Joan. Launoy, De Sacram. Unctionis Infirmarum Liber, c. 1; Op., tom. i. P. i. pp. 444, sq.—His patristic authorities antecedently to Pope Innocent I. amount to three, Origen, Victor Antiochenus, and S. Chrysostom: for the first and third of whom, see below, § 12, 13; and the words of the second—"Dici tamen

CHAP. XII.

§ 2. The question of the sacraments, wherein the nature of them consisteth, and by consequence how many of them there are, I wholly set aside from the present discourse: because I conceive it will be determined more briefly, and upon more settled grounds, all at once, when I shall have discovered what powers they are, which the Church indeed exerciseth by those actions, which are or which may be pretended to be sacraments[q].

[That of the nature and number of the sacraments deferred.]

§ 3. But it is plain enough, that the Church of Rome pretendeth also to exercise the power of the keys in extreme unction; because, according to the words of St. James afore quoted, they assign the effect of it to be the remission of sin[r]. On the contrary, they, who by the promise of bodily health, to be restored to the sick upon the unction which the apostle prescribeth, do gather, that the whole office there commanded was temporary (as only intended for those ages when the miraculous grace of healing was in force in the Church), by consequence, do not admit any office to be incharged, or any power estated, upon the Church by it[s].

[Opposite doctrines about the unction in St. James v. 14, 18.]

§ 4. That which hath been premised[t] to shew, that the circumstances of the apostle's words, together with the original and general practice of the Church, argueth aloud his intent to concern the exercise of the keys of the Church, and the power of them, towards those that are in danger of death, engageth my resolution to be this;—that the unction of the

The unction of the sick pretendeth only bodily health, upon supposition of the cure of sin by the keys of the Church.

potest orationem hæc omnia efficere, oleum autem eorum omnium quæ fiunt externum tantum symbolum esse" (In cap. vi. Evang. Marci, in Bibl. PP., tom. iv. p. 308. A)—signify the same with those of the other two.

[q] See below, c. xxix. § 9, sq.

[r] "Convenit inter theologos duos esse effectus hujus sacramenti. Unum quod sanat corpus, si ita expedit animæ saluti. Alterum, quod abstergit reliquias peccatorum. . . Una tantum est inter theologos quæstio. Nam quæ sint peccatorum reliquiæ, non eodem modo omnes explicant. Quidam esse volunt peccata venialia; sed improbabiliter. . . Alii nomine reliquiarum intelligunt pronitatem sive habitum ex peccato relictum. Sed ii adhuc improbabilius loquuntur. . . Dico igitur reliquias peccatorum duplices esse, et utrarumque abstersionem ad effectum hujus sacramenti proprie dictum pertinere. Primum enim reliquiæ dicuntur peccata, quæ interdum remanent post omnia alia sacramenta, sive mortalia sive venialia sint. . . Secundo nomine reliquiarum peccati venit etiam quidam torpor et mæror et anxietas, quæ ex peccato relinqui solet, et quæ maxime hominem morti vicinum vexare potest." Bellarm., De Extr. Unct., lib. i. c. 8; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1511. C.—1512. D.—See also Launoy, as above quoted, cap. ii. Observ. 1; pp. 463, 464.

[s] E. g. Calvin concludes (Instit. IV. xix. 18); "Ut igitur maxime demus unctionem sacramentum fuisse earum virtutum quæ tum per manus apostolorum administrabantur; nihil nunc ad nos pertinet, quibus virtutum administratio commissa non est."

[t] Above, c. ix. § 21, 32.

BOOK III.

sick, together with the prayers of the Church for the recovery of their bodily health (which Christianity alloweth not without praying principally for the health of the soul), is no way 107[a] commanded by St. James, but as an appertenance or an appendant to the exercise of the power of the keys in reconciling the sick to the Church, whereupon the prayers thereof become due; and, therefore, without further promise of remission of sin, or grace, than that general promise, which the enjoining of prayer for the sick presupposeth. The reason of this assertion is now to be deduced out of the Scriptures; supposing for grounds those things, which hitherto have been settled.

[Evidence of Scripture.]

§ 5. When our Lord sent His disciples to preach the Gospel, and to do those works that might witness them to be the disciples of Him that was sent by God; it is said (Mark vi. 13), that "they cast out many devils, and anointed many sick with oil, and healed them." Now it is evident, that the miracles of the apostles, as did their Master's, tended to one general purpose,—by bodily cures, to intimate the cure of sin, and the recovery of life and health to the soul, which our Lord pretended to bring and tender them: though by His works convincing them, that He was the Messias, Whom they expected to bring them deliverance from their bodily enemies, and the happiness of enjoying freely the land promised [to[x]] their fathers.

[Misinterpretation of Romish controversial writers.]

§ 6. Whereby we may see, what consideration those writers of controversies have of the Scriptures, that ground the unction of the sick (which they will have to be a sacrament of the New Testament) upon this action of the apostles[y]; whenas the Gospel, though now in preaching by the apostles as well as our Lord, yet was not established till His death past and accepted by God, and by His resurrection declared to be accepted, as the ratification of that ambassage of reconcile-

[a] Misprinted 207 in folio edit.

[x] Misprinted "by," in folio edit.

[y] So e. g. Thom. Waldens. (Doctrinal. &c., tom. ii. De Sacram., c. clxiii. § 2; fol. 268. 2. a. B), and Alphonsus de Castro (Adv. Hæreses, lib. xiv. fol. 42º. B, sq. Antv. 1565), quoted by Bellarmine, De Extrem. Unct., lib. i. c. 2; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1493. B, 1494. A: who himself concludes, on the contrary, that in S. Mark "jacta esse fundamenta ejus sacramenti, quod in altero loco" (scil. S. James) "expresse proponitur" (ibid., p. 1495. A): and is taken to task for so doing by Launoy, De Sacr. Unct. Inf., cap. ii. observ. xi.: Op., tom. i. P. i. pp. 462, 463.

ment and peace which He came to publish. Far more discreet is that which the Council of Trent hath said[z]; that, "being intimated by St. Mark, it is published by St. James." At least, if we understand the ground, whereupon we maintain, that the cure of sin is intimated by that bodily health, which St. Mark relateth to have been restored by the apostles.

[True meaning of St. Mark vi. 13, and St. James v. 14.]

§ 7. For so indeed it is. The bodily cures, which the apostles then did, seemed to intimate, that the embracing and undertaking of Christianity is, from Christ's death forwards, in consideration thereof, the cure of the soul, and the restoring of it from death to life. Which if it be so, then hath the Church no further power in the pardoning or abolishing of sin, than the absolute necessity of this condition will allow: that is to say, that it be understood to pardon sin, in as much, and no otherwise, than as the ministry thereof moveth to induce men to be Christians, whether in profession or in performance. Thus those, who by that Christianity, which the Church maintaineth, are induced to believe, that they are lost for ever unless they undertake the profession of Christianity, being induced so to do, are cleansed from sin, and made heirs of everlasting life, by the baptism which the Church giveth. Thus those, who have forfeited the right which they attained by being baptized by forfeiting the profession upon which they attained it, being reduced by the Church to a disposition of making it good for the future, are thereby re-estated in the same right again. And all the prayers, which the Church can tender to God for remission of sins, can no way be presumed or understood to be of force with God, but upon supposition, that those, for whom they are made, are either in the state or in the way of performing that which their Christian profession undertaketh. This reason,—added to those circumstances of St. James his words and the original practice of the Church afore quoted[a], which

[z] "Instituta est autem sacra hæc unctio infirmorum, tanquam vere et proprie sacramentum Novi Testamenti, a Christo Domino nostro apud Marcum quidem insinuatum, per Jacobum autem apostolum ac Domini fratrem fidelibus commendatum ac promulgatum." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. Doctr. de Sacram. Extr. Unct., cap. i.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 822. B.—Upon this arises the very material question, whether the rite was instituted by our Lord or by St. James: see Launoy, ibid., c. ii. Observ. iii., sq. pp. 456, sq.

[a] Above, c. ix. § 21, 32.

BOOK III.

shew that he intendeth to speak of the applying of the keys of the Church to the sick,—throughly convinceth, that remission of sin is not attributed to the anointing of the sick, but [is[b]] as an appertenance of the power of the keys passing upon them, and upon[c] supposition, that, by submitting to it, the Church, being enabled to warrant their pardon, could with confidence pray for that bodily health, which they chiefly need in that estate[d]. For if, supposing this condition, nothing can hinder remission of sin; if, not supposing the same, nothing can warrant it: what reason can we imagine, why the power of the Church, and those persons which are entrusted on behalf of it, should be employed in this business, but to procure that disposition, which only qualifieth for remission of sin. 108*

[The glosses of the school doctors not allowable.]

§ 8. And, therefore, I cannot allow the excuses which the school doctors use, to maintain the effect of this unction in the remission of sin, considering it precisely without that dependance, which in the words of the apostle it hath, upon the keys of the Church. They say, the effect of it is to wipe away the remains of sin, whether original or actual, consisting in that proneness to the enjoying of the creature, that faintness and sluggishness in following true virtue, that weakness in tending to God, which remain even in him that is perfectly restored to God's grace[f]. For these if they be sin, then are they cured by the same means by which his sin is cured (which how it is effected by the Church, hath been oft enough said): if not sin, God forbid but the prayers of the Church should prevail to weaken them in the sick; but, as those prayers have their force upon supposition of the condition, so must they be understood to have the effect of forgiveness, ascribed them here by the apostle, in virtue of

[b] Added from MS.

[c] Apparently altered in MS. into, "is upon."

[d] "When St. James promises pardon and health upon prayer and anointing, pardon belongs to prayer, which supposes the keys, health belongs to anointing." Added in margin in MS.

[e] Misprinted 208 in folio edit.

[f] See Bellarmine as quoted above, § 3. note r.—The Council of Trent (as above quoted, c. ii. ibid. D) decrees, that the "res et effectus" of extreme unction is "gratia Spiritus Sancti, cujus unctio delicta, si quæ sint adhuc expianda, ac peccati reliquias abstergit, et ægroti animam alleviat et confirmat, magnam in eo Divinæ misericordiæ fiduciam excitando: qua infirmus sublevatus, et morbi incommoda ac labores levius fert, et tentationibus dæmonis calcaneo insidiantis facilius resistit, et sanitatem corporis interdum, ubi saluti animæ expedierit, consequitur."

that disposition, which the ministry of the Church shall have produced.

Objections answered. That the bodily health promised in St. James hath no relation to the miraculous graces of the apostles' time.]

§ 9. And, therefore, I am not moved with those arguments which are produced; to prove, that the bodily health here promised hath no relation to the miraculous graces of the apostles' time[g]. It is said, that those graces are not given according to men's ranks in the Church, but according to God's good pleasure: as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xii. 4—11; where he reckoneth up that variety of graces, which the Spirit of God then stirred up in the Church, without any intimation, that they were given rather to public than to private persons in the Church: and, therefore, that it had been impertinent for St. James to name the presbyters of the Church, had he intended to speak of curing the sick by any such grace[h]. But it is easy to answer, that such graces, though common to private persons in the Church, yet, in reason, were most frequently imparted to those that were most eminent in Christianity: and that public persons in the Church were made such upon presumption of their eminence above others in Christianity: which presumption, though it possibly may fail, yet of necessity must hold good for the most part: and that upon this account, as the apostles, the heads of the whole Church, were most eminent in all graces, so it is in reason to be presumed, that the presbyters of the Church (whatsoever were the office of presbyters of the Church for the present[i]) were oftener[k] endowed with those graces than private Christians. Whereupon it will follow (for a thing, which no reason can be shewed why it should not come to pass, though the Scripture offered no further evidence that it did come to pass), that private persons, enjoying the grace of healing by the Holy Ghost, might restore to bodily health by anointing with oil; not extending their function to the procuring of forgiveness for

[g] Bellarmine, De Extr. Unct., lib. i. c. 3; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1498, 1499.

[h] "'Inducat,' inquit, 'presbyteros.' At si de miraculo ageret, diceret potius, Inducat prophetas, aut alios, qui donum habent curationum: nec enim soli aut omnes presbyteri etiam tunc habebant donum curandi. Neque refert, quod per presbyteros nolunt adversarii significari sacerdotes, sed seniores; nam nec seniores omnes habebant donum curationis, non enim illud donum erat alligatum ætati aut dignitati, ut patet ex Paulo Rom. xii., 1 Cor. xii., et Ephes. iv." Bellarm., ibid., p. 1498. D.

[i] See below, c. xvii.

[k] Corrected from MS.; "after," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

sin, which the public ministry of the Church pretendeth to procure. For, on the other side, notwithstanding the promise of bodily health in St. James, it is no inconvenience to grant, that the prayers of the Church might fail of it; though it be not granted, that they fail of forgiveness of sin, when the person is qualified. The reason is, because the promise of forgiveness of sin by the Gospel is absolute, the condition being cleared; that is, supposing the person qualified for it: but for bodily health there is no further promise by the Gospel, than it shall seem to God, that the condition of bearing Christ's cross in this or that man requireth.

[2. That the grace of healing was to be exercised for unbelievers, not believers.]

§ 10. It is also said, that, according to St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 22, "tongues are a sign to unbelievers, not Christians;" and therefore it is not to be supposed, that the grace of healing was to be exercised to the benefit of believers, but to the conversion of infidels[l]. For St. Paul, that cured Publius of a fever (Acts xxviii. 8), "left Trophimus at Miletum sick" (2 Tim. iv. 20), and had Epaphroditus by him sick to death (Phil. ii. 26, 27), and cured not Timothy of his "frequent infirmities" (1 Tim. v. 23). But I answer again with St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 7; that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit with:" that is to say; those graces which do manifest that the Spirit of God is in the Church, and therefore that Christianity comes from God, are given nevertheless to Christians to do good to Christians with; though not to all always, but to such as God, Who 109
hath given them the grace, shall move them to do good to[m] with it. But though I maintain, that the promise of bodily health upon the prayers of the Church belongs to those graces, by which it then appeared that God is in His Church; yet, in that He requires the presbyters of the Church, in that He promises remission of sin, it is not to be imagined, that bodily health, and the exercise of that grace which procured it, is only intended; and so, that the precept concerns the Church no more than that grace appears: but that the effect of it reaches to all ages of the Church, abating that

[l] "Præterea non est probabile apostolum jussisse fidelibus ut miracula quærerent, signa enim infidelium sunt, non fidelium, 1 Cor. xiv." Bellarm., as quoted above in § 9. note h.

[m] Corrected from MS.: "so," in orig. text.

which depended upon the miraculous graces proper to the apostles' time. For, suppose remission of sin past warranted the sick by the keys of the Church that have passed upon him, yet all Christians are to assure themselves, that their spiritual enemies are most busy about them in that extremity: whether out of despair to prevail, if not then, or out of hope then to prevail; their malice being heightened to the utmost attempt of casting him down by the extremity of that instance. God forbid, then, that the prayers of the Church should be counted unnecessary in such an instance; though the remission of sin be provided for otherwise. For all obstructions to God's grace (requisite in so great weakness to overcome) being the effect and consequence of sin: neither can it be said, that the apostle attributeth the remission of sin to the unction, by the promise which he annexeth to the injunction, whereby he employs the keys of the Church to that end; nor can it be endured in a Christian to count the removing of them unnecessary and superfluous, especially the patient being so disposed, and in such a capacity for the effect of them, by submitting to the ministry of the Church for the remission of his sin. And therefore certainly, as it is necessary to presume, that the promise of bodily health is not absolute and general, but where it pleaseth God to give evidence of His presence in and to His Church by the effect of His temporal blessings; so that health of mind, necessary to resist the tempter with, which Christianity obliges us to suppose that Christians prayed for with bodily health, the prayers of the Church are not effectual to obtain, but upon supposition of that disposition which the Church requireth; and that, procured by the keys of the Church, supposing the party obliged to have recourse to the Church for it.

The tradition of the Church evidenceth the same [doctrine].

§ 11. How well this opinion agreeth with the sense of the Catholic Church, I have argument enough; both in the sayings of the Fathers, whereby they express the reason of anointing the sick, and in the practice of the Church.

[Origen.] ["Est adhuc et septima, licet dura."]

§ 12. Origen, Homil. ii. *in Levit.*[n]—"*Est et adhuc dura et laboriosa per pœnitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator in lachrymis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lachrymæ suæ*

[n] § 4; Op., tom. ii. p. 191. I. B, C.

BOOK III.

["injustitiam."]

panes die ac nocte; et cum non erubescit sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, et quærere medicinam: secundum eum qui ait, 'Dixi, pronunciabo adversum me iniquitatem meam Domino, et Tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei.' In quo impletur et aliud quod [*Jacobus*] *apostolus dicit, 'Si quis autem infirmatur, voeet presbyteros ecclesiæ, et imponant ei manus, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et si in peccatis fuerit, remittentur ei'*"—"There is yet a hard and painful remission of sins by penance, when the sinner washeth his couch with tears, and his tears become his bread day and night; and when he is not ashamed to declare his sin to the priest of God, and seek his cure: according to him that saith, 'I said, I will declare my sin to the Lord against myself, and Thou forgavest the impiety of my heart.' Wherein is also fulfilled that which the apostle saith, 'But if a man be sick, let him send for the priests of the Church, and let them lay hands on him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and if he be in sin it shall be forgiven him.'" Here he gives priests the power of forgiving sin, from St. James.

[St. Chrysostom.]

§ 13. St. Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio* iii. 8[o].—"*Οὐ γὰρ ὅτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ* [*τὰ*] *μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἁμαρτήματα· ἀσθενεῖ γάρ τις, φησὶν, ἐν ὑμῖν· προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου*"—"For not only when they regenerate us" (by baptism), "but afterwards also, have they power to remit sins; for 'is any man sick among you?' saith he, 'let him call the [priests[p]] of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.'" 110 Shall we then ascribe the effect[q] of this power to the bodily act of anointing with oil? or to their prayers, not supposing that disposition to be procured by their ministry which the promise of remission supposeth? Neither of both will stand with the premisses; seeing the prayers of the Church cannot be effectual to them, that submit not to the ministry of

[o] § 6; Op., tom. i. p. 384. E. ed. Bened.—8 in the text is a mistake.

[p] Corrected from MS.; "pastors," in orig. text.

[q] Corrected from MS.; "effects," in orig. text.

the Church, when it becomes necessary for the procuring of that disposition which qualifies for remission of sin. So that the sense of the ancient Church, declared here by Origen and St. Chrysostom, must be understood to proceed upon consideration of the power of the keys, exercised upon the sick person that receiveth the unction, with prayers for his ghostly and bodily health.

§ 14. St. Augustin, *De Tempore, Serm.* ccxv.[r]—"*Quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, Corpus et Sanguinem Christi ille qui ægrotat accipiat; et inde corpusculum suum ungat, ut illud quod scriptum est impleatur in eo, 'Infirmatur aliquis,'*" &c.—"*Videte, fratres, quia qui in infirmitate ad ecclesiam accurrerit, et corporis sanitatem recipere et peccatorum indulgentiam merebitur obtinere*"—"As oft as any infirmity comes, let him that is sick receive the Body and Blood of Christ; and then let him anoint his body, that that which is written may be fulfilled in him, 'If any man be sick,'" &c.—"See, brethren, that he who shall have recourse to the Church in sickness, shall be thought worthy to obtain both the recovery of bodily health and indulgence for his sins." Now I ask, whether the rule of the Church will allow the communion of the eucharist to him, that hath not recourse to the Church for the cure of his sin, when he ought to have recourse to it. For if we suppose the eucharist to be given him upon confession of sin, then the reason which I pretend appears. If without, it is because nothing obliges him to have recourse to the keys of the Church at that time. And so the prayers of the Church and the eucharist and the unction are therefore effectual, because the Church rightly supposeth him qualified for remission of sins without recourse to other means: for daily sins and hourly are abolished by daily and hourly devotions, with detestation of the same; and yet more firmly abolished by partaking of these offices ministered by the Church. Here I must give notice, that I undertake not that this sermon is St. Augustin's own[s]; which, I see, is censured among those pieces that have crept under his name by mistake, or by imposture: for the style

[St. Augustin.]

["cucurrerit."]

[r] Serm. cclxv. in Append., § 3; Op., tom. v. Append. p. 437. C.

[s] It is reckoned "dubious," in the Louvain edition: spurious, by the Benedictine editors; who attribute it to Cæsarius (A.D. 502).

BOOK III.

also seemeth to make it some hundreds of years later than his time. But I think it more advantage to my opinion, that it held footing in the Church so long after St. Augustin, than that it appeareth to have been the sense of his time. For the sense of the now Church of Rome, that remission of sin is to be attributed to the unction[t], appears to be of so much the later date.

[Pseudo-Augustin.]

§ 15. And therefore I allege also the words that are quoted out of the book *De Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis*, among St. Augustin's works[u].—"*Qui ægrotat, in sola Dei misericordia confidat, et eucharistiam* [*Corporis ac Sanguinis Christi*] *cum fide et devotione accipiat, oleumque benedictum fideliter ab ecclesia petat, unde corpus suum ungatur; et, secundum apostolum, 'oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus;' nec solum corporis sed et animæ sanitatem accipiet*"—"Let him that is sick, trust only in the mercy of God, and receive the eucharist with faith and devotion, and faithfully send for the consecrated oil from the Church, that his body may be anointed with it; and, according to the apostle, 'the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall give him ease;' and he receive health, not only of body, but soul also." This indeed is something like that which they say now in the Church of Rome[x];—that our original inclination to evil, dulness and faintness to do good, and averseness of the mind from spiritual exercises, are those "relics of sin," which this unction cureth. In the mean time, remission of sin is or ought to be presupposed by the keys of the Church, passed upon him that duly receives the eucharist; nor can that health of the mind, which cureth these infirmities, be attributed to the unction which pretends bodily health, but to the prayers of the Church, prescribed to be made for the sick in that estate. And since [there are] those, that deduce the office of anointing the sick, and by consequence the effect of it, from the practice of the apostles curing with oil; as Bede[y], Theophylact[z], and Euthymius,

[t] See above, § 3. note r.

[u] § 5; in Append. ad Op. S. Aug., tom. vi. p. 268. D.

[x] See above, § 3. note r, § 8. note f.

[y] See below, § 16.

[z] "Ὅτι ἥλειφον ἐλαίῳ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, μόνος ὁ Μάρκος διηγεῖται, ὃ καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφόθεος ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ Ἐπιστολῇ φησὶν, ''Ασθενεῖ τις,'" κ.τ.λ. Theophyl., In Marc. c. vi. p. 218. E. Paris. 1631.

CHAP. XII.

111 upon Mark vi.[a]: how will they justify the spiritual promise of remission of sin to depend upon the bodily act of anointing the sick, but upon supposition of that disposition of the soul which qualifieth for it; which cannot be supposed, when recourse ought to be had to the keys of the Church for obtaining it, and is not. And, therefore, there can be no greater argument thereof in the practice of the Church, than this,—that the ordinary use of this unction, both in the eastern and western Church, is after receiving the eucharist[b]; which supposeth in the Church a legal presumption at least of the parties being in the state of grace.

[Bede, and Pope Innocent I.]

§ 16. The words of Venerable Bede, upon Mark vi. 13[c], are by no means to be neglected.—"*Dicit apostolus Jacobus, 'Infirmatur quis in vobis? inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ, et orent super ipsum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini; et si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei:' unde patet ab ipsis apostolis hunc sanctæ ecclesiæ morem esse traditum, ut energumeni vel alii quilibet ægroti ungantur oleo, pontificali benedictione consecrato*"—"The apostle James saith, 'Is any man among you sick? let him bring the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him:' whence it appeareth, that this custom was delivered to the holy Church by the apostles, that the vexed with evil spirits and other sick persons be anointed with oil consecrated by the blessing of the High-Priest." I believe no less. By that which the apostles did then, it appeareth, that thereupon St. James ordered, and the Church used, to anoint the sick in hope of bodily health, but with prayers for the soul also; and that by the ministers of the Church, when the

[a] "Περὶ τῆς ἀλείψεως τοῦ ἐλαίου μόνος ὁ Μάρκος φησί. Παραγγέλλει δὲ περὶ ταύτης καὶ Ἰάκωβος ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ Ἐπιστολῇ αὐτοῦ," κ.τ.λ. "Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου διδαχθῆναι τοὺς ἀποστόλους." Euthym. Zigaben., Comment. in S. Marc., c. vi. v. 12; Op., tom. ii. p. 91. ed. C. F. Matthæi. Lips. 1792.

[b] See however ample proofs that the custom of administering the eucharist *after* extreme unction continued down to the 16th century, in Launoy, Explicata Vetus Ecclesiæ Traditio de data infirmis post unctionem Eucharistia; Op., tom. i. P. 1. pp. 594, sq. The contrary and now (in the Roman Church) general rule appears to have arisen upon some words of S. Thom. Aquinas, and is enacted by a synod at Chartres in 1526: see Launoy, ibid., pp. 603, 606.—"Cela nous donna occasion de voir dans la bibliotheque un ancien rituel, qui prescrit l'extrême onction avant la saint Viatique." Voyage Litteraire des Deux Benedictins, tom. i. p. 185.

[c] Bed., In Marc. Evang. c. vi., lib. ii. c. 24; Op., tom. v. p. 59. Basil. 1563.

BOOK III.

case required their presence; that is, when the ministry of the keys was requisite. But when he saith, that "the vexed with unclean spirits" as well as the sick were to be anointed with it, he toucheth that, which he declareth more at large upon James v. 14, 15[d].—"*Hoc et apostolos fecisse in evangelio legimus, et nunc ecclesiæ consuetudo tenet, ut infirmi oleo consecrato ungantur a presbyteris, et oratione comitante sanentur; nec solum presbyteris sed (ut Innocentius Papa[e] scribit) etiam omnibus Christianis uti licet eodem oleo, in sua aut suorum infirmitate ungendo; quod tamen oleum non nisi ab episcopis licet confici: nam quod ait '[Oleo] in nomine Domini,' significat oleum consecratum in nomine Domini; vel certe quia, cum ungunt infirmum, nomen Domini super eum invocare debent*"—"This we not only read in the Gospel that the apostles did, but also the custom of the Church now holdeth, that the sick be anointed with consecrated oil by the priests and cured by prayer accompanying the same; nor may only priests, but also all Christians, as Pope Innocent writeth[e], use the same oil, when they or theirs are sick, by anointing; which oil notwithstanding is not to be consecrated but by the bishop: for that which he saith, '[With oil] in the name of the Lord,' signifieth that the oil must be consecrated in the name of the Lord; or he saith it forsooth, because, when they anoint the sick, they are to call upon the name of the Lord over him." The words of Pope Innocent, *Epist.* i.[f]: "*Quod non est dubium fidelibus ægrotantibus accipi vel intelligi debere, qui sancto de oleo chrismatis perungi possunt; quo ab episcopo confecto, non solum sacerdotibus sed omnibus uti Christianis licet, in sua aut suorum necessitate, inungendo*"—"Which" (words of St. James) "are without doubt to be taken and understood of believers that are sick, who may be anointed with the holy oil of anointing; which, being consecrated by the bishop, not priests only but all Christians may use, when they or theirs need it, by anointing." And by and by[g]: "*Nam pœnitentibus istud infundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti; nam quibus reliqua sacramenta negantur, quomodo unum genus putatur concedi*"—"For it cannot be poured upon penitents,

["necessitate."]

[d] Bed., ibid., p. 959.
[e] See below, note f.
[f] Innoc. Papa I., Epist. i. Decentii consultationibus respondens, § 8: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1248. A.
[g] Id., ibid., B.

because it is a kind of sacrament; for how should it be thought, that one kind can be allowed them, [to] whom the rest of the sacraments are refused?" Bede again[h]: "*Si ergo infirmi in peccatis sint, et hæc presbyteris ecclesiæ confessi fuerint, ac perfecto corde ea relinquere atque emendare satagerint, dimittentur eis; neque enim sine confessione emendationis peccata queunt dimitti: unde recte subjungitur, 'Confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem, ut salvemini:' in hac autem sententia illa debet esse discretio, ut quotidiana leviaque peccata alterutrum coæqualibus confiteamur, eorumque quotidiana credamus oratione salvari: porro gravioris lepræ immunditiam juxta Legem sacerdoti pandamus, atque ad ejus* 112 *arbitrium, qualiter et quanto tempore jusserit, pacificari curemus*"—"If the sick then be in sins, and shall have confessed them to the priests of the Church, and endeavoured to leave and mend them with a perfect heart, they shall be forgiven them; for sins cannot be forgiven without profession of amendment: in which sentence this discretion is to be, that we confess daily and light sins to one another's equals, believing that they are cured by their daily prayers; but open the uncleanness of greater leprosy to the priest, according to the Law, and see them reconciled at his discretion, how and how long he orders." This is the very sense that I give the apostles, according to that strait communion Christians then held with Christians as members of the Church. Why not rely upon the advice and prayers of Christians as Christians, who are commanded to procure the salvation of Christians next their own, in matters whereof they may be thought capable? Therefore those sins, which St. James directs the priests to pray for, are such, as for the weight of them must resort to the keys of the Church for their cure. But when Bede, when Pope Innocent, allows all Christians to anoint themselves or theirs with consecrated oil; when the sermon *De Tempore*[i] commands them to anoint their bodies; when the book *De Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis*[k] directs them to send for it from the Church: it is manifest, that they speak of unction alone; whereas St. James speaks of unction joined with the keys of the Church, and that the

[h] Bed., In Epist. Jacob. c. v.: Op... tom. v. pp. 959, 960.

[i] See above, § 14.

[k] See above, § 15.

BOOK III.

priest's office is required in that case. It is also manifest, that Pope Innocent calls that unction a sacrament, which Christians give themselves; which though he refuses penitents, yet those, whom the priest shall have given the communion to, could not be refused it: which refers remission of sin to the keys of the Church, but the hope of bodily health to the unction with prayer, such as the case requires.

[The Penitential of Theodore of Canterbury.]

§ 17. In the Penitential of Theodore of Canterbury thus it was read, according to Burchardus his collection, xviii. 14[l]. —"*Ab infirmis in periculo mortis positis per presbyteros pura inquirenda est confessio peccatorum; non tamen illis imponenda quantitas pœnitentiæ, sed innotescenda, et cum amicorum orationibus et studiis elemosynarum pondus pœnitentiæ sublevandum; ut, si forte migraverint, ne obligati excommunicatione alieni vel ex consortio veniæ fiant: a quo periculo si Divinitus ereptus convaluerit, pœnitentiæ modum a suo confessore impositum diligenter observet; et ideo, secundum canonicam authoritatem, ne illis janua pietatis clausa videatur, orationibus et consolationibus ecclesiasticis sacra cum unctione olei animati, juxta statuta sanctorum patrum communione viatici reficiantur*"—"Of the sick, that are in danger of death, a clear confession of sins is to be demanded by the priests; yet is not the quantity of penance to be imposed upon them, but to be notified, and the weight of it to be eased with the prayers of their friends, and zeal in giving alms; that, if they chance to depart, they be not (as bound by excommunication) strangers, and without the participation of pardon: from which danger if God save him, and he recover, let him diligently observe that measure of penance which his confessor imposed; and therefore, according to the authority of the canons, that the door of pity seem not shut upon them, being comforted with the prayers and consolations of the Church with the holy anointing of oil, let them according to the constitutions of the holy fathers be refreshed with the communion of the eucharist." The same Burchardus, xviii. 11[m],

["*et* si forte m. n. o. *ex communione*"]

["secundum"]

[l] Burchard. Wormiac., Decret. libb. xx. &c., lib. xviii. De Visit. Infirmorum, c. 14. fol. 184. 2. a. Colon. 1548: as "ex pœnitentiali Theodori."—The same extract is quoted by Petitus in his edition of Theodore (tom. i. pp. 81, 82. Paris. 1677), both from Burchard and from a MS. Penitential "Magistri Bartholomei Oxoniensis Episcopi:" giving it (as does Burchard) according to the corrections above made in the margin.

[m] Burchard., ibid., fol. 184. 1. b: as "ex decret. Eusebii Papæ, c. 10."

CHAP. XII.

quotes that which follows, out of the decrees of Pope Eusebius, cap. x.: in whose decretals now extant (which Isidorus Mercator is thought to have forged) I find it not[n]; but he, who observes, how proper the order which he prescribes in the case is to that which the former passage prescribed in that case, may perhaps have reason to think, that it is out of the same Penitential of Theodore, and that the passage premised is the very order to which he refers.—"*Si quis pœnitentiam petens, dum sacerdos venerit, fuerit officio linguæ privatus, constitutum est, ut, si idonea testimonia habuerit quod ipse pœnitentiam petisset, et ipse per motus aliquos suæ voluntatis aliquod signum facere potest, sacerdos impleat omnia sicut supra circa ægrotum pœnitentem scriptum est; id est, orationes* ["ægrotantem"] *dicat, et ungat eum sancto oleo, et eucharistiam ei det, et, postquam obierit, ut cæteris fidelibus ei subministret*"—"If a man that demands penance, while the priest is in coming, be de-
113 prived of the office of his tongue, it is decreed, that, if he have competent witness that he had demanded penance, and he by some motion is able to make some sign of his will, the priest fully do all that is written afore about the sick under penance; that is, say the prayers, and anoint him with the consecrated oil, and give him the eucharist, and when he is dead, do service for him as for other believers." By these remarkable passages you see, that, even when penance and the unction both were ministered, and prescribed to be ministered, by the priest, bodily health was expected from the unction, remission of sins from the keys of the Church. How much more,—having shewed by Pope Innocent and Venerable Bede and others, that the anointing of themselves and theirs was referred to particular Christians,—is there reason to presume, that this was done, in case when there was no question of binding and loosing sin by the keys of the Church.

§ 18. We have, lately published at Paris, a letter of Amulo, [Letter of Amulo, bishop of Lyons.] bishop of Lyons under Carolus Calvus, next successor to Agobardus[o], concerning some forged relics; pretending, that

[n] There are but four "Decreta Eusebii Papæ" (A.D. 309), given in the collections of Councils, &c. (e.g. Labb., tom. i. p. 1393); among which the above decree is not. For the forgery of Isidorus Mercator, see Cave.

[o] Epist. Amulonis Archiepiscopi Lugdun., Epist. i., Ad Theodboldum Episc. Lingonens., pp. 144, 145. in fin. tom. ii. Op. S. Agobardi Archiepisc. Lugdun. ed. Baluzius, Paris. 1666.—This Epistle was printed by itself in a single 8vo. sheet, Paris. 1652; whence Thorndike quotes (pp. 13, 14).

BOOK III.

fits of convulsions and epilepsies were stirred at the presence of them, for evidence that they were cured by them as true relics. To which he saith:—"*Si autem et languores aliqui ac debilitates accidunt, juxta evangelicum et apostolicum præceptum præsto habet unusquisque, ut 'inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini; et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum'*"—"But if any sickness or infirmity happen, it is ready for every man, according to the precept of the Gospel and apostle, to 'bring in the priests of the Church, that they may pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick.'" Here, because the occasion is public and notorious to the Church, the prayers of the priest are directed; though without reference to the ministry of the keys.

[Proculus that cured Antoninus, in Tertullian.]

§ 19. Certainly Proculus the Christian, that cured Antoninus, son of Severus the emperor, by anointing with oil (according to Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam* iv.)[p], did it not as a priest, which he did to an infidel; but as a private Christian, having hope in God by himself to make His presence in the Church appear. Only this difference we find, that—whereas Proculus did this as a simple Christian, endowed with one of those miraculous graces, whereby God manifested His presence in the Church at the beginning of Christianity—afterwards it was provided, that the oil should be consecrated by the bishop with the prayers of the Church[q]; in virtue whereof, whether applied by the priests or by private Christians, there might be hope that it might operate.

[St. Chrysostom.]

§ 20. St. Chrysostom, *In Matt.* Hom. xxxii. *Eth.*[r], comparing the entertaining of the apostles at home, there mentioned, with obeying their successors in the Church:—"*Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τράπεζα αὕτη πολλῷ τιμιωτέρα ἐκείνης καὶ ἡδίων, καὶ ἡ λυχνία [τῆς λυχνίας]· καὶ ἴσασιν ὅσοι μετὰ πίστεως καὶ*

[p] "Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiæ procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem ejus; quem et Antoninus optime noverat, lacte Christiano educatus." Tertull., Ad Scapulam, c. iv.: Op., p. 71. A.

[q] See above, § 16.

[r] S. Chrys., In Matth. Hom. xxxii. al. xxxi. § 6; Op., tom. vii. p. 373. D. ed. Bened.—"Eth." stands for Ἠθικὸν, scil. the practical application with which each Homily closes. The division is retained in Savile's edition—tom. ii. p. 222.

εὐκαίρως ἐλαίῳ χρισάμενοι νοσήματα ἔλυσαν"—"For both this table is far more precious and pleasant than that, and this light; which all know, who, anointing themselves with oil seasonably and with faith, have avoided diseases."

§ 21. St. Augustin, *De Civ.* [*Dei*] xxii. 8[s]:—"*Hipponensem quandam virginem scio, cum se oleo perunxisset, cui pro illa orans presbyter lacrymas suas instillaverat, mox a dæmonio fuisse sanatam*"—"I know a certain maid of Hippo, having anointed herself with oil, in which the priest praying for her had dropped his tears, was straight cured of a devil." Here is nothing but the cure of the body by consecrated oil; only, that the priest, who gave it the maid, prayed for her when he gave her it. [St. Augustin.]

§ 22. Therefore, when Hilarion cured the son-in-law and daughter of Constantia with oil, we are to understand the consecrated oil, with which the hinds and shepherds of Egypt cured themselves of the bitings of serpents by his direction: Hieron., *in Hilarione*[t]. [Hilarion in St. Jerom.]

§ 23. Nor did Malachias, in St. Bernard[u], pretend any more thereby than bodily cure. [Malachias in St. Bernard.]

§ 24. Therefore I do not marvel, that Innocent I. should speak of unction without penance; who seems expressly to grant, that sick persons should anoint themselves with that oil which the Church should send them for that purpose[x]: to wit, upon supposition, that they need not the keys of the Church for the cure of their sins. For Friar Thomas of Walden (*De Sacram. Tomo.* ii. *cap. penult.*[y]) understandeth [Innocent I.]

[s] lib. xxii. c. 8. § 8; Op., tom. vii. p. 667. F.

[t] "Constantia quædam sancta fœmina, cujus generum et filiam de morte liberaverat unctione olei." S. Hieron., Vit. Hilarion.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 90.—A little before (ibid., pp. 85, 86) he had mentioned, that "sitiens arenosaque regio, postquam pluviis irrigata est, tantam serpentum et venenatorum animalium ex improviso ebullivit multitudinem, ut percussi innumerabiles, nisi ad Hilarionem concurrissent, statim interirent. Benedicto itaque oleo universi agricolæ atque pastores tangentes vulnera certam salutem resumebant."

[u] The story referred to however runs thus—that the wife of a nobleman near Bangor Abbey, being dangerously sick, sent for Malachy (who was at one time Abbot of Bangor), "ut descenderet, priusquam moreretur, infirmam uncturus oleo:" that, the unction being delayed, she died, but at the prayers of Malachy was restored to life again: who then "unxit eam *nihilominus*, sciens in hoc sacramento remitti peccata, et quod oratio fidei salvet infirmum. Post hæc abiit ille, et illa convaluit; et vivens incolumis tempore aliquanto," &c. S. Bernard., Vit. S. Malach. Episc. Hibern., c. xxiv. § 53; Op., tom. ii. pp. 686. E—687. B.—It is also said (ibid., p. 686. F), that Malachy prayed for her restoration to life, "consternatus animo, sibi imputans quod fraudata *gratia sacramenti* obierit."

[x] See above, § 16. notes f, g.

[y] "Nec solum presbyteris sed (ut

BOOK III.

him, as indeed his words import if you offer them no violence, and the practice of the priests[a] of Egypt, who are said to have sent it to the sick[a], and of the Greek Church in giving it to those that are well[b], seems to imply; to wit, 114 that as, when the oblations of those who cannot be present at Church are received, they are partakers of the benefit of those prayers which the eucharist is celebrated with, because they are thereby acknowledged to belong to the communion of the Church; so the sending of that unction, which they apply to themselves, importeth the blessing of the Church to go along with their prayers, which it is used with. Thus much for certain:—when the Greeks contend, that this unction belongs also to those that are well, as the complement of their penance[b], arguing from the act of the apostles, who anointed those to whom they preached repentance; and allowing it to the sick, as that which for the present may be applied unto them, whenas the exigent of their case will not allow them to perform penance: as you may see by Arcudius, V. 4[c]: they do clearly enough express the reason which I give.

Innocentius Papa scribit) etiam omnibus Christianis uti licet eodem oleo in suam aut suorum necessitatem ungendo; quod tamen oleum non nisi ab episcopis licet confici." Thom. Waldens., Doctrinal. Antiq. Fidei Eccl. Cathol., tom. ii., De Sacram., c. 161. § 4; fol. 269. a. 1. A. Venet. 1571.

[a] Corrected from MS., which also corrects into "monks." The persons in question were both, at least in one instance.—The orig. text is a mere misprint.

[a] Sozom., Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. cc. 20, 29. pp. 663. A, 681. A.—And see Baron., Annal. Eccl., in ann. 63. num. 16: and Selden, De Synedr. Vet. Ebræor., lib. ii. c. 7. § 11; Op., tom. i. p. 1388.

[b] "Sunt nonnulli ex Græcis, qui clare affirment, hoc sacramentum" (scil. extremæ unctionis) "concedendum esse non tantum ægris sed etiam bene valentibus, modo illud ad delenda peccata efflagitaverint. Ita Simeon Thessalonicensis," &c. "Eadem plane verba Simeonis Hieremias more suo . . repetit. Et ambo hæc protulerunt ad docendum et comprobandum præsentem usum Græcorum; ac universe accipiunt pœnitentes, sive illi sani sint, sive infirmi." Petr. Arcud. Corcyræus, De Concordia Eccl. Occid. et Orient. in Septem Sacram. Administratione, lib. v. c. 4. p. 385. 2. C, D. Paris. 1626.

[c] pp. 385. 1. B, sq., as referred to in the last note.

CHAPTER XIII.[d]

THE GROUND OF THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH IN MATRIMONIAL CAUSES. MARRIAGE OF ONE WITH ONE INSOLUBLY IS A LAW OF CHRISTIANITY: THE LAW OF MOSES NOT ENJOINING IT; THE LAW OF THE EMPIRE NOT AIMING AT THE GROUND OF IT. EVIDENCE FROM THE PRIMITIVE PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH.

The ground of the right of the Church in matrimonial causes.

In the next place we are to consider, what interess the Church hath in the marriages of Christians: and that, without granting marriage to be one of the sacraments of the Church, or any thing implying what a sacrament is, and by consequence how many there are; but yet, supposing for disputation's sake that it were a sacrament: that is, not supposing the contrary, but demanding nothing but that which must be granted, whether it be so or not, that our discourse may proceed. Two things I suppose, the one as proved in due place:—that the Church is by God's law a society which all Christians are bound to have communion with[e];—and that God hath given a peculiar law concerning the marriage of one with one, and that indissoluble, to all Christians:—for upon supposition hereof all the interest of the Church in matrimonial causes standeth. Which is, therefore, now to be proved: thence enforcing, that whatsoever grows questionable among Christians concerning marriage upon the account of that law which is proper to Christianity, belongs to the Church to determine.

[The rights of the Church and of a Christian state in such causes, how distinguished.]

§ 2. For it is not my purpose to say, that Christian states have nothing to do in matrimonial causes: but that the interess of the state and of the Church (though not distinguishable by the persons, when the same persons belong to both) are to be distinguished by the causes, and grounds, and considerations, upon which they arise and stand; so that what comes from a reason concerning civil society, belong[s] to the state, what from the law which Christians only acknowledge, to the Church, to limit and determine. If then any difference arise among Christians concerning marriage, that supposeth not some provision brought in by the Gospel; I will not undertake, that the determination of it belongs to the Church

[d] Misprinted XII. in folio edition.

[e] See above, c. i. § 2, &c.

BOOK III.

by God's law. On the contrary, therefore, that which becomes questionable upon that account, I challenge to belong to the Church to determine; that is, to those that have right to determine on behalf of the Church. For I appeal to the common sense and experience of the world to evidence this;—that, when any law is given to any society or body, founded upon reasons, which afore the founding of it were not in force, there will of necessity fall out new cases, in which it will be questionable, whether the reason of the law is to take place or not. And let the Christian world be witness, whether it be not requisite to acknowledge, that, if Christianity come from God, then God hath provided a course to secure Christians in conscience, that their marriages are not against the will of God. Therefore, according to Aristotle's reason[f], the law which God hath given Christians concerning marriage being general, and the cases which men's particular occasions produce being infinite, and so not determined by the law, it followeth, that they are referred by God to the determination of that society (that is, of those that act in behalf of it with right to conclude it), which God hath founded upon the acknowledgment of those laws whereof this is one. 115

Marriage of one with one insolubly is a law of Christianity.

§ 3. In the first place, then, I am not afraid to undertake, that the law of the marriages of Christians (that they be of one with one, and indissoluble) is given by our Lord to His Church, and maintained by it. For I am confident to make evidence out of that which is received by all Christians, together with the premisses, that it could neither have come into the world but by Christianity, nor have been maintained so inviolable as it hath been by the canons of the Church. I say then, that it is impossible for any reasonable man to imagine, that so difficult a law as for all men to be tied to one wife indissolubly, as marriage hath always been indissoluble among Christians, could have taken effect among all Christians, had it not been received from the beginning for a part of that Christianity, which our Lord Christ and His disciples delivered to the Church; nor preserved so inviolable as it hath been, but by the society of the Church.

[f] "Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν." Aristot., Polit., IV. iv. 31. And see also his Eth. Nicom., V. vii. 1, x. 3: and Rhetor., I. xiii. 13, 14.

CHAP. XIII.

§ 4. He, that will give a reason how this law could have taken place otherwise, must either allege the law of Moses or the law of the Roman empire; there being no other law extant, when Christianity took place.

[No other way by which such a law could have taken place.]

§ 5. For the law of Moses; it is evident, that at such time as Christianity came into the world, it was counted lawful, according to it, to have more wives than one, and to put away a man's wife by a bill of divorce. I demand then, how this should come to be prohibited by virtue of that law, which was hitherto thought to allow it.

The law of Moses not enjoining it.

§ 6. It will be said, by the true interpretation of the Law; which, having been obscured by the false glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, our Lord by His Gospel (Matt. v. 31, 32; xix. 3—9: Mark x. 11, 12: Luke xvi. 18) clears, and enjoins upon Christians for the future. But I shewed before in the second Book[g], that, when our Lord saith so oft in His Sermon on the Mount, "You have heard it was said to those of old," His meaning is, that Moses said so to their fathers, when he gave them the Law; not that the Scribes and Pharisees said so to their predecessors, when they corrupted[h] it.

[And that, even as truly interpreted.]

§ 7. Besides, there are two things evident in the Scripture beyond contradiction. The first, that divers laws of Moses either make it lawful, or suppose it lawful, to have more wives than one. Deut. xxi. 15—17, the Law supposes a man to have two wives, the one beloved, the other not; and provides accordingly. Exod. xxi. 6—11, the Law gives him leave, that hath bought the daughter of a Jew, to marry her to his son (who, if he have another, is bound to pay her the marriage debt of a wife); so that, if he do not, she is to go free. Deut. xxi. 10—14, the Law enables him, that hath taken a captive in the war whom he likes, to marry her; not conditioning, if he have no other wife. Call these two latter wives, or call them concubines; so long as the law of God allows them, evident it is, that it allows that which Christians by their Christianity think themselves bound to forbear. Add hereunto, that the king is bound not to take too many wives, Deut. xvii. 17: that David is not reproved as transgressing this law, though Solomon is; but, on the contrary, that God imputes it as a favour to him, that He gave him many wives, 2 Sam. xii. 8; which He could

[Divers laws of Moses either make polygamy lawful or suppose it so.]

[1 Kings xi. 1—4.]

[g] c. xxxii. § 32, 33.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "corrupt," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

not do, had He not allowed it: I say, add the practice, as the life of the Law, to the letter, as the carcass of it; and I may justly conclude, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of Moses. Besides, the Law provides, that a Hebrew slave (who may go free at the seventh year), if his master have given him a slave of his own to wife and he have children by her, must part wedlock with his wife, and leave her and [her] children to his master for his goods (Exodus xxi. 3, 4); nullifying the contract of marriage by the choice of him, who prefers his freedom before his wife and [her[1]] children in bondage: a thing utterly inconsistent with the insolubility of marriage by Moses' law.

[Our Lord derives this prohibition of divorce from Paradise, not from the Law.]

§ 8. Secondly, our Lord in the Gospel saith not only, "It was said to them of old, He that puts away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorce, but I say unto you," &c., as Matt. v. 31, 32: but further, when they ask Him, Matt. xix. 7, "Why 116
did Moses then command to give a bill of divorce and send her away?" He answereth, "Moses for your hard-heartedness suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so; now I say unto you, that he that puts away his wife except for fornication, and marries another, commits adultery; and he that marries her that is put away, commits adultery." And all this, having laid His ground afore:—"He, That made them from the beginning, made them male and female, and said, Therefore shall a man leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh; so they are no longer two but one flesh: therefore, what God hath joined, let no man part." Whereby it is evident, that He derives not the prohibition of putting away a wife to take another from any interpretation of Moses' law; to the provision whereof He opposeth the provision which hereby He introduceth: but from the commission which He pretendeth, by virtue whereof He restoreth the primitive institution of Paradise; which the law of Moses had either dispensed with, or did suppose it to have been formerly dispensed with. For He saith not only, "You have heard that it was said to them of old," which may be thought to be understood of the Scribes and Pharisees; but also, 'Moses said,' and "I say," opposing His own saying to that of Moses, so far as prohibiting that which he had allowed imports, without licens-

[Matt. xix. 8, 9.]

[Matt. xix. 4, 5.]

[1] Added from MS.

ing that which was prohibited by the Law. And upon this ground—that by marriage man and wife become "one flesh," —He proceeds to prohibit the divorces which Moses' law alloweth; so that the reason, why marriage is indissoluble, is, because man and wife are "one flesh" by the Gospel of Christ according to the first institution[k] in Paradise. This indeed is the difficulty, which I here suppose already declared; how this first institution lost, or may appear to have lost, the force of a law, till revived by our Lord Christ: though I conceive the evidence of this truth cannot be obstructed by not declaring the reason of it here, St. Paul having so fully laid down the effect and intent of his Master's law, 1 Cor. vii. 1—6:—"Now, of that you writ to me about, it is good for a man not to touch a woman: nevertheless, because of fornication's sake, let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband; let the man render his wife the benevolence that is due, likewise the wife to the husband: the woman hath no power of her body, but the man; likewise the man is not master of his own body, but the wife: defraud not one another, unless upon agreement, for a time, that ye may attend to fasting and prayer; and come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinence." For here it is manifest, that, because man and wife are "one flesh," they have an interess in one another's bodies, not to be disposed of upon any other to the prejudice of it. And, upon this supposition, the marriage of the first Adam in this earthly paradise, being the figure of the marriage between the second Adam and His Church, becomes the rule and measure of the marriages of Christians in the Church; as the same apostle declares at large, Ephes. v. 22—33.

The law of the empire does not aim at the ground of [the Christian law of marriage].

§ 9. And this will serve also to make evidence, that the law of Christians' marriage cannot be imagined to come from the laws of the empire; granting, as the truth is, that they allowed no man to have more wives than one at once. For there is nothing more evident than this, that this mutual interess in one another's body was never acknowledged by pagans, nor cannot be thought to have stood[l] by their laws. It were to be wondered at, otherwise, that (whereas not only

[k] Corrected from MS; "institutions," in orig. text.

[l] Corrected from MS.; misprinted "staud," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

the Romans[m], but in Greece the Athenians[n], and the Germans among the barbarians, as Tacitus saith[o], "contented themselves with one man one wife") God's people should be licensed to have more than one. But he, that reflects upon the consideration in which these pagans restrained themselves, will not find it strange, that God's people should be permitted that, which they denied themselves. For this mutual interest in one another's bodies, which God provided for the means to prevent the sad effects of man's inbred concupiscence in dishonouring their bodies with uncleanness, we shall not find to have been had in consideration among them; or that uncleanness seemed at all dishonourable to man, but [was] prohibited as injurious to men's beds, and the successions of families.

[It restrained the wife but left the husband free.]

§ 10. The laws of the empire made it no adultery for the man to lie with another woman, which in the woman it was[p]; as the Christians complain. Lactantius, *Instit.* vi. 23[q]:— *"Non enim, sicut juris publici ratio est, sola mulier adultera est, quæ habet alium; maritus autem, etiam si plures habeat, a crimine adulterii solutus est: sed Divina lex ita duos in matrimonium, quod est in corpus unum, pari jure conjungit, ut adulter habeatur, si quis compagem corporis in diversa distraxerit"* —"For the woman only is not the adulteress, having another man, but the husband free from the crime of adultery, having more women, as is the course of public law; but the law of God joins two in wedlock, that is, into one body, upon so equal right, that the party is to be counted an adulterer, which shall part the body so compacted into more." St. Hierome, *Epist. ad Oceanum*[r]:—*"Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi; aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit: apud illos viris impudicitiæ frœna laxantur, et solo stupro atque adulterio condemnatis, passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido*

117

["quisquis."]

["condemnato."]

[m] Cic., De Oratore, i. 40.—Sueton., Jul. 52.—And see Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 19; Op., tom. ii. pp. 763, 764: and De Jure Nat. et Gent., lib. v. cc. 6, 7; ibid., tom. i. pp. 522, 523; 525, 526.

[n] So Selden, as quoted in last note: and see Hermann's Polit. Antiq. of Greece, § 119. It would seem to have been more generally and formally the case with the Spartans: see Herod. v. 40, and Müller's Dorians, IV. iv. 3.

[o] "Prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur." Tacit., Germ., 18.

[p] See Bingham, XXII. v. 3.

[q] Lactant., Divin. Institut., lib. vi. De Vero Cultu, c. 23. pp. 578, 579. ed. Spark.

[r] S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxiv., Ad Oceanum; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 658.

permittitur; quasi culpam dignitas faciat, non voluntas: apud nos, quod non licet uxoribus, æque non licet viris, et eadem servitus pari conditione censetur"—"Other are the laws of the Cæsars than that of Christ, other is that which St. Paul than that which Papinian prescribeth: among them the reins are let loose to men's uncleanness, and rape and adultery only prohibited, lust walks free all over stews and maid-slaves, as if the estate, not the will, made the fault: among us, that which wives may not do, neither may husbands; the same obligation is taxed upon equal condition." St. Augustin, *De Adult. Conjug.* ii. 8[s]:—"*Sed isti, quibus displicet ut inter virum et uxorem par pudicitiæ forma servetur, et potius eligunt, maximeque in hac causa, mundi legibus subesse quam Christi, quoniam jura forensia non eisdem fœminas quibus viros pudicitiæ nexibus videnter astringere; legant quid Imperator Antoninus,*" &c.—"But those who like not that the same form of chastity should be observed between man and wife, and had rather, especially in this cause, be under the laws of the world than of Christ, because the court laws do not seem to tie women by the same bond of chastity as men; let them read what the Emperor Antoninus," &c. Who knows not the lawfulness of unnatural lusts among the pagans, that reads the first chapter to the Romans? And can we think it strange, that husbands should not be forbidden unmarried persons?

["fœminis."]

["subditi esse"]

["eisdem quibus fœminas p. n. viros videntur astringere"]

§ 11. Wherefore, where the laws allowed not one man more wives than one, there they punished not wandering lusts, but provided for men's reputation and their successions. Whereas the law of Moses, which gives a man leave to marry a Jewess, sold [to] him for a slave, to himself, or to his son, provides her an interess in his body for the preventing of uncleanness; as you saw before. And, all those idolatrous nations, which God's people were environed with, using more wives than one, it is the less marvel, that God allowed His people something in it, that the race of those that feared Him might not be quite extinguished and over-run by the multitude of them that served idols.

[Its aim was to provide for men's reputation and successions, not to prevent uncleanness.]

§ 12. And this is the true reason, why St. Paul declares those, that are converted to Christianity, not to stand obliged

[Why converts, married before

[s] S. Aug., De Conjugiis Adulterinis, lib. ii. c. 8. § 7; Op., tom. vi. p. 408. B.

BOOK III.

converaion, not bound, according to St. Paul, to stand to those marriages.]

to the wives or husbands which they had taken before; 1 Cor. vii. 12—15: supposing, first, that by Moses' law the marriages of Jews with idolaters were void and unlawful to be used, as we see by Ezra ix., x., and Nehem. x. 30; on the other side, that in the Roman empire the wife as well as the husband had power to divorce herself and to dissolve wedlock[t]: which is argument enough, how far they were from being the marriages of Christians. Whereupon I say, that, the marriages of pagans not being made upon the same ground as the marriages of Christians (which is the mutual interess in one another's bodies), as it is no marvel, on one side, that St. Paul obliges them not to part as Moses did (because those, that were not tied by law, might, for the particular love they had to their wives turned Christians, tie themselves to them alone; and upon those who did so, the wives had great advantage to draw[u] them to Christianity, as he alleges), so it is evident, on the other side, why he allows them to part; to wit, having no confidence of that faith in wedlock from them, which Christians of necessity profess. The reason why the marriages of Jews with Gentiles were void by the Law, is thus given by St. Augustin, *De Adult. Conjug.* i. 18[x]:—"*Namque hoc Dominus aliquando per Esdram prophetam fieri jussit, et factum est; dimiserunt Israelitæ uxores alienigenas, quicunque tunc habere potuerunt; per quas fiebat ut et ipsi ad alienos seducerentur deos, non ut illæ per maritos vero acquirerentur Deo: nondum enim tanta gratia Salvatoris illuxerat, et promissis temporalibus Veteris Testamenti adhuc inhiabat illius populi multitudo: et propterea, cum bona terrena, quæ pro magno expectabant a Domino, viderent etiam his abundare qui multos falsos colebant deos, blanditiis uxorum prius eos verebantur offendere, deinde inducebantur et colere*"—"For this the Lord once commanded to be done by Esdras the prophet, and done it was; the Israelites dismissed their stranger wives, as many as then had of them; by whose means it came to pass, that even they were seduced to strange gods: . . . for as yet so great grace of our Saviour had not shined on them, and the

["fieri" om. edd. Ben.]

["reverebantur"]

118

[t] This was not the case under the early Republic (Plautus, Mercator, IV. vi. 1—8): but became so under the Empire (Juv. vi. 228, Martial. lib. vi. epigr. 7, Cic. Epist. ad Famil. viii. 7.). And see Selden as quoted in § 9. note m.

[u] Corrected also in MS. into, "gain."—"grant," in orig. text.

[x] S. Aug., De Conj. Adult., lib. i. c. 18. § 20; Op., tom. vi. p. 397. B—D.

multitude of that people yet gaped for the temporal promises of the Old Testament: and therefore, seeing those who worshipped many false gods abound with earthly goods, which they expected at God's hands for great matters, first, upon the blandishments of their wives, they were afraid to offend, then they were induced also to worship them." But under the Gospel the marriage of Gentiles, not being against God's law, becomes not unlawful when the one turns Christian. And, justice allowing to part for fornication, unbelief, being a greater fornication, justifies him or her that parts in consideration of it, having never contracted it insoluble.

Evidence from primitive practice. [Case in Justin Martyr.]

§ 13. All this is evident by the ancientest instance of this case, that the Church hath, in Justin the Martyr's Apology for the Christians[y]; or rather in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iv. 17[z], where the passage of Justin is related entire, which in R. Stephen's copy of Justin[a] is maimed in this part. It is the case of a gentleman, so debauched to the lust of women, that he was content his wife should play the good fellow as well as himself, that she might not have to reproach him with. It pleased God, the wife, being reclaimed to Christianity, thought it necessary to relinquish so riotous a husband; but, being persuaded by her friends, had the patience to try, whether there remained any hope of reducing him. And when he, being gone to Alexandria, had flown out more loosely than ever into the debauches of the place, that she might not seem a party to his wickedness, dwelling with him, whom it was in her power to part with, she sent him "τὸ καλούμενον ῥεπούδιον," saith Justin; such a "letter of divorce," as the law alloweth the wife to discharge herself with[b].

[Case of St. Thecla.]

§ 14. Which example justifies the relation of Basil of Seleucia concerning St. Thecla, the first martyr of the womankind, in his first book of her life; that, being contracted to a nobleman of the country called Thamyris, [she[c],] being converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Paul at Iconium,

[y] S. Just. Mart., Apol. II. (olim I). § 2; Op., pp. 88. D—89. D.

[z] pp. 137. D—139. C.

[a] The whole story except the first few lines and the last sentence is omitted in the MSS. of Justin, and accordingly in the edition of his works at Paris in 1551, ex officina Rob. Stephani, p. 129.

[b] In Euseb. as above cited, p. 138. B.—Op. S. Just. Mart., p. 89. B.

[c] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

forsook her spouse, a declared enemy to Christianity[d]. I say, that there is in all this nothing contrary to Christianity, the other example justifies. Only, both of them give us sufficient occasion to say, that St. Paul is not well understood by them, that would have him to extend that cause of divorce which our Lord had delivered, unto the case of desertion upon the conversion of the other to the faith[e]. For if the premisses be true, it is not a divorce which St. Paul allows, but a nullity which he pronounces, of those marriages, which stand not upon profession of that interess in one another's bodies which Christianity requires.

[Why and when St. Augustin is reluctant to grant baptism to a concubine.]

§ 15. And therefore St. Augustin, in his Book *De Fide et Operibus*, cap. xix.[f], doubts of her, who, being a concubine, professeth, that if her lord should dismiss her, she will never marry any body else; whether she is to be admitted to baptism or not. For indeed there is no doubt in the case. Not because the Church from the beginning generally condemned those concubines, who under a profession of fidelity to their own lords (professing interchangeably to know no woman else) contented themselves with that right of a wife which Christianity requires, without the secular privilege of dowry, or the right to it, which obliges the husband to expense answerable. For the same Augustin, *De Bono Conjug.* cap. v.[g],

[d] S. Basil. Seleuc., De Vita S. Theclæ, lib. i.; Op., pp. 239, sq., in fin. Op. S. Greg. Neo-Cæsar. Paris. 1621.—In p. 232. C, S. Basil compares Thecla with S. Stephen, in that the latter "ἡγεμονεύειν τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ .. ἀγωνισαμένων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν τῶν γυναικῶν."

[e] Bellarmine (De Matrim. Sacram., lib. i. c. 12. Controv. tom. ii. pp. 1608, 1609), having laid down, that "conjugium infidelium solvi posse" (in certain cases) .. "extra controversiam est ex doctrina B. Pauli," and going on to notice, that "neque obstat illud, 'Quod Deus conjunxit,'" &c., "neque illud, 'Qui dimiserit uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis,'" &c., answers thus to the last-quoted text—"Dicendum est igitur cum Augustino, .. Christum loqui de matrimonio inter fideles, Paulum de matrimonio contracto inter infideles:" .. concerning which "Dominus nihil præceperat; de his ergo Paulus consilium dat," &c.—But the difference of this view of the case seems rather in statement than in practice.

[f] "De concubina quoque, si professa fuerit nullum se alium cogniturum, etiamsi ab illo cui subdita est dimittatur, merito dubitatur, utrum ad percipiendum baptismum non debeat admitti." S. Aug., De Fide et Opp., c. xix. § 35; Op., tom. vi. p. 185. D, E.

[g] "Solet etiam quæri, cum masculus et fœmina, nec ille maritus nec illa uxor alterius, sibimet non filiorum procreandorum sed propter incontinentiam solius concubitus causa copulantur, ea fide media ut nec ille cum altera nec illa cum altero id faciat, utrum nuptiæ sint vocandæ. Et potest quidem fortasse non absurde hoc appellari connubium, si usque ad mortem alterius eorum id inter eos placuerit, et prolis generationem, quamvis non ea causa conjuncti sint, non tamen vitaverint. .. Ceterum si vel utrumque vel unum horum desit, non invenio quemadmodum has nuptias appellare possumus." Id., De Bono Conjugali, c. v. § 5; ibid., p. 322. C—E.

declares such a conjunction as this to be marriage as to God's law, though not as to the privileges of the world; whereas, not supposing this profession, he condemns it for mere adultery[h]. And they are expressly allowed by the Council of Toledo, can. xvii.[i] Though St. Leo, *Epist.* xcv.[k], allow the marriage of a woman to a man that already hath a concubine, as no
119 married man. For that may be upon supposition, that there never was any such troth between him and his concubine: which must be the reason, why St. Augustin condemns them in another place; Hom. xlix. [*ex*] *Quinquaginta*[l]. St. Jerome[m] truly, and Gennadius (*De Eccles. Dogmat.*, cap. lxxii.[n]), allow the same effect to a concubine as to a wife, in making a man "*digamus*" as to the canons: and for this reason, "*Conjugales ergo tabulæ et jura dotalia, non coitus, ab apostolo condemnantur?*"—in the words of St. Jerome—"Is it then the deed and right of jointure, or carnal knowledge, that the apostle condemneth[o]?" This is not then the reason, why St. Augustin refuses a concubine baptism; but because she is a concubine

[h] See last note.

[i] "Si quis habens uxorem fidelem, si concubinam habeat, non communicet. Ceterum qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur; tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris aut concubinæ (ut ei placuerit), sit conjunctione contentus; alias vero vivens abjiciatur, donec desinat, et per pœnitentiam revertatur." Conc. Tolet. I. (A.D. 400), can. xvii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1226. B.

[k] In answer to a question "de puellis quæ viris concubinas habentibus nupserint," S. Leo replies, that "paterno arbitrio viris junctæ carent culpa, si mulieres quæ a viris habebantur in matrimonio non fuerunt." S. Leon. M., Epist. clxvii. (ii. ed. Quesn., al. xcii.), Resp. ad Inquis. v.; Op., tom. i. p. 1422.—xcv. in the text is a mistake.—In answer to a question also, "de presbytero vel diacono qui filiam suam virginem illi viro in conjugium dederit qui jam habebat conjunctam mulierem, ex qua etiam filios susceperat," S. Leo replies, that "non omnis mulier juncta viro uxor est viri," &c., "aliud est uxor, aliud concubina," &c. "Igitur cujuslibet loci clericus, si filiam suam viro habenti concubinam in matrimonium dederit, non ita accipiendum est, quasi eam conjugato dederit: nisi forte illa mulier, et ingenua facta, et dotata legitime, et publicis nuptiis honestata videatur." Id., ibid., Resp. ad Inquis. iv.; ibid.

[l] "Concubinas vobis habere non licet. Et si non habetis uxores, non licet vobis habere concubinas, quas postea dimittatis ut ducatis uxores; quanto magis damnatio vobis erit, si habere volueritis et concubinas et uxores." S. Aug., Serm. cccxcii. (al. xlix. ex l.), § 2; Op., tom. v. p. 1504. B.—"Serm. xlix. *et* l.," which is the reading above in the text in the folio edit., seems to be merely a mistake.

[m] "Quæram et illud: si quis et ante baptismum habuerit concubinam, et, illa mortua, baptizatus uxorem duceret, utrum clericus fieri debeat, an non? Respondebis posse fieri; quia concubinam habuerit, non uxorem. Conjugales ergo tabulæ," &c. (as above in text to note o). S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxii. (al. lxxxiii.), Ad Ocean.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 650.—See Bingham, IV. v. 2.

[n] "Maritum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum. Neque eum qui unam quidem, sed concubinam, non matronam, habuit." Gennad., De Eccl. Dogm., c. xxxix. (al. lxxii.): in Append. ad Op. S. Aug., tom. viii. p. 79. C.

[o] See above in note m.

BOOK III.

without mutual profession of that interess in one another's bodies, which makes her a wife as to Christianity.

[And why to those who put away their wives and married others.]

§ 16. Nor am I moved to the contrary by seeing, that St. Augustin refused baptism to those that put away their wives and married others, as adulterers manifest: which is the occasion of his book *De Fide et Operibus*[p], as he says in the beginning of it. It was but his opinion, or at the most a local custom.

[How far the Church voided marriages made in unbelief.]

§ 17. For *Concil. Eliber.* can. x.[q]:—"*Si ea quam catechumenus reliquit duxerit maritum, potest ad fontem lavacri admitti; hoc et circa fœminas catechumenas erit observandum*"—"If a woman dismissed by a pretender to Christianity marry a husband, she may be admitted to the font of baptism; the same is to be observed concerning women that pretend to Christianity:"—in case they dismiss [a wife or[r]] a husband that marries again, and then desire[s] baptism: because of the nullity of marriage made in unbelief, when one party turns Christian. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, viii. 33[t]:—"*Πιστὸς ἢ πιστὴ δοῦλοι συναφθέντες, ἢ ἀφιστάσθωσαν ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθωσαν*"—"A Christian man or woman, married in bondage, let them either part or be ejected." Here the marriage of slaves is supposed void to the party that turns Christian. The Church further commands it to be voided. How stands that with that which went afore, viii. 32[u]:—"*Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχει γυναῖκα, ἢ [ἡ] γυνὴ ἄνδρα, διδασκέσθωσαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀρκεῖσθαι*"—"If he have a wife, or a woman a husband, let them be taught to contain themselves to one another;" according to Christ's law. But if the one party be not under Christ's law, so that it cannot be presumed that a slave will do so, they must be parted[x].

[The Christian law of marriage of one to one alone expressed

§ 18. And by these means it remains demonstrated, that it is our Lord Christ alone that hath introduced a new law into His Church of the marriage of one to one alone. Which though it be expressed in the Scripture rightly interpreted: yet, had

[p] "Ad hanc autem disputationem videntur impulsi, quod eos moverit, non admitti ad baptismum, qui dimissis uxoribus alias duxerint, vel fœminas quæ dimissis viris aliis nupserint: quia hæc non conjugia sed adulteria esse Dominus Christus sine ulla dubitatione testatur." S. Aug., De Fide et Opp., c. i. § 2; Op., tom. vi. p. 165. C, D.

[q] Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 971. E.

[r] Added from MS.

[s] Corrected from MS.; "desires," in orig. text.

[t] Constit. Apostol., lib. viii. c. 34. (33 in the text is a mistake); ap. Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 420.

[u] Ibid., p. 417.

[x] "? why this holds when both parties turn Christians." Added in margin in MS.

CHAP. XIII.

not the practice of the Church, having received this right sense for law to their conversation, [given [y]] bounds to the licentiousness of those wits, whose interess might be to destroy the strictness of the law; it cannot be imagined, that there should never be any visible attempt within the body of the Church to infringe the validity of it. For seeing there is no more mention in the Scripture of that dispensation in the first ordinance of marriage in paradise, whereby it was lawful under the Law to have more wives than one; and seeing it is a maxim of such appearance in the Scripture, that nothing is prohibited by the Gospel which the Law alloweth: would no such pretence have framed a plea for those, that never wanted will to study the reconciling of carnality with Christianity? Supposing the consent of a body, whereof they thought themselves to be members, it is no marvel that there would not; not supposing that, it must needs appear utterly unreasonable.

in Scripture, and warranted by the practice of the Church.]

§ 19. As for the insolubility of marriage by divorce, I will not say there hath been so absolute a consent in it by the practice of Christians, as in the marriage of one to one. It is argued, indeed, in the late book called *Uxor Ebraica*[z] (pretending only to relate the opinions and practice of Christians in matter of divorce, but intending—as it should seem by the author's opinion declared elsewhere[a], that there is no such thing as ecclesiastical power, or any society of the Church by God's law—to infer, that the Church hath nothing to do with matrimonial causes; which it hath nothing to do with, if any thing but the law of the Church can secure the conscience in point of divorce), pp. 543, 544[b]; that, so long as the Christians were mingled with the Jews, they observed the judicial laws of the Synagogue, and therefore counted all divorces good before God, which were according to Moses' law: and, therefore, that whatsoever was in force among Christians before Constantine, was in force merely by the voluntary consent of Christians; which was to give way, when the secular power

[How far there hath been consent for the insolubility of marriage by divorce.]

120

[y] Misprinted "giving," in orig. text.

[z] Joan. Selden, Uxor Ebraica, seu de Nuptiis et Divortiis ex Jure Civili, id est, Divino et Talmudico, Veterum Ebræorum, Libb. Tres, 4to. Lond. 1646: et inter Op. J. Selden., tom. ii. pp. 529, sq. ed. Wilkins, Lond. 1726.

[a] Scil. in his work De Synedriis Ebræor. and elsewhere: see above, c. x. § 30. note f; and Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 11, xi. § 1, sq.

[b] Scil. of the ed. of 1646.—lib. iii. c. xxvii. pp. 818, sq. ed. 17--

BOOK III.

should otherwise provide, as in matter of divorce, so in other matrimonial causes[c]. This is that which seems to be intended p. 559[d]. But this pretence is rooted up by proving the Church to be a society and body founded by God, to communicate in the service of God, for the attaining of everlasting life. For thereupon it remains evident, that the laws thereof came not originally from the voluntary consent of Christians (unless you understand that consent whereby they submit to the Christian faith, that they may be saved, and thereupon find themselves tied to submit to them, from whom they receive that faith whereby they hope to be saved), but from those who first delivered Christianity to the Church; that is, from our Lord and His apostles. And, had Christians been left to their own choice, it is not possible they should have imposed upon themselves (that is, that the whole Church should have received) that charge of not divorcing, which the rules and customs of the Church evidence to have been in force through the whole Church, as by and by it will appear. As for the time when the Christians observed Moses' law, that excellent saying of Justin the Martyr takes place;—"*Πείθονται τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους*"—"They obey the laws, and by their own lives go beyond the laws[e]." For the Jews' law was then their civil law; because authorized by the Romans, in as much as they restrained it not. So, by complying with the Jews, they gained the free exercise of their Christianity, as well as invited them to admit

["ἀρισμένοις."]

[c] Of "tria veluti prævia ceu principia," laid down by Selden in lib. iii. c. xxvii. Op., tom. ii. p. 818, "primum est, Judaismi seu disciplinæ circa legalia Judaica, adeoque divortia, in Christianismo primitivo retentio ac usus:" of which he proceeds to allege proofs in pp. 819, 820, concluding, that, "Hæc vero cum ita se habuerint, sequitur ut quicquid juris de divortiis ante Judaici sive ex Hilleliana sive ex Sammæana disciplina a Christo sive correctum fuerit sive confirmatum, id in Christianismo eorum qui ex Judæis erant primitivi sæculi mansisse existimemus: et quicquid eis illicitum hac in re non habebatur, etiam Christianis ex gentibus licitum pro persuasionum discrimine habitum esse non est quod dubitemus."—"Dubitari nequit quin Constantinus Cæsar Christianissimus atque successores ejus tum generi hieratico haud parum plerumque addicti tum institutorum evangelicorum apostolicorumque studiosi, qua nempe juxta doctrinam simul et usum anteriorum temporum edoceri possent, id sanciendo de divortiis stabilirent et servarent quod ab episcoporum reliquorumque primas tenentium mystarum ubilibet cætu aut plerisque eorum pro legitimo atque orthodoxo haberetur. Quæ quidem ratio non solum ad Constantini atque insequentia tempora sed pariter ad antecedentia spectat," &c. Id., ibid., c. xxviii. p. 828.—See below, § 20. notes f—b.

[d] Scil. of the edit. of 1646; the second passage cited in last note.

[e] S. Just. Mart., Epist. ad Diognetum, § 5; Op., p. 536. B.

and receive it. But did they therefore renounce the law of Christ, where it restrained them more than the law of Moses? Did they allow themselves more wives than one, when Moses allowed it the Jews, and they complied with Moses? Certainly, the law that allows a man more wives than one, never constrained any man to make use of that allowance. So well might the Christians, acknowledging Moses' law, acknowledge themselves bound not to use the power of putting away their wives, when Moses' law allowed it.

[Of the liberty in divorce allowed by the Roman laws from Constantine, made as they were by Christian emperors.]

§ 20. But it is further argued there, lib. iii. cap. xxviii. xxix. xxx.[f] (at least it seems upon the same ground to be argued), that the Roman laws, from Constantine to the fall of the Eastern empire, in a manner do allow divorce upon such causes as the sovereign thought fit: which laws, being made by Christian princes, intending to limit that infinite liberty, which the former laws of the empire allowed either party, to dissolve marriage at pleasure, with all that he brought[g], must needs pretend to secure Christians in point of conscience, divorcing upon no other causes than those laws allow. Constantine therefore restrains the liberty of divorce to three causes on either side: on the wives' side, if the husband should murder, poison, or rob graves; on the husbands', if the wife should be an adulteress, an impoisoner, or a bawd[h]:—and this, at such time as he advised with bishops in

[f] c. xxviii., pp. 827, sq., treats of the "morum ac usus Christianismi primitivi circa divortia reliquiæ, ac constitutionum de eisdem Cæsarianarum a Christianismo primum in imperium Romanum sub Constantino recepto usque in seculum Justinianæum:" c. xxix., pp. 836, sq., of the "jus Cæsareum quod post Justiniani seculum in imperio Romano, maxime in Oriente, circa divortia obtinuit usque in tempora recentiora:" c. xxx., pp. 840, sq., of the "leges moresque circa divortia in Christianismo Ostrogothorum et Wisigothorum (per Italiam, Hispaniam, Galliam), Burgundionum veterum, Alemannorum, imperii Carolini seu occidentis populorum, Britannorum veterum, Anglorum, Scotorum, Hibernorum."—c. xxviii., p. 828, starts with the position, that "simulac ferme Christianismus in imperium Romanum receptus est, id est. . . anno Christo 331, Basso et Ablavi bus, liberius quod (ut ante ostenditur) usurpatum est divertendi jus pro alterutrius conjugum sive libitu sive qualicumque causæ obtentu a Constantino coercitum est."—What follows above in the text, is taken from cc. xxviii., xxix. of Selden.

[g] So in orig. text.

[h] "Imp. Constantinus A. ad Ablavium PF. P.—Placet, mulieri non licere propter suas pravas cupiditates marito repudium mittere; . . nec vero maritis, per quascunque occasiones uxores suas dimittere. Sed in repudio mittendo a fœmina hæc sola crimina inquiri, si *homicidam*, vel *medicamentarium*, vel *sepulchrorum dissolutorem*" (al. leg. "*violatorem*), maritum suum esse probaverit, ut ita demum laudata omnem suam dotem recipiat. . . . In masculis etiam si repudium mittant, hæc tria crimina inquiri conveniet, si *mœcham*, vel *medicamentariam*, vel *con-icem*, repudiare voluerit. . . Dat.

BOOK III.

all that he did, granting then an appeal to their courts by an act dated the same year (as it is probable), and lately published in Sirmondus his Appendix to Theodosius his Code[i], without date for the year, but directed to the same Ablavius P.P. to whom the former[k] is directed, *Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xvi[l].:—which Theodosius the younger, a very Christian prince, extends to many more[m]: Justinian (the legislative humour being then predominant) limits the matter otherwise, as he thought fit[n]: his successor Justin goes beyond him, in allowing divorce upon consent of parties though at neither party's choice[o]. Which law is not found to have been repealed, till it was left out of that collection of laws called the Basilica, into which Leo the Wise about the year 900 compiled all the laws which he meant should stand unrepealed[p]. The particulars you may see curiously collected there[p]. Which I should make no account of; did it not appear also by sundry testimonies of later times there alleged[q], that the Greek Church did proceed according to the said laws in blessing marriages made upon such divorces, and consequently allowing the communion of the Church to those that made them. Balsamon upon *Syn.* vi. *can.* lxxxviii.[r]

iii. Non. Maii, Basso et Ablavio Coss." Cod. Theodos., lib. iii. tit. 16. leg. 1. tom. i. p. 352. ed. Ritter, Lips. 1736: quoted by Selden, Uxor. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxviii. p. 829.

[i] "Imp. Constantinus Aug. Ablavio Præfecto Prætor.:—... Omnes itaque caussæ, quæ vel prætorio jure vel civili tractantur, episcoporum sententiis terminatæ perpetuo stabilitatis jure firmentur, nec liceat ulterius retractari negotium, quod episcoporum sententia deciderit... Dat. iii. Nonas Maias, Constantinopoli." Append. Cod. Theodos., lex 1: a Sirmondo edit. Paris. 1631, pp. 1—4; and p. v. in fin. tom. vi. ed. Ritter.—"Extat hæc ad calcem codicis Theodosiani. Caret quidem consulibus, sed ut prior" (scil. that quoted above in note h), "tum iii. Nonis Maii tribuitur, tum Ablavio, id est, eidem præfecto prætorio, datur; licet Baronius anno collocet 314." Selden, as above quoted, p. 830: inferring, that it was dated "eodem forsan anno dieque" with the other.

[k] Corrected from MS.; "form," in orig. text.

[l] Quoted above in note h.

[m] By a law of Theodosius the Younger and Valentinian III., A.D. 449, Cod. Justin., lib. v. tit. xvii. De Repudiis, &c., c. 8. p. 162. b; naming many other legitimate grounds of divorce. See it in Selden, as above quoted, p. 832.

[n] Novell. Constit. xxii. (Authent. Collat. iv.) tit. 3, 4. pp. 44, 45.—See Selden, ibid., pp. 834, 835.

[o] "Θεσπίζομεν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν τὰς ἐκ συναινέσεως διαλύσεις ἐπὶ τῶν γάμων ποιεῖσθαι... Εἰ γὰρ ἀμοιβαδὸν ἡ διάθεσις τοὺς γάμους συνίστησιν, εἰκότως ἐναντία γνώμη τούτους κατὰ συναίνεσιν διαλύει, τῶν ταύτην δηλούντων στελλομένων διαζυγίων." Novell. Constit. cxl. Auth. Collat. ix. tit. 23. c. 1. p. 198.—See Selden, ibid., p. 835.

[p] So Selden, ibid., c. xxix. pp. 836—838.

[q] Selden, ibid., pp. 838—840; and c. xxxii. p. 855: from whom both the preceding and the following quotations are taken by Thorndike.

[r] "Ἐπεὶ δὲ φησὶν ὁ κανὼν ὡς ἐκείνη ἡ γυνὴ τιμωρεῖται ὡς μοιχαλὶς, ἡ ἀλόγως ἀναχωρήσασα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, εἴποι τις, ὡς ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐλόγως ἀναχωρήσασα οὐ τιμωρηθήσεται. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ἀλη-

121 defines an unreasonable cause of divorce to be that, which the judge (to wit, according to the law) allows not. Nor makes he any exception to them from any canon of the Church, writing upon Photius his *Nomocanon*, tit. xiii. 4. 30[s]. And upon *Can. Carthag.* cv.[t], alleging Justinian *Novell.* cxvii.[u], he saith, that the canon is not in force (to wit, the law having provided otherwise); referring himself to that which he had written upon the sixth synod, quoted afore. Harmenopulus also, *in Prochiro*[v], says plainly, that divorces were judged amongst them by the imperial laws. And Matthæus Monachus, *Quæst. Matrim.*, *Juris Græco-Rom.* tomo i. p. 507[x]. So also the canons of Alexius, Patriarch of Constantinople[y] about 1030, alleged by our author out of a written copy, p. 613[z]. And Michael Chrysocephalus, upon *Can. Apost.* xlviii., p. 600[a]. Besides Matthæus Blastares *in Nomocan.*,

θές. οὔτε γὰρ μετὰ εὐλόγου αἰτίας οὔτε μετὰ παραλόγου δύναται ἡ γυνὴ ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χωρὶς δικαστικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, καθῶς τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ θ'. κανὼν τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου," κ.τ.λ. Theodor. Balsamon, in can. lxxxvii. (not lxxxviii.) Conc. VI., in Trullo: ap. Bevereg., Synodic., tom. i. p. 259. E, F: quoted by Selden, ibid., p. 839.

[s] Theodor. Balsamon, Schol. in Photii Nomocan. tit. xiii. c. 4. pp. 145, sq. ed. C. Justellus. 4to. Paris. 1615: and in the Biblioth. Juris Canon. Vet., by Voellus and H. Justellus, tom. ii. pp. 1094, sq. Paris. 1661: quoted by Selden, ibid., p. 837.—30 above in the text seems to be a mistake.

[t] *Ἡ μὲν παροῦσα σύνοδος θεσπίζουσα μὴ ἑτέρῳ συνάπτεσθαι τὴν μεταστᾶσαν ἐκ τοῦ συζύγου αὐτῆς, μηδὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ ἑτέρας συνοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄζυγας εἶναι ἢ καταλλάσσεσθαι, παρακαλεῖ διὰ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος καταναγκάζεσθαι πάντας οὕτω ποιεῖν. Σὺ δὲ γίνωσκε, ὅτι ἡ ριζ' Ἰουστιάνειος νεαρὰ, ἡ κειμένη ἐν τῷ ζ. τίτλῳ τοῦ κή. βιβλίου, ἄλλως τὰ περὶ τῶν λύσεων τῶν γάμων μετετύπωσε. καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸν πξ. κανόνα τῆς ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ συνόδου, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ εὑρήσεις πολλὰ χάριν τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως. τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι κανόνι περιεχόμενα, προγενέστερα ὄντα κατὰ πολῦ ἠπράκτησαν."* Theod. Balsam., in Conc. Carthag. can. cv.: ap. Bevereg., Synodic., tom. i. p. 639. C, D.

[u] Novell. Constit. cxvii. Auth. Coll. viii. tit. 18. cc. 8, sq. pp. 157, 158.

[v] This is Selden's interpretation of the rules laid down by Const. Harmenopulus; viz., that they were in fact borrowed from the Imperial laws. See Constantin. Harmenopulus, *Πρόχειρον Νόμων*, seu Promptuarium Juris Civilis, lib. iv. tit. 12. pp. 345, sq. ed. D. Gothofred. 1587: quoted by Selden, ibid., p. 839.

[x] Matthæi Monachi sive Blastaris Syntagma Alphabeticum, lit. T. c. xiii. "*Ὁ γάμος ἐκ ποίων αἰτιῶν λύεται:*" ap. Bevereg., Synodic., tom. ii. P. ii. pp. 73—75: et Leunclav., Jus Græco-Roman., tom. i. lib. viii. quo continentur Matthæi Monachi Quæst. et Causæ Matrimoniales, pp. 507, sq.: quoted by Selden, ibid., c. xxxii. p. 855.

[y] "Certe et in codice veteri MS. Canonum orientis habentur *ἐκ συνοδικῶν κρίσεων*—' ex judiciis synodicis'—Alexii patriarchæ Constantinopolitani canones hi de matrimonii solutionibus cum primis hic observandi. Vixit ille sub annum 1030, idem cujus aliqua habentur in Zonaræ editione." Selden, ibid.: quoting among others this canon of his—"*Τῶν ἐκ συμφώνου ὅπερ ἀπείρηται τοῖς νόμοις τῶν γάμων διαλυσαμένων ὁ τοὺς δευτέρους γάμους εὐλογῶν ἱερεὺς τῆς ἰδίας ἐκπεσεῖται τιμῆς.*" They appear to be still unpublished: see Harles's Fabricius, lib. v. c. 41; tom. xi. pp. 558, 559.

[z] Scil. of edit. 1646.

[a] "Et Michael Chrysocephalus nondum editus, '*Ἀπολελυμένη*,' inquit ibi" (scil. in can. Apost. xlviii.), "'*λέγεται ἡ μὴ κατὰ νόμους τοῦ οἰκείου*

BOOK III.

alleged by Arcudius p. 517[b]: where he, being a Greek, confesseth, that the Greek Church had sometimes practised according to the civil laws; which, had they not secured the conscience, it could not, it ought not to have done. And what case can there be in point of marriage, wherein the law of the land secures not the conscience, if in point of divorce it do? Or where is [then[c]] the indissolubility of marriage, and the interest of the Church in marriage grounded upon it?

[Selden's interpretation of the word πορνεία in the Gospels.]

§ 21. But because it would be too gross for a Christian to say, that man's law, allowing divorce, can secure a Christian in conscience against God's law, forbidding it (our Lord having said, "Whoso puts away his wife but for adultery"—"εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ"—"and marries another, and he that marries her that is put away, commits adultery;" Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, Mark x. 11, 12, Luke xvi. 18): it is pretended there, p. 455[d], that πορνεία in the Gospels signifies any thing that is dishonest; and that what the state judges dishonest, is just ground of divorce.

[Dispute between the schools of Hillel and Shammai respecting the extent of the Jewish law concerning divorces.]

§ 22. You must know, that in our Lord's time there was a difference (which is supposed to be the occasion of the question made to our Lord) between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (two great heads of the Pharisees) about the meaning and extent of the law concerning divorces, Deut. xxiv. 1, &c.: which allows him that likes not his wife, because he "hath found," or having found, "matter of nakedness" in her, to put her away. For Shammai confined the intent of it to that which is dishonest and deserveth shame, as nakedness doth[e]. But Hillel extended it to any

ἀνδρὸς διαζυγεῖσα.'" Selden, ibid., c. xxxi. p. 848:—p. 600. edit. 1646.

[b] Scil. Matthæus Monachus as quoted above in note x: quoted by Arcudius, De Concord. Eccles. Occid. et Orient., lib. vii. De Matrimonio, c. 18. p. 517. 1. C; under the designation of "Matthæus Blastarius in suo Nomocanone."

[c] Added from MS.

[d] "Ebræis ut a Talmudicis eorum disciplina traditur uti et Hellenistis, illarum vocum" (scil. πορνεία and its Syriac and Rabbinical equivalents), "et quæ sunt reliqua inde facta, significatio, quantum ad rem præ manibus, est aut strictior seu primaria, seu qua denotant tantum concubitum citra matrimonium legitimum non minus nuptarum quam innuptarum: aut latior atque secundaria, quæ etiam alia quæ sunt turpia, turpisve, qua honesto illud opponitur, nomine veniunt illis indicantur." Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxiii. p. 790: and see the whole chapter, and c. xxvii. pp. 824—826.—p. 454, in the text above, seemingly should be p. 494; viz., the latter part of c. xxiii. in ed. 1646.

[e] "Ex sententia scholæ Sammæanæ uxor marito haud erat repudianda . . nisi si inveniebat in ea rem turpitudinis, secundum id quod scriptum est,

thing that offends the husband; as, say they, for example, if she burn his meat[f]. As for R. Akiba, that allowed it if a man can get a fairer wife[g], his opinion is but the enlargement of Hillel's; which expoundeth Moses his words, "If he have found in her matter of nakedness[h]," to signify either nakedness or other matter besides. This question then being on foot at that time, it is argued, p. 478[i], &c., that our Lord intends nothing else but the resolution of it; the Pharisees demanding nothing else, and therefore making no opposition to that which he resolves, Matt. xix. 3—9.

[Alleged by Selden to extend the sense of *πορνεία* as used by our Lord.]

§ 23. And thereupon great pains is bestowed, cap. xxiii. and xxvii.[k], to shew, that our Lord's exception—"*παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας*," or "*μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*,"—signifies no more than דבר ערוה in Moses according to the opinion of Shammai. For if we suppose our Lord to have spoke in that Hebrew which the Jews then spake, and now we read in the Talmud and Chaldee paraphrases; then must He use the word which the Law useth, דבר ערות (which the Gospels must translate *πορνείαν*): if in Syriac, the word זניותא, properly signifying the uncleanness of the stews, is necessarily understood by the circumstance of the place where it is used, to signify all uncleanness, but may be extended to all sin, whereby we go a whoring from God, as the Scripture uses to speak[l]. So, according to this opinion, our Lord, excluding only arbitrary divorce, allows it where Moses according to Shammai allows it; for any cause of dishonesty, or that deserves shame, as nakedness does. And if these premisses be pertinent to that which follows, that is, to justify those divorces that are made according to the imperial laws related afterwards (for the author all the while protests to determine nothing, p. 496[m]); the inference must be this,—that those causes of divorce, which Christian powers by their laws have allowed or

'Quoniam invenerit in ea turpitudinem rei.'" Selden, ibid., c. xviii. p. 762: from the Mishna, tit. Gittin. c. ix.

[f] "Juxta scholam Hillelianam etiam ob cibum ejus nimio ardore coctum, . . secundum id ipsum quod scriptum est, 'Quoniam invenerit,'" &c. Selden, ibid., pp. 762, 763: from the Mishna, ibid.

[g] "Ex sententia etiam Rabbi Aquibæ, si invenerit aliam pulchriorem aut sibi commodiorem, juxta id etiam quod scribitur, 'Si non invenerit ea gratiam in oculis ejus.'" Selden, ibid., p. 763: from the Mishna, ibid.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "wickedness," in orig. text.

[i] Selden, ibid., c. xxiii. pp. 787, sq.: pp. 478, sq. ed. 1646.

[k] Id., ibid., pp. 787, sq.; 824, sq.

[l] So Selden, ibid., pp. 790, sq.

[m] "Nihil hic definimus de loci sensu." Selden, ibid., c. xxiii. p. 795: —p. 496. ed. 1646.

BOOK III.

shall allow, are the true interpretation of that cause, which Moses under the term of ערות or "nakedness," our Lord of "πορνεία," which is usually translated "fornication," alloweth. 122

[Our Lord's words not an interpretation but an abrogation of the law of Moses.]

§ 24. I forbear to relate any more of that, which is alleged to shew, that πορνεία in the words of our Lord may signify the same that ערות in Moses according to R. Akiba[n]. For the reason, which I rely upon, admits no consideration of it. The resolution of our Lord is manifestly inconsistent with the law of Moses, and therefore with any interpretation that can be thought agreeable to it. For when He saith,—"Moses for your hard heartedness . . . but I say unto you," &c.; what can be more evident, than that He repeals the provision of the Law, and restrains what Moses had allowed? Is it not manifest, that, when He allegeth, that God having made first one man and one woman joined them in marriage to be parted no more, He granteth, that Moses' law had abated of this, and declareth the reviving of God's first appointment among His own disciples? Can the allowance of divorce, according to the Law, stand with the primitive institution of paradise, more than having more wives at once? Can we suppose the Pharisees come to our Lord to decide between Hillel and Shammai, Who condemns all Pharisees? Or is it a marvel, that He, Who pretended to be the Messias, should introduce a provision differing from Moses, and from all that pretended only to interpret his law? That there should be no further dispute of the matter of His resolution, when there lay no dispute but about His authority, whether from God or not? Suppose our Lord, to them no more but a prophet, to His disciples the Messias; why should they dispute that, which they knew His disciples admitted, when they saw the primitive appointment of God, related by Moses, clear on His side? That is to say, why should they not be put to silence now as well as other times, when they could not answer His allegations out of the Scriptures? It is therefore utterly unreasonable to imagine, that our Lord, intending to restrain those divorces which Moses' law alloweth, should use a term of the same extent with that which He intended to restrain. The Jews indeed insist upon this;

[n] Scil. in Selden, ibid., pp. 789, sq.

that a prophet had always power to suspend the obligation of any positive precept for the time; as Elias, that of sacrificing no where but at Jerusalem (Levit. xvii. 1—9, Deut. xii. 5—18, 26, 27, xiv. 21—26), when he sacrificed in mount Carmel (1 Kings xvii. 22—39). But our Lord introducing a new law instead of Moses his law, their ancestors crucified Him therefore; and they to this day maintain it.

[The prophet Malachi's words about divorce.]

§ 25. Indeed there is cause to believe, that the prophet Malachy, reproving the oppressions which the Jews then laid upon their wives for the love of strangers, which they had married over their heads contrary to the Law (Mal. ii. 14—16), propounds the liberty of divorce, which the Law allows, for an expedient acceptable to God, as His own provision: when he saith, "For the Lord God of Israel saith, If thou hatest, put away;" as the Jews there expound it[o]. For they[p], who construe it, "The Lord God of Israel saith, that He hateth putting away," cannot give account, why the prophet should mention the matter of divorce, where his purpose is to blame the oppression of Israelitish wives for the love of strangers married against the Law. Whereas, when he addeth, "For one covereth violence with his garment, saith the Lord of Hosts," he aggravateth the same fault by this consideration, that the covenant of marriage (signified usually in the Scripture by covering the woman with the man's garment, Ezek. xvi. 8, Ruth iii. 10) is employed for a means of oppression and violence upon her, that out of love entered into it. And, the prophet Malachi holding his commission by virtue of Moses' law, how shall he say, that God hates that, which by His law He provided, though for a remedy of further mischief?

[How far the law secured those, who under it put away their wives, in point of conscience.]

§ 26. There is indeed great dispute, whether the allowance of Moses' law did secure them, that put away their wives under the law, in point of conscience to God[q]. And it is certain, if that be true, which I have settled in the second Book[r] concerning the inward and outward, the civil and spiritual obedience of God under Moses' law, and the difference between them, that it could not always do it. For could he, that knew

[o] See Selden, ibid., c. xxi. p. 777.

[p] It is so in the English authorized version.

[q] See Bellarm., De Matrim. Sacram., lib. i. c. 17; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1643. A, sq.

[r] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. v. § 10, viii. § 12—17, ix. § 15, x. § 15, &c.

BOOK III.

he put away his wife for lust or for wrath or for advantage, 123 think that he loved his wife, whom all men know they are to love above others, being bound to love all Israelites as himself? But, on the contrary, he that had lighted upon a wife of crooked conditions, and having done his reasonable endeavour to reclaim her had found her incorrigible, how should he think he did her wrong, using the power, that God's law had given him so moderately, in putting her away? Had God given them a law, which could in no case be used without sin? For had the "nakedness," which the Law allowed for a just cause of divorce, signified nothing else but that which our Lord by His Gospel allows; what question remains, whether the conscience be secured by it or not? But among Christians, covenanting with God upon express promises of the world to come, under a stricter and more excellent rule of obedience, with promise of helps proportionable to go through with it, is it marvel, if an obligation be acknowledged of bearing with patience the manners of the wife, which a man himself chooses, never giving over the hope of reducing her to reason until she falsify the trust of wedlock? That, when the matter is come to that point, it should no more be matter of precept, but matter of counsel, to endure such a wife, when the infamy of a man's bed may be saved, and hope of reclaiming her may remain? So that the question, whether the meaning of Moses his words be the meaning of Christ's, is the same in this particular of marriage, which the Christians have generally with the Jews,—whether our Lord Jesus, perfecting the Law by bringing in the Gospel, be the Christ or not. The resolution whereof, as it necessarily infers the difference between them which I have settled in the second Book[s], so that difference will as necessarily infer this provision of our Lord to be several from that of Moses.

[Origen.] § 27. Out of Origen, *In Matt.* [Hom.[t]] vii.[u], a pleasant con-

[s] See above in note r.

[t] Added in MS.

[u] "Τάχα δὲ καὶ τῶν τολμώντων τις Ἰουδαϊκὸς ἀνὴρ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίᾳ, φήσει ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰπὼν, Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσει τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, ἐπέτρεψεν ἀπολῦσαι τὴν γυναῖκα, ὁμοίως Μωσεῖ, ὃν εἶπε πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τοῦ λαοῦ νενομοθετηκέναι καὶ ταὐτόν γε φήσει εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πορνείας, δι' ὃν εὐλόγως ἂν γυνὴ ἐκβληθείη ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς, τὸ, Ὅτι εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα." Origen., In Matth. tom. xiv. § 24. (Hom. vii. in Matt. in older edd., e.g. tom. iii. fol. 18. B. Paris. 1512); Op., tom. iii. p. 647. C:—quoted by Selden,

ceit is alleged:—*"Forsitan audax aliquis et Judaicus vir adversus doctrinæ Salvatoris nostri dicet, quoniam et Jesus dicens. 'Quicunque dimiserit uxorem suam excepta causa fornicationis facit eam mœchari,' permisit uxorem dimittere, quemadmodum Moyses, quem retulit propter duritiem cordis Judæorum hoc præcepisse: et hanc ipsam inquiet esse causam fornicationis, per quam juste uxor a viro dimittitur, secundum quam et Moyses præcipit dimittere uxorem, si inventa fuerit res turpis in ea"*— "Perhaps some bold Jewish fellow may say (crossing our Saviour's doctrine), that even Jesus, saying, 'Whosoever shall send away his wife but for fornication, makes her commit adultery,' hath given leave to put a wife away; even as Moses, who He relateth did command this for the Jews' hard-heartedness: and will say, that this is the very same cause of fornication, for which a wife is justly put away by a husband, according to which Moses also commands to put away a wife, if a foul thing be found in her." Whence it is argued, that there were then, that expounded our Lord's words to the same intent with Moses[v]. That there were, Origen says not; that there might be, I grant. But they must be "Jews," and "adversaries to our Saviour's doctrine," that should do it. For he, that should say so, must blame our Saviour for pretending to contradict Moses (which Origen supposeth no Jew could deny), saying indeed the same thing otherwise; he must contradict the synagogue for allowing divorce, where Moses allowed it not, if the "foul thing," which Moses allows divorce for, be only that "fornication" for which our Lord allows it. Then, he, that would make use of Origen to prove, that the terms of our Lord and of Moses may signify the same thing, must first answer the argument wherewith he convinces him that thus should blaspheme our Lord. Adultery, saith he, is no cause of divorce but of death by Moses' law; therefore that dishonest thing, for which the Law allows divorce, is not adultery[w]. In fine, he that examines all that is said or can be said

["adversans"]

["duritiam"]

Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxiii. p. 796, from the old Latin translation, with the two trifling inaccuracies marked in the margin.

[v] "Certe nec prætereundus est hic locus Origenis, unde haud difficile videtur conjectare τῆς πορνείας in re divortii latiorem significationem, qualem memoravimus, a Judæis saltem aliquot Hellenismo suo illius ævi assuetioribus esse admissam." Selden, as quoted in last note.

[w] "'Αλλὰ λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴπερ ἡ κατὰ τὸν νόμον μοιχωμένη λι-

BOOK III.

of the diverse significations of *πορνεία* in the Scriptures, will find but two: the one proper, in the case of man and wife; the other, by translation to the alliance between God and His people, perpetually compared to a marriage all over the Scripture. That this signification cannot take place here, this may serve to evidence;—that the cause, upon which our Lord allows divorce, must be something between the wife and the husband, as it was in the Law. For would it not be impertinent, to punish transgression of God's covenant with dissolution of wedlock?

[*Πορνεία* signifieth more in Scripture than in Attic Greek.]

§ 28. The proper signification of *πορνεία* indeed is larger in the Scriptures than according to the Attic Greek; to signify all uncleanness, as[x] the matter requires. For when St. Paul says (1 Cor. v. 1), "*Ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία;*" "for a man to have his father's wife" would not have been *πορνεία* in ordinary Greek. But it is no marvel, if the Jews that spoke Greek, call all that *πορνεία*, which their usual language called זנות, the Syriac זניותא: so that *πορνεία* in our Lord's words is exactly expounded by Hesychius[y], and the Etymologick[z], turning "*πόρνος, μοιχός;*" who, being Christians, do usually expound that property of the Greek, which is usual among Christians, out of the Bible. 121

[Evidence from primitive practice respecting divorce.]

§ 29. And this is demonstrated to be the signification here meant, because it is not possible to shew, that ever there was any opinion, rule, or practice, received in the Church, that it is lawful to divorce but in case of adultery[a]. I do truly conceive, that there was anciently a difference of opinion and practice in the Church, whether it be lawful to marry again upon putting away a wife for adultery; or whether the bond of marriage remain undissoluble, when the parties are separated from bed and board for adultery[b]. But this difference argues consent in the rest; that is, that, excepting the case of adultery, there is no divorce to be among Christians. Neither do I now speak of the base times of the Eastern Em-

θοβοληθήσεται, δηλονότι οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο νοεῖται τὸ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ δεῖ γράφειν βιβλίον ἀποστασίου," κ.τ.λ. Origen, as quoted in note u, D.

[x] Misprinted "at" in fol. edit.

[y] "Μοιχοῖς — Πόρνοις." Hesych., Lexic. sub v. *μοιχοῖς*, tom. ii. p. 614. ed. Alberti.

[z] "Μοιχός — ὁ πόρνος." Etymol. Magnum, sub v. *μοιχός*: p. 589. ed. Sylburg. 1594.

[a] See Bingham, XXII. v. 1.

[b] See Bingham, XXII. ii. 12: and Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxxi. Op., tom. ii. pp. 848, sq.

pire; of which I will give you such an account as I find most reasonable, when I come to the difficulty that is proposed[c]. I say, it may appear, that the Church originally granted no divorce but for adultery; whether the innocent party, or whether both, were allowed to marry again, living the other, or not.

§ 30. It is acknowledged by our author[d], that Tertullian (*Cont. Marc.* iv. 34[e], *De Pudicitia* cap. xvi.[f]) both expounds our Lord's words in this sense, and determines against divorces out of them: that Origen (*In Matt.* Hom. vii.[g]) accepts them in the same sense, and disputes for it: that Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* ii. *sub finem*[h]) condemns the divorces which the Roman laws then licensed, and marriage upon them: that St. Chrysostom (*In Matt.* Hom. xvii.[i] and lxiii.[k], *Libro de Virginitate*[l], *Serm.* i. *de debitore decem millium*[m]), St. Ambrose (*In Luc.* lib. xvii.[n]), St. Jerome (*Epist.* xxx.[o], *In Matt.* xix.[p]), St. Basil (*Ad Amphil.* can. ix.[q], *In Hexa-em.* Hom. vii.[r]), Asterius (*Hom. ult.*[s]), St. Augustin (*De Adulterinis Conjugiis ad Pollentium*[t]), follow the same sense, and

[Selden himself admits, that antiquity is against him.]

[c] See below, c. xiv. § 34.

[d] Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxvii. p. 826, c. xxxi. pp. 850—853. The passages are too long to be quoted here at length: but all bear out the truth of Selden's admission.

[e] Tertull., Adv. Marcion., lib. iv. c. 34; Op., pp. 449. D—450. C.

[f] Id., De Pudic., c. xvi.; ibid., p. 568. D: written when a Montanist.

[g] "Ζητηθείη δ' ἂν εἰ διὰ τοῦτο κωλύει" (scil. our Lord in Matt. v. 32) "*τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ μὲν ἀλῷ, φέρε δ' εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ, ἢ ἀναιρέσει, παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τοῦ γεννηθέντος αὐτοῖς παιδίου, ἢ ἐφ' οἱῳδήποτε φόνῳ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑφαιρουμένη καὶ συλῶσα τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεθείη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, μὴ πορνεύουσα δὲ, ζητήσαι τις ἂν εἰ εὐλόγως τὴν τοιαύτην ἀποβαλεῖ,*" κ.τ.λ. Orig., In Matt. tom. xiv. § 24; Op., tom. iii. p. 648. C, B.—And see above, in § 27. note u.

[h] Clem. Alex., Strom., lib. ii. c. 23; Op., tom. i. pp. 502, sq.; and especially p. 506. See below, c. xiv. § 12.

[i] S. Chrys., In Matt. Hom. xvii. § 4; Op., tom. vii. p. 228. A, B.—See below, c. xiv. § 21. note b.

[k] Id., ibid., Hom. lxii. al. lxiii. § 2, 3; ibid., p. 622. B—E.

[l] Id., De Virginitate, § 28; ibid., tom. i. p. 288. D, E.

[m] Id., De Decem Mill. Talent. Debitore Hom., § 7; ibid., tom. iii. p. 13. C.

[n] S. Ambros., Expos. Evang. sec. Luc., lib. viii. (xvii. in the text is a mistake of Selden's), § 2—8; Op., tom. i. pp. 1469. E—1472. B.

[o] S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxiv. (al. xxx.), Ad Oceanum de morte Fabiolæ; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 658.

[p] "Sola fornicatio est quæ uxoris vincat affectum," &c. Id., In Matt. c. xix.; Op., tom. iv. P. i. p. 87.

[q] S. Basil., Epist. clxxxviii. (al. i.), Ad Amphiloch. de canonibus, can. ix.; Op., tom. iii. pp. 273. D—274. B.—See below, c. xiv. § 19. note x.

[r] Id., In Hexa-em., Hom. vii. § 5, 6; Op., tom. i. p. 68. B, C: denying "*τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον*," or again drunkenness, to be a sufficient cause of separation between man and wife.

[s] Asterius, Hom. ult. (in the Latin translation), In loc. Evang. sec. Matt., An liceat homini dimittere uxorem quacunque ex causa: ap. Bibl. PP., tom. iv. pp. 707. A, sq.: and see especially p. 708. G.—For the Greek, see below, c. xiv. § 23. note k.

[t] S. Aug., De Adulter. Conjugiis ad Pollentium, lib. i. c. 22. § 28; Op., tom. vi. p. 401. D—F.

BOOK III.

deliver the same doctrine: which seems to be also St. Gregory Nazianzen's [u], when he calls a wife "[τυκτὸν] κακὸν οὐδ' ἀπόπεμπτον"—"an evil, which being got is not to be let go." The record is yet to seek, that may shew any such opinion in the Church; and, having escaped so diligent hands, I may well challenge all the world to produce it.

[The exception taken by him after Grotius out of Origen.]

§ 31. For whereas it is said, p. 155[x], that Origen (*ubi supra*[y]) argues, that there are faults no less destructive to any society or communion in wedlock than adultery is; and, therefore, that adultery is named but as an instance, in a sentence to be extended by reason of equity necessarily inherent in the case to all faults equally destructive to marriage: I grant, that Origen hath so argued, and that Grotius (out of whose Annotations upon Matt. v. 31, 32, all this dust hath been raised[z]) hath seconded him in it. But it is one thing to say, that, by consequence of reason, where the fault is no less destructive to marriage than adultery is, there ought to be the same liberty of divorce; another thing to say, that, by the letter of our Lord's words, all causes of divorce, that Moses' law or the civil laws of Christian states allow, are allowable in point of conscience. The one leaves the weight of the fault, and the equality of it with adultery, to be judged by the Church. The other takes away the Church, and the judgment of it; which Origen never meant to do. Again I say, that those things, which are disputed by Origen, were never held of such consideration to the Church, that either the opinion or much more the practice of the Church should be valued by them. It is plain he was allowed so to argue; but it is as plain, that his arguments took no effect, either in the opinion, or in the practice of the Church.

[St. Augustin.]

§ 32. As for St. Augustin, who was so much perplexed, whether our Saviour might not mean spiritual fornication in those words (*Retract.* i. 19[a]), having delivered it for his opi-

[u] S. Greg. Naz., Carm. de Virginitate, 627: Op., tom. ii. p. 332.—"Malum adscitum nec reparabile:" ex interpr. ed. Bened.—Thorndike had written "κτητὸν" for "τυκτὸν."

[x] Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. xxvii. Op., tom. ii. p. 826. ed. 1726.—155 in the text should be 555, scil. ed. 1646.

[y] Above, § 30. note g.

[z] "Quid si enim uxor veneno vitæ marito insidiata fuerit? Quid si, quod ponit Origenes, communia pignora interfecerit? aut abortum sibi procuraverit?" &c. Grot., In Matt. v. 32: Op. Theol., tom. ii. vol. i. p. 54. a: and see above in § 30. note g.—Selden, lib. iii. c. xxvii. p. 826, quotes Grotius.

[a] "Sed quam velit Dominus intelligi fornicationem, propter quam liceat dimittere uxorem, utrum eam quæ dam-

nion before in his exposition of the Sermon in the Mount[b]; will any man believe, that he, who so stiffly holds, that it is
125 unlawful to marry after divorce for adultery, as St. Augustin, in his books *De Adulterinis Conjugiis ad Pollentium*[c] and elsewhere[d], does, can allow divorce for any thing but adultery? The truth is, he that considers the business throughly shall see, that it was that supposition that obliged St. Augustin to this doubt; as, on the contrary, the improbability of the doubt is that, which chiefly renders the supposition improbable. Which being a thing not yet observed, so far as I know, and there being no means to judge what is in the power of the Church, and what is not, in matter of divorce, otherwise; I will go out of the way to debate rather [than[e]] to resolve it, before I go forwards.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCRIPTURE ALLEGED TO PROVE THE BOND OF MARRIAGE INSOLUBLE IN CASE OF ADULTERY, UNEFFECTUAL. ST. PAUL AND OUR LORD SPEAK BOTH TO ONE PURPOSE, ACCORDING TO ST. JEROME AND ST. AUGUSTIN. THE CONTRARY OPINION MORE REASONABLE, AND MORE GENERAL IN THE CHURCH. WHY THE CHURCH MAY RESTRAIN THE INNOCENT PARTY FROM MARRYING AGAIN. THE IMPERIAL LAWS COULD NEVER BE OF FORCE TO VOID THE POWER OF THE CHURCH. EVIDENCE FOR IT.

Scripture alleged to prove the

SOME texts are alleged[f] to prove the bond of marriage undissoluble, which to me, I confess, do not seem to create

natur in stupris, an illam de qua dicitur, 'Prodidisti omnem qui fornicatur abs te,' . . . etiam atque etiam cogitandum est atque requirendum. Nec volo in re tanta tamque ad dignoscendum difficili putare lectorem istam sibi nostram disputationem debere sufficere: sed legat et alia sive nostra . . sive aliorum," &c. S. Aug., Retract., lib. i. c. 19. § 6; Op., tom. i. p. 30. D, E: and see Id., De Conjug. Adult., lib. i. c. 25. § 31; Op., tom. vi. p. 403. A.

[b] "Exoritur hic altera quæstio, cum Dominus caussa fornicationis permittat dimitti uxorem, quatenus hoc loco intelligenda sit fornicatio, utrum quousque intelligunt omnes, id est, ut eam fornicationem credamus dictam quæ in stupris committitur: an quemadmodum Scripturæ solent fornicationem vocare . . . omnem illicitam corruptionem, sicut est idololatria vel avaritia, et ex eo jam omnis transgressio legis propter illicitam concupiscentiam." Id., De Serm. Dom. in Monte sec. Matt., lib. i. c. xvi. § 43; Op., tom. iii. P. ii. p. 183. E: proceeding in the following sections to determine for the latter interpretation. See Bingham, XXII. v. 2.

[c] e. g. lib. i. c. 12. § 13; Op., tom. vi. p. 394. C, E: c. 22. § 28; ibid., p. 401. D—F: lib. ii. c. 19. § 20; ibid., pp. 416. F—417. D.

[d] See quotations in Bingham, XXII. ii. 12. note z.

[e] Added from MS.

[f] E. g. by Bellarm., De Matrim. Sacram., lib. i. c. 16; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1619. A, sq.

BOOK III.

bond of marriage insoluble in case of adultery, uneffectual.

any manner of consequence. St. Paul saith (Rom. vii. 2, 3); "The wife, that is under a husband, is tied to her husband living by the law; but if her husband die, she is clear of her husband: so, living her husband, she shall be styled an adulteress if she become another husband's; but if her husband die, she is free from the law, so as to be no adulteress if she become another husband's." Where, say they, it is "plain," that she, who marries before her former husband is dead, is an adulteress[g]. As also in 1 Cor. vii. 39: "The wife is tied by the law as long as her husband lives; but if her husband fall asleep, she is free to marry whom she please, only in the Lord."

[Of St. Paul in Rom. vii. 2, 3.]

§ 2. And yet it is manifest, that St. Paul in the first place speaks according to the Law, in the second according to Christianity; and that there is no question, that under the Law marriage might be dissolved. Therefore the words of St. Paul are not superficially to be considered; when he saith (Rom. vii. 1), "Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to those that know the Law), ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ." For the meaning cannot be, that "the law hath power of a man, as long as the man lives that the law hath power upon;" but, "as long as the man lives who hath power over him by the law:" as it is evident by the inference;—"For the wife living is tied by the law to her husband; but if her husband die, she is clear of her husband." And the comparison, from which St. Paul argues, holds thus;—as a wife is no longer tied to her husband by the power which the law gives him, when he is dead; so are not Christians tied to God by the power which the Law gives Him, when it is voided by the death of Christ, but by the new bond which the covenant of grace knitteth. Now, by the Law, the bond of marriage is not to be dissolved but by the will of the husband; but if the husband will, it is dissolved by a bill of divorce: and, therefore, that exception is necessarily to be understood in St. Paul's words[h]: which being understood,

[g] "Ipsa verba ... (ut Augustinus recte dicit) *plana* sunt. Quid enim planius illo, 'Mulier vivente viro vocabitur adultera, si fuerit cum alio viro,' Rom. vii. 'Mulier alligata est legi, quanto tempore vir ejus vivit,' 1 Cor. vii." Bellarm., ibid., p. 1624. C: from S. Aug., De Adult. Conjug., lib. ii. c. 4. § 4; Op., tom. vi. p. 406. C.

[h] So Cajetan and others alleged in Bellarmine, ibid., A, B.

it will be ridiculous to infer, that therefore the marriage of Christians is indissoluble; though divers of the Fathers[i], it is true, have thought it a good inference.

§ 3. But among Christians, when St. Paul says, "The wife is tied by the law as long as her husband lives," his intent can require no more, than that she is free, when he is dead, to marry again; not, that she can no way be free while he is alive. [And in 1 Cor. vii. 39.]

§ 4. Again, Eph. v. 28—32:—"He that loveth his wife loveth himself: for never did any man hate his own flesh, but feed and cherish it, as our Lord His Church; for we are members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones: therefore shall a man leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they two shall become one flesh: this mystery is great, but I mean in Christ, and in the Church." The marriage of Adam with Eve was intended by God for a figure and prophecy of the incarnation of Christ, and His spiritual mar- [And in Eph. v. 28—32.]
126 riage with the Church by virtue of it; as the Scripture, wheresoever it speaks of the first and second Adam, declareth. Therefore, as I said, their marriage was an indissoluble union of one with one; as the marriage of Christians, which reviveth it. Be the marriage of Christians then a sacrament, as much as any man would have it to be; be it a commemoration (if Adam's was a prediction) of the incarnation of Christ, and of His marriage with the Church; let it contain a promise of grace to them that exercise it as Christians should do: it is therefore indissoluble in the point of right, I confess; that is to say, it is the profession of an obligation upon the parties to hold it indissoluble. But is it therefore indissoluble in point of fact? May not the obligation so professed be transgressed? And is not marriage a civil contract, even among pagans and infidels; and that by God's appointment? And may not the law, which God hath restrained the marriage of Christians to, presuppose the conditions of a civil contract? And are not civil contracts void, when one party transgresseth

[i] Bellarmine (ibid., C) cites the comment on the passages from S. Paul, of S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, Theophylact, Theodoret, Œcumenius, Primasius, Anselm: besides Origen in Matt. xix., S. Augustin (as in note g above), and S. Hieron. Epist. ad Amandum: for all which, with others, see Bingham, XVI. xi. 6, XXII. ii. 12; and Cotelerius, Annot. in Herm. Pastor., PP. Apost. tom. i. p. 88, quoted by Bingham: and below, § 18, 21.

BOOK III.

the condition on which they are made? Or cannot marriage signify the marriage between Christ and His Church, cannot the observation of it oblige God to give grace, unless we understand all such conditions thereby to be extinguished? The union of the Word with our flesh, the union of Christ with His Church, depends only upon that effectual grace which Himself purposed from everlasting, because (as I said[k]) upon supposition of our perseverance. The union of wife and husband signifies it no less; though, the obligation being transgressed, it may become void. But how shall marrying as a Christian should marry be the means to obtain grace, unless as well the union as that promise may be forfeited by transgressing the condition upon which it is made?

[Our Lord's words in St. Matthew and St. Mark belong to Gentiles as well as Jews.]

§ 5. The chief difficulty then lies in the words of our Lord, Matt. v. 31, 32, xix. 8—9: in which I must, in the first place, consider, that there are diverse things observable in them to shew, that our Lord, though He declared not openly that the Gentiles should embrace Christianity and the Jews refuse it, yet nevertheless propounds it so, that He must be understood to intend it for the Gentiles so converted, as well as for the Jews. That of Origen[l], in the first place. For, the Law appointing death for the punishment of adultery, what need the exception of adultery to the Jews, among whom divorce for adultery was death? Secondly, His words in St. Mark x. 11, 12:—"Whoso putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery against her; and if a wife put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery." For by the Jews' law, though the husband might put away his wife, yet the wife could not put away her husband. And though Josephus report[m], that Herod's sister Salome sent her husband a bill of divorce: yet he reports it as that which never was done afore; and, therefore, cannot

[k] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xviii. § 8: and c. xxvi. throughout.

[l] See above in c. xiii. § 27. note w.

[m] "Πέμπει μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ γραμματιον, ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον" (sc. Salome to Costobarus her husband), "οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους νόμους. Ἀνδρὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔξεστι παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδὲ διαχωρισθείσῃ καθ' αὑτὴν γαμισθῆναι, μὴ τοῦ πρότερον ἀνδρὸς ἀφιέντος. Οὐ μὴν ἡ Σαλώμη τὸν ἐν γένει νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ ἑλομένη, τήν τε συμβίωσιν προαπηγόρευσε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας ἀποστῆναι τὰνδρός." Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. xv. c. 7. § 10. p. 686. ed. Huds.: quoted by Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent., lib. v. c. 7; Op., tom. i. p. 526; and Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 19: ibid., tom. ii. p. 764: and by Grotius, In Matt. v. 32.

be thought to have come to a custom in our Lord's time. Thirdly, how could our Lord say, according to the Jews' law, that he who married a woman divorced committeth adultery; whenas what hindered a man then to marry a divorced wife out of mere charity, to keep her from committing adultery? Lastly, if we consider St. Paul's words, whereby he teacheth (as I have shewed[n]), that, the wife having the same interess in the husband as the husband in the wife by the Christian law, the wife can no more leave her husband than the husband the wife (1 Cor. vii. 1—5, 10, 11): it will appear, that his doctrine, extending to the condition of man and wife by the then Roman law, is derived, as it must needs be derived, from this sense of his Master's. Seeing, then, that divorce, not only among the Jews but among the Romans, was always understood to dissolve the bond of marriage: what appearance can there be, that our Lord, when He saith, "He that putteth away his wife, unless for adultery, and marrieth another, committeth adultery, and he that marrieth her who is put away committeth adultery," intendeth not to extend the exception to marrying again, as well as to putting away? and, therefore, that he who putteth away for adultery, and she who is not put away for adultery, may marry again? For if those, whom He spoke to, could understand nothing by divorce but that which they saw; and the divorce which they saw, or heard of, enabled all parties to marry again: then that divorce, 127 which the exception of fornication allows by our Lord's law, understanding that exception, enables to marry again.

[Matt. v. 32, xix. 9.]

§ 6. Two reasons are opposed from our Lord's words. First, in St. Mark x. 12, St. Luke xvi. 18, the exception is not expressed; and yet it is said, "He that puts away his wife and marries another, commits adultery." To which it is answered, that the Gospels are (as St. Justin the Martyr calls them[o]) "remembrances" of the sayings and doings of our Lord; the effect whereof was delivered to, and received by, them who were baptized, as the law of Christianity: and that, therefore, in recording them, it was thought enough to

[St. Mark's account and St. Luke's to be supplied by that which St. Matthew hath more than they.]

[n] Above, c. xiii. § 12.

[o] S. Just. Martyr repeatedly, in his Dial. cum Tryph., calls the Gospels "ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων" (i. e. written by the apostles): e. g. cc. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106; Op., pp. 195. D, 196. D, 197. C, 199. B, D, 200. A, E: and in his first Apology, c. 66. ibid., p. 83. B: and elsewhere.

BOOK III.

remember the heads of those things, which were undertaken to be believed and observed: that, therefore, all that undertake to expound the four Gospels, do use to add whatsoever any of them hath more than the one which he hath in hand, to make up his sense: in fine, therefore, that in this point the sense of our Lord is not to be measured by that which St. Mark and St. Luke hath less, but that which St. Matthew hath more: and, therefore, that, when our Lord saith, "He that puts away his wife and marries again, commits adultery, and he that marries her that is put away, commits adultery," He is to be understood with this exception—"unless for adultery[p]."

[It follows not from this account, that the party put away for adultery may marry again.]

§ 7. It is objected, secondly, that, by this account, she that is put away for adultery may marry again, and neither herself, nor he that marries her, be chargeable with adultery; which were a gross inconvenience,—that, by the law of our Lord, a woman by committing adultery, or man in like case, should advantage himself, to marry again with a good conscience[q]. For if it be true,—he that puts away but for adultery, and marries again,—and,—he that marries her who is put away but for adultery, commits adultery;—then will it follow, that he who puts away his wife for adultery, and marries another, and he that marries her that is so put away, commits no adultery. To which I answer, that it follows not, that our Lord so saying should mean this consequence: but rather that he, who marries her that is put away for adultery, commits adultery much more; though he who puts her away is no cause of it, neither chargeable with adultery for marrying again. For if the husband be chargeable with adultery, when the wife marries again, being not put away for adultery; why is he chargeable with it, that put her away for adultery? If, because he marries again, not putting his wife away for adultery; putting her away for adultery, why

[p] See Bellarmine, De Matrim. Sacr., lib. i. c. 16. pp. 1619. D—1623. C; denying, as from S. Mark and S. Luke, the validity of marriage after divorce for adultery: and reporting and replying to the arguments on the opposite side of Cajetan, Catharinus, Erasmus, Bucer, &c.

[q] "Si post divortium in caussa fornicationis liceret parti innocenti aliud matrimonium inire, vel id liceret etiam nocenti vel non liceret. Si liceret, ergo commodum ex peccato suo adulter reportaret; et sæpe etiam viri dedita opera adulterium committerent, ut possent ab uxore liberari et aliam uxorem ducere. Si non liceret, quæro imprimis, quare," &c. Bellarm., ibid., c. 16. p. 1630. B, C.

is he chargeable with it? The difficulty will be—then is the knot of wedlock tied to the one party, and loose to the other: —which seems a knot more indissoluble than that of wedlock; but is indeed none at all, if we distinguish between the metaphor of a knot tied, and the obligation signified by it. For though the act of consent to the contract of wedlock is the act of two parties, whereof a third (that is, God) is depositary, to discharge the innocent, and to charge the guilty; yet the bond or obligation, which is contracted by it, is answerable severally by each party in the judgment of God. And is there the same reason, that God should call him to account for adultery, who thinks himself free of that contract which he stood to till his party transgressed it, as her that gave him cause to think himself free by transgressing it?

[Of St. Paul's charge to wives who have left their husbands to remain unmarried.]

§ 8. The difficulty then rests in the meaning of St. Paul, when he chargeth "the wife not to depart from her husband;" "if she" do, to "abide unmarried, or" to "be reconciled to her husband; and the husband not to put away his wife;" 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11: and that, having before charged married people not to part, even for devotion, but for a time, for fear of temptation by concupiscence. For can it then be imagined, that he allows them to part upon any occasion but that of adultery? Therefore, those that are parted for adultery he forbids to marry again.

[1 Cor. vii. 5.]

St. Paul and our Lord speak both to one purpose according to St. Jerome and St. Augustin.

§ 9. And these are the texts, that have moved St. Jerome (*Epist.* xlvii.[r]) to be of this mind. But St. Augustin further, expounding the Sermon in the Mount upon this supposition (as he himself professes in the beginning of his books *De Adulterinis Conjugiis*, written express to maintain it[s]), and desiring to shew how our Lord's law enjoins the same with His apostles', imagines, that our Lord might mean "spiritual fornication or adultery" (according to which the Psalm says, "Thou hast destroyed all that commit fornication against Thee"), when He gave it[t]: which sense compriseth all sin,

[Ps. lxxiii. 26. Prayer-bk. vers.]

[r] See below, § 20. note z.

[s] "Prima quæstio est, frater dilectissime Pollenti, . . quod ait apostolus, 'His autem qui sunt in conjugio præcipio,'" &c., "utrum ita sit accipiendum, ut eam prohibuisse nubere intelligatur, quæ sine caussa fornicationis discessit a viro; id enim sentio, an sicut ego sensi in eis [1] plurimos annos de sermone evangelico scripsi, quem secundum Matthæum habuit Salvator in monte, illas innuptas manere præceperit, quæ a viris suis ea caussa recesserint quæ sola permissa est, id est, fornicationis." S. Aug., De Conjug. Adulter., lib. i. c. 1. § 1; Op., tom. vi. p. 387. A, B.

[t] See above in c. xiii. § 32. notes

BOOK III.

that carrieth with it a construction of departing from our covenant with God, both in truth, and according to St. Augustin, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, i. 16[u]. Whereupon the Milevitan canon (xvii.[x]) speaks thus:—"*Placuit, ut, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam disciplinam, neque dimissus ab uxore, neque dimissa a marito, alteri conjungantur; sed ita maneant, aut sibi reconcilientur: quod si contempserint, ad pœnitentiam redigantur: in qua causa legem imperialem petendam promulgari*"—"It seemed good, that, according to the discipline of the Gospel and the apostles, neither he that is dismissed by his wife, nor she that is dismissed by her husband, be wedded to another; but remain so, or be reconciled to one another: which if they neglect, that they be put to penance: and that request be made for an imperial law to be published in the case:"—where, alleging the Gospel and St. Paul both, it is plain the canon proceeds upon the opinion of St. Augustin; for he was at this Council, and in all probability had the penning of the canons[y]. 128

The contrary opinion more reasonable.

§ 10. That which moved them to be of this opinion, I confess moves me to be against it. I cannot be persuaded, that St. Paul in this place, and our Lord in the Gospel, speak both to one and the same purpose. All subjects of the Roman empire, when St. Paul writ, had power to leave their wives or their husbands at pleasure, without giving the law account. But, supposing them Christians, were they not to give God account? were they not to give the Church account? Certainly, if they married again, they must give the Church account; because our Lord hath said, "He that leaveth his wife but for adultery, and marrieth again, committeth

[Matt. v. 32, xix. 9.]

[u] "Quia scilicet idololatria quam sequuntur infideles, et quælibet noxia superstitio, fornicatio est... Porro si infidelitas fornicatio est, et idololatria infidelitas, et avaritia idololatria, non est dubitandum et avaritiam fornicationem esse. Quis ergo jam quamlibet illicitam concupiscentiam potest recte a fornicationis genere separare, si avaritia fornicatio est? Ex quo intelligitur, quod propter illicitas concupiscentias non tantum quæ in stupris cum alienis viris aut feminis committuntur, sed omnino quaslibet, quæ animam corpore male utentem a lege Dei aberrare faciunt, et perniciose turpiterque corrumpi, possit sine crimine et vir uxorem dimittere et uxor virum." S. Aug., De Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. i. c. 16. § 45, 46; Op., tom. iii. P. ii. p. 185. A—D.

[x] Conc. Milevit. II. (A.D. 416), can. 17; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1541. E.

[y] See e. g. the Epistle of the Council to Pope Innocent I., S. Augustin being one of the writers; and that of five bishops thereof to the same pope, S. Augustin being one of them: Epistt. clxxvi., clxxvii.; Op., tom. ii. pp. 620. D, 622. C, sq.

adultery:" for of adultery account is to be given the Church. And, truly, who parts with a wife, it is great odds, does it out of a desire to marry another: which all the Church agrees he cannot do, unless she be an adulteress; part of it says further, though she be he cannot do it. But if he marry not another, but part with his wife, he must give God account; whether he be bound to give the Church account or not. And this account St. Paul instructs how to give. He will not have Christians to part bed and board, much less to repudiate, to part families, to send one another away with that which they brought: but if they will needs try how good it is living unmarried, he would have them know, that they could not marry elsewhere, because of our Lord's law; which in case of fornication he silently excepteth. For to me it seemeth manifest, that our Lord, in case of fornication, provideth for the reparation of the party wronged, whose bed and issue is concerned; restraining the divorce, which the Law allowed, only to the transgression of marriage enacted by the institution of paradise, when two continue not "one flesh:" but St. Paul, for the conscience of particular Christians, upon what terms they may or ought to forbear cohabitation; to wit, so as they marry not again: which is exhortation enough to set aside animosities, and return to bed and board again. St. Augustin[z], and Venerable Bede upon the Gospel[a] following him, confess, that according to their interpretation our Lord permits to part, not for the fornication which the other party hath done, but for that which himself may do; to wit, which by the company of an ill disposed yoke-fellow he may be moved to do. So divorce, according to this opinion, is grounded upon the precept of the Gospel, "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out:" and is that, which the Church of Rome at this day maintaineth by the twenty-[fourth] session of the Council of Trent, can. viii.[b] (and that, [Matt. v. 29, viii. 9; Mark ix. 47.]

[z] "Cum autem ait,' Excepta caussa fornicationis;' non dixit cujus ipsorum, viri an fœminæ... Velut si aliquem cogat uxor sacrificare idolis, qui talem dimittit, caussa fornicationis dimittit, non tantum illius, sed et suæ: illius quia fornicatur; suæ, ne fornicetur." S. Aug., De Serm. Dom. in Monte sec. Matt., lib. i. c. 16. § 47; Op., tom. iii. P. ii. p. 185. D, E.

[a] "Si igitur uxor hujusmodi aliquid" (sc. fornication in the wider sense) "hominem cogat, qui talem dimittit, causa fornicationis dimittit, non tantum illius, sed et suæ. Illius, qui" (leg. "quia) fornicatur; suæ, ne fornicet." Bed., In Matth., c. v. vers. 32: Op., tom. v. p. 20.

[b] "Si quis dixerit ecclesiam errare, cum ob multas caussas separationem

BOOK III.

as I think, according to St. Paul; only that he leaves it to the conscience of particular Christians without interessing the Church, the interest whereof I conceive cannot be excluded, though St. Paul here provide not for it): as Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Matrimonio* i. 14[c]) disputeth. But, in case of adultery, it never was nor ever could seem questionable (so as St. Paul to decide it), whether a man might so put away his wife or no; all civil law that then was, counting him accessory to the stain of his bed and issue, that did not[d]; and, thereupon, the ancient canons of the Church imposing penalties upon any of the clergy, who, being allowed to dwell with their wives, should endure an adulteress[e]. And therefore I conclude, that St. Paul, though he allow not either husband or wife to part with wife or husband, as to cohabitation, without renouncing the bond of wedlock, no not for the state of continence (as St. Augustin very well argues[f],—if not for 129
continence, then no other cause), yet forbids not what he allows not. But seeing such offences fall out among Christians that be married, as are not easily discernable where the fault of them lies; not allowing them to part, nor yet condemning both parties, he limits them, in case they do so, not to marry again: imposing thereby upon the innocent party the necessity of continence, which his innocence makes tolerable, and the apostle's advice, if it proceed not to the parting of families, easily recoverable. As for the guilty, if it prove a burden or a snare, he may impute it to his fault. And as it was not necessary, that the Church should be interessed in it, so long as both parties were enabled by the law to depart, and neither proceeded to marry again; so, the law not allowing it, there is no marvel that the Church should interpose.

inter conjuges quoad torum seu quoad cohabitationem ad certum incertumve tempus fieri posse decernit, anathema sit." Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. (misprinted xxvi. above in the text in fol. edit.) can. 8; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 875. B, C.

[c] Controv., tom. ii. p. 1611. B, C.

[d] See Selden, Uxor Ebr., lib. iii. cc. 16. pp. 751, sq., 28. p. 829, 31. p. 849: and Grotius, In Matt. v. 32.

[e] See Bingham, XVII. v. 27: and Selden and Grotius, ibid.

[f] "Quid si ergo dicat, Dimitto ergo uxorem meam sine ulla causa fornicationis, sed continens permanebo; ideone dicemus eum impune fecisse quod fecit? Quis hoc dicere audebit, qui voluntatem Domini hæc dicentis intelligit? Quoniam nec continentiæ caussa dimitti conjugem voluit, Qui solam caussam fornicationis excepit." S. Aug., De Conjug. Adult., lib. i. c. 3. § 2; Op., tom. vi. p. 389. B.

CHAP. XIV.

§ 11. Let us then see, how the rest of the Church allows the exception of adultery to the purpose of marrying again.

And more general in the Church. [Clement of Alexandria.]

§ 12. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* ii. *in fine*[g]:—"Ὁ Ἀντικρυς νομοθετεῖ (ἡ Γραφὴ), Οὐκ ἀπολύσεις γυναῖκα [πλὴν] εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ λόγῳ πορνείας· μοιχείαν δὲ ἡγεῖται τὸ ἐπιγῆμαι ζῶντος θατέρου τῶν κεχωρισμένων"—"The Scripture plainly enacteth, Thou shalt not dismiss thy wife but upon account of adultery; counting it adultery to marry while the one of the parted is alive."

[Athenagoras.]

§ 13. Athenagoras, *De Resurrect. Mortuorum*[h]:—"'Ὁ οἷός τις ἐτέχθη μένειν, ἢ ἐφ' ἑνὶ γάμῳ· ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ, φησὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται"—"A Christian is to abide as he was born, or at one marriage; for, saith He, 'he that dismisseth his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery.'" This necessarily concerneth no more, than marrying again upon that divorce, which the Roman law enabled either party to make, without rendering a reason; and may well bear the exception of marrying upon divorce for adultery by the Christian law.

[Apostolic canons.]

§ 14. And the same exception may well be understood in the forty-eighth canon of the Apostles[i]:—"Εἴ τις λαικὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβάλλων, ἑτέραν λάβοι, ἢ ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἀπολελυμένην, ἀφοριζέσθω"—"If a layman, casting out his wife, take another, or one that is put away by another, let him stand excommunicate." Provision is made against taking to wife one that had been put away, for the reputation of the clergy: for it must needs be a stain to bring such an one into a man's house.

["ἐκβαλὼν .. ἢ παρὰ ἄλλου"]

[Tertullian.]

§ 15. If it be true that Grotius[k] alleges out of several passages of Tertullian,—that the Church in his time admitted them to marry again, who had parted with their wives for adultery,—we need no more. But though those allegations (as not quoted, so) are no where to be found; yet Tertullian's opinion is to be seen by the plea that he makes, *Contra*

[g] S. Clem. Alex., Strom., lib. ii. § 23; Op., tom. i. p. 506.

[h] Athenagor., Legatio pro Christianis, § 28. p. 130. ed. Dechair, Oxf. 1706.—The reference in the text to his other tract, De Mort. Resurr., is a mistake.

[i] Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 449.

[k] Tertulliano, .. qui non uno loco ostendit solitos suo tempore ad matrimonium alterum admitti qui ob adulterium uxorem dimisissent." Grot., Ad Matth., v. 32: but without proceeding to quote or refer to the alleged passages.

BOOK III.

Marc. iv. 32[1];—that our Lord abrogateth not that divorce which Moses had enacted though He restraineth it:—which could not be said, if the divorce, which our Lord alloweth, did not import right to marry again.

[Lactantius.]

§ 16. Lactantius plainly signifies the same, when he says, "*Adulterum esse, qui a marito dimissam duxerit; et eum, qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimiserit, ut alterum ducat*"—"That he is an adulterer, who marries a wife put away by her husband; and that so is he, that shall put away his wife to marry another, excepting the crime of adultery[m]."

[The councils of Arles and Elvira.]

§ 17. The great council of almost all the West at Arles, in the business of the Donatists, provides, can. x.[n], that those, who take their wives in adultery, being young Christians, be exhorted not to marry others as long as they live: leaving thereby hope of reconcilement. Certainly, they counted it not adultery, which they only exhort not to do. The council of Elvira, can. ix.[o]:—that the wife, that forsakes her husband for adultery and marries another, shall not communicate so long as he remains alive;—of the husband, nothing. By the eighth[p] and tenth[q], she, who leaves her husband without cause and marries another, is not to communicate, no not at the point of death—(at the date of this Council, before the act of Constantine, man or wife parted without shewing cause; without cause, then, is when that cause, which the Church allows, viz. adultery, is not):—she, that marries him, who she knew had put away his wife without cause, not till the point of death. This is the difference between committing adultery, and marrying him that commits adultery by putting away his

[1] "Hoc enim responso et Moysi constitutionem protexit, ut Sui; et Creatoris institutionem direxit, ut Christus Ipsius. . . Nonne et Ipse prohibens divortium, et Patrem tamen gestans Eum Qui marem et fœminam junxit, excusaverit potius quam destruxerit Moysi constitutionem?" Tertull., Adv. Marc., lib. iv. c. 34 (32 in the text is a mistake); Op., p. 449. D.

[m] Lactant., Divin. Instit., lib. vi. De Vero Cultu, c. 23. p. 580.

[n] "De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere; placuit, ut, in quantum possit, consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant." Conc. Arelat. I. (A.D. 314), can. x.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 1428. B, C.—See Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 88; and Bingham, XXII. ii. 12.

[o] See it above in c. x. § 7. note h.

[p] See it, ibid. § 6. note s.

[q] "Si fuerit fidelis, quæ ducitur ab eo qui uxorem inculpatam reliquit, et scierit eum habere uxorem, quam sine caussa reliquit, placuit huic nec in fine dari communionem." Conc. Eliber. (A.D. 305), can. x.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 971. E.—See however above, c. x. § 6. note m.

wife without adultery. And it is plain, the wife is stricter used by these canons than the husband.

130 § 18. The Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles under St. Ambrose his name, say plainly (1 Cor. vii.[r]), that the man may marry again, having put away his wife for adultery; not the wife, having put away her husband: because "the man" is "the head of the woman." I do not find this reason sufficient. For St. Paul maketh the interest of the wife in the husband, and that of the husband in the wife, both one and the same. Nor do I find the reason sufficient, which Cardinal Cajetan hath given for him (upon Matt. xix. 9[s]); to wit, because our Lord, saying, "He that putteth away his wife, unless for adultery, and marrieth again, committeth adultery," says nothing of what the woman may do in that case. For Mark x. 11, 12, He says as much for the wife as for the husband, not expressing the exception. Why then should it not be extended to her, when He addeth it? But I conceive, that, though by God's law the woman be restrained no more than the man, yet the law of the Church might restrain that, which God's law restrained not; and so, though the man be only advised not to marry again by the canon of Arles[t], yet the woman might be put to penance, so long as her first husband remained alive, by the canon of Elvira[u].

[Pseudo-Ambrose.]

[1 Cor. xi. 3.]

§ 19. For I see St. Basil (*Ad Amphil.*, can. ix.[x]) confesses, that, though St. Paul makes the case of both equal, yet custom put the woman to penance, marrying upon the adultery of her husband. Some ground of difference nature itself enforces, in that the man taints not the wife's issue; nor brings that infamy upon her bed, as she upon his. In the

[St. Basil the Great.]

[r] "'Et virum uxorem non dimittere'—Subauditur autem, excepta fornicationis causa. Et ideo non subjecit dicens, sicut de muliere, Quod si discesserit, manere sic: quia viro licet ducere uxorem, si dimiserit uxorem peccantem; quia non ita lege constringitur vir sicut mulier; caput enim mulieris vir est." Pseudo-Ambros., In 1 Cor. vii. 11; in Append. ad Op. S. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 133. E, F.

[s] "Nec ex his intelligas, uxorem quoque posse dimittere virum fornicantem: quoniam Jesus, Qui est verus Deus, non hoc concessit: nec est par ratio, ut patet. Nec etiam in veteri Lege uxor poterat repudiare virum." Thomas de Vio, Card. Cajetan., Comment. in Matth. c. xix. v. 9: Comment. tom. iv. p. 86. a: proceeding to quote the passage of the Pseudo-Ambrose cited above in note r.

[t] Above in § 17. note n.

[u] Ibid., note o.

[x] "Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόφασις . . . ἐξ ἴσου καὶ ἀνδράσιν καὶ γυναιξὶν ἁρμόζει, περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐξεῖναι γάμου ἐξίστασθαι παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας· ἡ δὲ συνήθεια οὐχ' οὕτως ἔχει," &c. S. Basil., Epist. clxxxviii. Ad Amphiloch. de canonibus, can. ix.; Op., tom. iii. p. 273. D, E.

BOOK III.

mean time, whatsoever we say of that, it is manifest they held it not adultery, for the party, that parted for adultery, to marry again.

[Fabiola in St. Jerome.]

§ 20. And as for Fabiola, who, having put away a notorious adulterous husband and married another, after the death of this second did voluntary penance for it; as you find in St. Jerome (*Epist.* xxx.[y]): it may be the Church exacted it not, because during her second husband's time it is not said that she communicated not; and it may be she followed St. Jerome's opinion, which he expresseth *Epist.* xlvii.[z]

[St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory Naz., not to the contrary.]

§ 21. Some passages of St. Basil[a], St. Chrysostom[b], and Gregory Nazianzen[c], are alleged in vain[d]; signifying only the insolubility of marriage: which may allow the exception which the Gospel maketh, and must allow it, when we see the custom, testified by St. Basil, to the contrary. And St. Chrysostom[e], when St. Paul says of the wife, "If she part," &c., understands him, If she part upon ordinary displeasures, which he calls "*μικροψυχίας*" or "pusillanimities;" which the courage of a true Christian would neglect and oversee.

[Pope Innocent I.]

§ 22. Innocent I. Pope (*Epist. ad Exuperium*[f]) puts them

[y] "Quis hoc crederet, ut post mortem secundi viri in semet reversa . . . saccum indueret, ut errorem publice fateretur; et tota urbe spectante Romana ante diem Paschæ in Basilica quondam Laterani . . . staret in ordine pœnitentium," &c. S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxiv. (al. xxx.) Ad Oceanum de morte Fabiolæ; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. pp. 658, 659.

[z] "Ergo et ista soror, quæ ut dicit vim passa est, ut alteri jungeretur, si vult Corpus Christi accipere et non adultera reputari, agat pœnitentiam; ita duntaxat, ut secundo viro, qui non appellatur vir sed adulter, a tempore pœnitentiæ non copuletur," &c. Id., Epist. iv. apud tom. iv. (al. cxlvii.), Ad Amandum; Op., tom. iv. P. i. p. 162. —For xlvii. in the text, and before in § 9, read cxlvii.

[a] See above in § 19. note x.

[b] See above in c. xiii. § 30. notes i—m; and in Bingham, XXII. v. 1.—"*Μὴ γάρ μοι τοῦτο εἴπῃς, ὅτι ἐξέβαλεν ἐκεῖνος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκβληθεῖσα μένει τοῦ ἐκβαλόντος οὖσα γυνή,*" κ.τ.λ. S. Chrys., Ad Matth., Hom. xvii. § 4; Op., tom. vii. p. 227. C, D.—"*Πανταχοῦ παρανομεῖ (ὁ ἀνὴρ) ἐκβάλλων.*" Id., ibid., Hom. lxii. (al. lxiii.) § 3; ibid., p. 622. D.—And see also the De Libello Repudii, § 2: Op., tom. iii. p. 205. C, D: and elsewhere.

[c] See above in c. xiii. § 30. note u.

[d] Scil. by Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 31; Op., tom. ii. pp. 852, 853.

[e] "'Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἄγαμος, ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω· καὶ ἄνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφιέναι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ δι' ἐγκράτειαν, καὶ δι' ἄλλας προφάσεις καὶ μικροψυχίας, γίνεσθαι διαιρέσεις συνέβαινε, βέλτιον μὲν μηδὲ γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, φησίν· εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ γένοιτο, μενέτω ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός," κ.τ.λ. S. Chrys., In Epist. i. ad Cor., Hom. xix. § 2; Op., tom. x. p. 161. C, D.

[f] "De his etiam requisivit dilectio tua, qui interveniente repudio alii se matrimonio copularunt: quos in utraque parte adulteros esse manifestum est. Qui vero vel uxore vivente quamvis dissociatum videatur esse conjugium, ad aliam copulam festinarunt, neque possunt adulteri non videri, in tantum ut etiam hæ personæ, quibus tales conjuncti sunt, etiam ipsæ adulterium commisisse videantur; secundum illud, quod legimus in evangelio, 'Qui dimiserit,'" &c. Innoc. Papa I., Epist. iii. Ad Exuper. c. 6; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1256. B, C.

only to penance, that marry again, having put away wives or husbands; not supposing adultery. But *Epist.* ix. *Ad Probum*[g]:—"*Statuimus, fide catholica suffragante, illud esse conjugium, quod primitus erat Divina gratia fundatum; conventumque secundæ mulieris, priore superstite nec divortio ejecta, nullo pacto posse esse legitimum*"—"We decree, the catholic faith voting for it, that to be marriage, which first was founded upon God's grace" (that was first made according to Christianity); "and that the wedding of a second wife, living[h] the first, can by no means be lawful." Which exception could possibly signify nothing, if in no case (not of adultery) a second could be married while the first is alive.

[Chromatius and Asterius.]

§ 23. And in the West Chromatius of Aquileia (*In Matt.* v.[i]), as well as in the East Asterius (*Homil. An liceat dimittere uxorem*[k]): the first damns him, that shall marry again, excepting adultery; the second would have his hearers persuaded, that nothing but death or adultery dissolves marriage.

The Church may restrain the innocent party from marrying again.

§ 24. But do I therefore say, that the Church cannot forbid the innocent party to marry again? or is bound by God's law to allow it? all ecclesiastical law being nothing but the restraining of that which God's law hath left indefinite, and the inconveniences being both visible and horrible. I conceive I am duly informed, that George, late archbishop of Canterbury, was satisfied in the proceeding of the High Commission court, to tie them that are divorced from marrying again, upon experience of adultery designed upon collusion to free the parties from wedlock; having been formerly tender in imposing that charge[l]. The Greek Church may

[g] Id., Epist. ix. Ad Prob.; ibid., p. 1263. D.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "leaving," in orig. text.

[i] "Unde non ignorent, quam grave apud Deum damnationis crimen incurrant, qui per effrenatam libidinis voluptatem (absque fornicationis causa) dimissis uxoribus in alia volunt transire conjugia. Quod idcirco se credunt impune committere, quia humanis et sæculi legibus id videtur permissum... Sed sicuti uxorem caste ac pure viventem dimittere fas non est, ita quoque adulteram dimittere permissum est, quia ipsa mariti consortio fecit se indignam." Chromatius, In S. Matth., c. v. Concio 1; ap. Bibl. PP., tom. iv. p. 841. E, F.

[k] "Πείσθητε, ὅτι γάμος θανάτῳ μόνῳ καὶ μοιχείᾳ διακόπτεται." Asterius Amasenus, Hom. v.; An liceat homini dimittere uxorem, &c.: ap. Combefis., Bibl. Græco-Lat. PP. Nov. Auctarium, p. 82. B: and in the Latin version in Bibl. PP., tom. iv. p. 707. E.—See above, in c. xiii. § 30. note s.

[l] The allusion in the last clause of this paragraph appears to be to the conduct of Abp. Abbot in the divorce (or, more correctly, the decree of nullity of marriage) between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard in 1613: wherein he, as one of the commissioners, dis-

BOOK III.

better avoid such inconveniences; not being tied to any law of the land, but the tempering of the canons remaining in the governors of the Church. But they, that would not have the laws of the Church and the justice of the land become[m] stales and panders to such villainies, must either make adultery death, and so take away the dispute; or revive public penance, and so take away the infamy of his bed and the taint of his issue, that shall be reconciled to an adulteress; or, lastly, bear with that inconvenience, which the casualties of the world may oblige any man to, which is to propose the chastity of single life instead of the chastity of wedlock, when the security of a man's conscience and the offence of the Church allows it not[n]. 131

Why [; and how far].

§ 25. But though this, in regard of the intricacies of the question and the inconveniences evident to practice, may remain in the power of the Church; yet can it never come within the power of the Church to determine, that it is prejudicial to the Christian faith to do so, as by God's law. And the Church, that errs not in prohibiting marriage upon divorce for adultery, will err in determining for matter of faith, that God's law prohibits it; so long as such reasons from the Scriptures are not silenced by any tradition of the whole Church. It is easy to see by St. Augustin (*De Adulterinis Conjugiis*, ii. 5—12[o]), that public penance was the means to restore an adulteress to the same reputation among Christians, which an adulteress, that turned Christian, must

sented from the sentence actually pronounced, viz., that the marriage was null, and the parties licensed to marry again. See the Biogr. Britan., second edition, art. George Abbot. The Abp. wrote "Some Memorials" on the subject, with a speech he had intended to deliver: which were published in 1719, but the present editor has not met with the book. Thorndike would seem to have had information from private sources respecting his later opinion, above alleged, in favour of the propriety of prohibiting marriage to parties divorced for adultery. The 107th canon of 1603 enacts, that, "in all cases of divorce, bond" is "to be taken for not marrying during each other's life." And so also the canons of 1597; in Wilkins, Conc. Brit., tom. iv. p. 354. And see Gibson's Codex, tit. xxii. c. xvii. pp. 446, 447: and below, § 34. note n.

[m] Corrected from MS.; "became" in orig. text.

[n] For the clause beginning, "or, lastly," the MS. substitutes—"or, lastly, think it no inconvenience, if the law shall forbid the divorced for adultery to marry again, God's law not requiring it."

[o] "Quod autem tibi durum videtur, ut post adulterium reconcilietur conjugi conjunx, si fides adsit, non erit durum. Cur enim adhuc deputamus adulteros, quos vel baptismate ablutos vel pœnitentia credimus esse sanatos?" &c. S. Aug., De Conj. Adult., lib. ii. c. vi. § 5; Op., tom. vi. p. 407. A, B: going on in the following sections to urge reconciliation after adultery upon the repentance of the party.

needs recover among Christians. And that is the reason, why the canon of Arles orders, that young Christians be advised not to marry again, that their wives may be recovered of their adultery by penance, and so their marriage re-estated[p]. I see also, that Justinian (*Nov.* cxvii.[q]) hath taken order, that women excessive in incontinence be delivered to the bishop of the city, to be put into a monastery, there to do penance during life. And, supposing adultery to be death, according to Moses' law, the inconvenience ceaseth. If the civil law enable not the Church to avoid the scandal of this collusion, it is no marvel, that the Church is constrained to impose upon the innocent more than God's law requires, to avoid that scandal which God's law makes the greater inconvenience.

§ 26. And thus, having shewed you that St. Augustin's interpretation of fornication is not true, I have into the bargain shewed you, that it cannot serve to prove divorce upon other causes besides adultery. And so the insolubility of marriage, excepting our Saviour's exception, is as firmly proved as the consent of the church can prove any thing in Christianity.

[Origen's opinion no difficulty.]

§ 27. I know Origen argues, that poisoning, killing children, robbing the house, may be as destructive to the society of wedlock as adultery[r]: and he thereupon seems to infer, that our Saviour excepts adultery only for instance, intending all cases equally destructive to wedlock[s]; as Grotius[t], who follows his sense, seems to limit it. But Origen's opinion will not interrupt the tradition of the Church, unless it could appear to have come into practice sometime in some part of the Church. Neither would it serve his turn, that would have those divorces, which the secular power allows, to extend to marrying again. For Origen never intended, that his own opinion should bind; but that it is in the power of the

[p] See above, § 17. note n.

[q] Justinian, Auth. Coll. viii. tit. xviii. Novell. cxvii. c. 13. (p. 159. ed. Gothofred.), in the case of a woman, who "*χωρὶς αἰτίας δικαίου τῷ ἀνδρὶ ῥεπούδιον πέμψῃ*," enacts, that, "*εἰ ἐπιμείνῃ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀσεβεῖ προαιρέσει, καὶ ῥεπούδιον πέμψῃ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, κελεύομεν . . τὴν γυναῖκα, κινδύνῳ τοῦ δικαστοῦ τοῦ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀκροασαμένου, παραδίδοσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς πόλεως, καθ' ἣν κοινῶς τὴν οἴκησιν εἶχον· ὥστε τῇ ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ ἐν μοναστηρίῳ αὐτὴν ἐμβληθῆναι, ὀφείλουσαν μέχρι τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς ἐκεῖσε προσκαρτερεῖν.*"

[r] See above, c. xiii. § 30. note g, § 31. notes x, y.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Ibid., § 31. note z.

BOOK III.

Church to void marriages upon other causes. For he saith he "knew some governors of churches suffer a woman to marry, her former husband living," "*præter Scripturam*"—"besides the Scripture:" and that, as Moses permitted divorce, to avoid a greater mischief[u]. But I may question, whether they thought that against the Scripture, which Origen thought to be against the Scripture. And in the mean time, as I do not see what breach his report can make upon the tradition of the Church, so it is plain, the power of the Church, and not the secular, did that which he reports.

[Nor St. Augustin's.]

§ 28. And, truly, what the testimony of St. Augustin (extending that adultery upon which our Saviour grants divorce to all mortal sin, but confining him, that is so divorced, not to marry another[x]) can avail him, that would entitle the secular power to create causes of divorce to the effect of marrying again; let all reason and conscience judge.

[The Church then hath power in matrimonial causes.]

§ 29. I shall conclude my argument; "*Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*"—"An exception settles the rule in all that is not excepted." Either our Saviour intended, that whoever[y] had put away a yoke-fellow for adultery, should marry again, or not. If so, He hath forbid marrying again upon other causes: if not, much more; for, though upon adultery, He hath forbidden to marry again. And thus is the power of the Church in matrimonial causes founded upon the law, 13 which our Lord Christ hath confined all Christians to, of marrying one to one and indissolubly, whether without exception or excepting adultery. For seeing that of necessity many questions must arise upon the execution of such a law; and that civil power may as well be enemy to Christianity, as not; and that, as well professing to maintain it, as pro-

[u] "Scio quosdam qui præsunt ecclesiis, extra Scripturam permisisse aliquam nubere, viro priori vivente: et contra Scripturam fecerunt quidem, dicentem, 'Mulier ligata est quanto tempore vivit vir ejus.' . . Non tamen omnino sine causa hoc permiserunt: forsitan enim propter hujusmodi infirmitatem incontinentium hominum, pejorum comparatione, quæ mala sunt permiserunt, adversus ea quæ ab initio sunt scripta." Origen, In Matth. Hom. vii.: as quoted (in part) from the old Latin translation, by Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 31. p. 850.—"Ἤδη δὲ παρὰ γεγραμμένα καί τινες τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπέτρεψάν τινα, ὥστε ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γαμεῖσθαι γυναῖκα, παρὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον μὲν ποιοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ λέλεκται, 'Γυνὴ δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον,'" κ.τ.λ. "Οὐ μὴν πάντη ἀλόγως, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὴν συμπεριφορὰν ταύτην συγκρίσει χειρόνων ἐπιτρέπεσθαι παρὰ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς νενομοθετημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα." Orig., In Matt. tom. xiv. § 23; Op., tom. iii. p. 647. A, B.

[x] See above, § 9; and c. xiii. § 32.

[y] Corrected from MS.; "who," in orig. text.

[z] Misprinted 123 in folio edit.

fessing to persecute it: to say, that God hath left the consciences of Christians to be secured by the civil power, submitting to what it determines, is to say, that under the Gospel God hath not made the observing of His laws the condition of obtaining His promises.

[Evidence of Tertullian to that power.]

§ 30. This is that power, which Tertullian in several places expressly voucheth. *De Pudicitia*, cap. iv.[a]:—"*Penes nos*" (speaking of Christians, that is, of the whole Church) "*occultæ quoque conjunctiones, id est, non prius apud ecclesiam professæ, juxta mœchiam et fornicationem judicari periclitantur*"—"Among us, even clandestine marriages, that is, not professed before the Church, are in danger to be censured next to adultery and fornication."—And therefore, *Ad Uxorem* ii. *ult.*[b]:—"*Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandum felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod ecclesia conciliat*"—"How may we be able to declare the happiness of that marriage, which the Church interposeth to join?"—*De Monogamia*, cap. xi.[c]:—"*Quale est id matrimonium, quod eis a quibus postulas non licet habere?*"—"What manner of marriage is that," saith he (speaking of marrying a second wife), "which it is not lawful for them, of whom thou desirest it, to have?" Because it was not lawful for the clergy, who allowed the people to marry second wives, themselves to do the same.

[And of St. Ignatius.]

§ 31. Ignatius, *Epist. ad Polycarpum*[d]:—"Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν"—"It becometh men and women that marry, to join by the consent of the bishop, that the marriage be according to the Lord, and not according to lust." (It hath been doubted indeed, whether we have the true copy of Ignatius his epistles or not; whether this be one of them or not[e]: but, that copy being found, which Eusebius[f], St. Je-

[a] Op., p. 557. B.

[b] Ad Ux., lib. ii. c. 8; ibid., p. 171. C.

[c] Ibid., p. 531. C.—Rigalt reads, "Qua*lis es id* matrimonium *postulans*, quod," &c.

[d] § 5; ap. PP. Apost., tom. ii. p. 440. ed. Jacobson.

[e] Ussher, Dissert. de Ignatii Martyr. Epist. &c. cc. ii., v. (publ. 1644 [illegible] vol. vii. pp. 96, sq., 119, sq.), [illegible] not only that the existing Epistle to Polycarp is spurious, but that no Epistle to him from Ignatius was written at all, and that the quotations from it (see below, notes f, g) are really from that to the Church of Smyrna: thereby singling it out not only from the older collection of so-called Ignatian letters, but also from the seven Epistles of which Vossius in 1646 published the [illegible]nslated) Greek text, as being

BOOK III.

rome[g], and others of the fathers[h], took for Ignatius his own, and hath all that the fathers quote just as they quote it, nothing of that which stood suspected afore; to refuse them now, is to refuse evidence because it stands not with our prejudices.)

[And of the canons and custom of the Church herself.]

§ 32. Not that this power of the Church stands upon the authority of two or three witnesses. These were not to be neglected. But the canons of the Church, and the custom and the practice of the Church, ancienter than any canons in writing, but evidenced by written law, which could never have come in writing, had it not been in force before it was written, suffer it not to remain without evidence. In particular, the allowance of the marriages of those who were baptized, when they were admitted to baptism, evidenced out of St. Augustin[i], the Constitutions[k], and Eliberitan canons[l],

not simply interpolated but spurious.—See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 49, 50.

[f] "Ἤδη δ' ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνης γενόμενος, ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ αὖθις διὰ γραφῆς ὁμιλεῖ, καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ, ὃν οἷα δὴ ἀποστολικὸν ἄνδρα εὖ μάλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῷ ποίμνην (οἷα γνήσιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν) παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς φροντίδα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναίοις γράφων, οὐκ' οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιών." Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. c. 36. pp. 107. D, 108. A: proceeding to quote from the Epistle to the Smyrnæans (correctly—§ 3. pp. 402, 404. ed. Jacobson), what S. Jerome (as in note g below) seems to refer, apparently through haste in translating Eusebius, to the Epistle to Polycarp. See Voss. ad loc. Eusebius simply refers to the Epistle to Polycarp without citing any passage from it.—The "copy" mentioned above in the text, is the MS. e Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana, containing the uninterpolated Greek text of seven Epistles, and published first by Isaac Voss, 4to. Amst. 1646. It is not necessary to do more than refer to the MS. book of extracts, where Mr. Cureton recently supposed himself to have found a still shorter and purer form of the Ignatian Epistles.

[g] "Inde egrediens, scripsit ad Philadelphenos, et ad Smyrnæos, et proprie ad Polycarpum, commendans illi Antiochensem ecclesiam: in qua" (i. e., in fact, in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans) "et de evangelio quod nuper a me translatum est" (meaning the evangel. sec. Hebræos), "super personam Christi posuit testimonium, dicens," &c. S. Hieron., De Script. Eccles., c. 16; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 108.—St. Jerome (see last note) does not really do more than *refer* to the Epist. to Polycarp. But if the whole of the Epistles published by Voss as genuine are to stand or fall together, then the quotation he does make, considered as taken from the Epist. to the Smyrnæans, is an argument for the genuineness of the Vossian text of all seven Epistles, including that to Polycarp.

[h] Thorndike of course refers to quotations generally from the Epistles; as, e. g., those of Theodoret, Eusebius, Origen, Athanasius: for which, with some others, see Ussher, as above quoted, c. iii. pp. 102, sq.; arguing for his own shorter Latin text, which agrees in the main with the subsequently published Greek of Voss, as against the previously published longer and interpolated editions. See the Preface to Jacobson's edition, pp. xxxii., sq. Of quotations from the Epistle to Polycarp, besides the references of Eusebius and Jerome, Voss produces only three, viz., from a spurious sermon attributed to S. Chrysostom, from Antiochus Monachus, and from Joan. Damascenus: see Voss., ad loc.

[i] See above, c. xiii. § 16. note p.

[k] See ibid., § 17. notes t, u.

[l] See ibid., note x.

evidenceth the power of the Church in this point unquestionable.

The imperial laws could never be of force to void the power of the Church.

§ 33. And therefore against the imperial laws I argue as against the Leviathan[m]; that is, if any man suppose, that they pretend to secure the conscience of a Christian in marrying according to them upon divorce. Either the sovereign power effects that as sovereign, or as Christian. If as sovereign, why may not the Christians of the Turkish empire divorce themselves according to the Alcoran, which is the law of the land, and be secure in point of conscience? If as Christian, how can the conscience of a Christian in the eastern empire be secured in that case, wherein the conscience of a Christian in the West cannot be secured, because there is no such civil law there, the Christianity of both being the same? For it cannot be said, that the imperial laws alleged were in force in the West, after the division of the empire. I argue again; that they cannot secure the conscience, but under the law of our Lord, as containing the true interpretation of fornication in His sense. And can any man be so senseless as to imagine, so impudent as to affirm, that the whole Church, agreeing in taking the fornication of married people to signify adultery, hath failed; but every Christian prince, that alloweth and limiteth any other causes of divorce, all limiting several causes, attaineth the true sense of it? Will the common sense of men allow, that homicide, treason, poisoning, forgery, sacrilege, robbery, man-stealing, cattle-
133 driving, or any of them, is contained in[n] the true meaning of "fornication" in our Lord's words[o]? that consent of parties, that a reasonable cause, when pagans divorced "*per bonam gratiam*[p]," without disparagement to either of the parties, can be understood by that name? For these you shall find to be legal causes[q] of divorce by those acts of the emperors[r].

[m] See above, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. iii. § 33—37.

[n] Corrected from MS.; "is," in orig. text.

[o] "In our Lord's saying, 'But for fornication,' should mean, But for some of those crimes." Added in margin in MS.

[p] That is to say, where the marriage was dissolved, "non ex animi impetu, aut contumeliose, aut culpæ causa, sed ἄνευ μέμψεως, sine reprehensione ut vel propter sacerdotium, sterilitatem, senectutem, valetudinem, militiam, aliasque causas ob quas satis commode retineri matrimonium non posset." Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 28; Op., tom. ii. pp. 834, 835.—See Justinian, Auth. Coll. iv. tit. i. Novell. xxii. c. 4. pp. 44, 45.

[q] Corrected from MS.; "cause," in orig. text.

[r] See above, c. xiii. § 20: and Selden, ibid., pp. 839, sq.

BOOK III.

Lastly, I argue; if these causes secure the conscience in the empire by virtue of those laws, why shall not those causes, for which divorce was allowed or practised amongst the ancient French, the Irish, the Welch, the Russes, do the like? For that which was done by virtue of their laws, reported there (capp. xxvi., xxx.[s]), is no less the effect of Christian power that is sovereign. He that could find in his heart to tell Baronius (reproving the law of Justin, that allowed divorce upon consent[t]), that Christian princes, who knew their own power, were not so easily to be ruled by the clergy (p. 611[u]); can he find fault with the Irish, marrying for a year and a day[x], or the Welch, divorcing for a stinking breath[y]? Had he not more reason to say, that, knowing their power, they might choose whether they would be Christians or not? the dispute being, what they should do, supposing that they are Christians. And, therefore, it is to be maintained, that those emperors, in limiting the infinite liberty of divorces by the Roman law to those causes, upon which dowries should be recoverable or not (being made for pagans as well as for Christians), did as it were rough-hew their empire to admit the strict law of Christianity in this point.

Evidence for it.

§ 34. And that this was the intent and effect of their acts, appears by the canons which have been alleged[z], as well in the East, as in the West, made during the time when those laws were in force. For shall we think the Church quite out

[s] Selden, ibid., c. 26. pp. 810, sq., which is "de Moscorum seu Ruthenorum, et Æthiopum qui Habasseni dicuntur, divertendi jure liberrimo:" describing divorces as taking place in those nations "pro libitu ferme." For c. 30, see above in c. xiii. § 20. note f.

[t] "Θεσπίζομεν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν τὰς ἐκ συναινέσεως διαλύσεις ἐπὶ τῶν γάμων ποιεῖσθαι." Law of Justin, ap. Justinian. Auth. Coll. ix. tit. xxiv. Novell. cxl. c. 1. p. 198.—See above, c. xiii. § 20. notes o, p; and Selden, ibid., c. 28. p. 835.—"Horrenda hæc" (the law just quoted) "debuere per episcopos prohiberi, ne fierent, et jam facta rescindi, et ab ecclesia penitus propulsari." Baron., Annal., in ann. 566. § xv.: tom. vii. p. 508. E.

[u] Selden, ibid., c. 32. p. 854 (p. 611. ed. 1646), after quoting Baronius as in last note, adds, that "pontifices utrosque summos, orientis scilicet ac occidentis, Joannes dictos, perstringit ille" (Baronius), "quia id non fecerant. Quasi tunc temporis, cum jus suum cordatius agnoscerent tuerenturque principes Christiani, adeo facile fuisset generi hieratico refragari."

[x] Selden, ibid., c. 30. p. 84, speaks of the facility and frequency of divorce among the Irish: but neither he nor his authorities mention the precise custom alluded to in the text.

[y] "'Tribus de causis poterit uxor a viro divertere et suum *egueti*' (id est, dotem) 'habere. Scilicet si lepra vir inficitur, et si fœtidum habeat anhelitum, et si cum ipsa coire non valeat.'" Leges Howeli Dha, § 12; ap. Spelman., Concil. Britann., tom. i. p. 410: and from him, Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 30. p. 844.

[z] Above, § 17.

CHAP. XIV.

of their senses, to procure such canons to be made, knowing that they could not take place in the lives and conversations of Christians to the effect of hindering to marry again? If we could so think, it would not serve the turn; unless we could say, how St. Basil[a] should testify, that indeed they did take place to that effect, and yet the civil law not suffer them to take effect. From our Lord Christ to that time, it is clear, that no Christian could marry again after divorce, unless for adultery; some not excepting adultery[b]. In the baser times of that empire, it appears by the canons of Alexius, Patriarch of Constantinople[c], and by Matthæus Blastares alleged by Arcudius, p. 517[d], that those causes, which the imperial laws allowed, but God's law did not, took place to the effect of marrying again. But that so it was always from Constantine, who first taxed legal causes[e] of divorce[f], nothing obliges a man to suppose. For though the emperors' law, being made for pagans as well as for Christians, might enable either party to hold the dowry; yet the Christian law might, and did, oblige Christians not to marry again. The Milevitan canon[g] shews it; which provideth, that the emperor be requested to enact, that no Christian might marry after divorce. For this might be done, saving the imperial laws. But when we see the civil law enforce the ministers of the Church to bless those marriages, which the civil law allows but God's law makes adulteries, the party that is put away (and not for adultery) remaining alive; then we see, what a horrible breach the civil power hath made upon Christianity by hindering the power of the Church to take place. For, on the one side, the blessing of the Church seems to concur to the securing of the consciences of particular Christians, that they forfeit not their interest in the promises of the Gospel by doing that, to which the Church, for avoiding greater mischief, is constrained to concur: on the other side, that which is done, is, not only by the consent of the whole Church, in the sense of our Lord's

[a] See above, § 19. note x.
[b] See above, c. xiii. § 29, sq.
[c] See above, c. xiii. § 20. note y.
[d] Arcudius, De Concord. Eccles. Occid. et Orient. &c., lib. vii. De Matrim., c. 18. p. 517. a: and see above, § 20. note b.
[e] Corrected from MS.; "cause," in orig. text.
[f] See above, c. xiii. § 20.
[g] See above, § 9. note x.

BOOK III.

law, but by those divines of the Eastern Church, which writ during [the] time that this corruption is pretended (as Euthymius[h] and Theophylact[i] upon Matt. v.), condemned for adultery. Now, supposing the law to part wedlock, the canon not suffering to marry again, St. Paul's alternative is whole; either not to part, or, parting, to be reconciled, but not to marry again. And therefore the Church had no more reason to interpose in that case, than to censure [the one party in every case[k]], who does wrong in going to suit. For wrong is always done; but because it is between two, it is not censurable: only St. Paul's aim of reconciling them is harder to be attained, when the dowry is recovered, than when cohabi- 134
tation only is parted. And therefore, as that licentiousness in divorcing, which the ancient French, the Irish, the Welch, the Russes, and Abyssines, did or do use, is an evidence that Christianity was not so fully received or did not totally prevail amongst them; so, when the Greek Church yielded to allow those divorces which the civil law allowed, which at the first it did not do, then was their Christianity imbased and corrupted. Which though it cannot have come to pass without the fault of the clergy, yet it is most to be charged upon the secular power, the interess whereof it enlargeth to the prejudice of Christianity. For as, in times of apostasy and factions in the Church, it hath been many times constrained to receive or retain those, of whose salvation it cannot presume, at the peril of their own souls; so, when it seems less evil to yield to that violence which the secular power offers than to abandon the protection thereof, those that impose violence are far more chargeable with the souls that perish by the means thereof, than those that yield to it for the best. And that this may serve for a great part of

[h] "Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς νῦν, ἡμερωτέρους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν προλαβόντων λόγων καταστήσας, κελεύει μὴ ἀπολύειν τὴν γυναῖκα παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας, τουτέστι, δίχα αἰτίας πορνείας· πορνείαν ἐνταῦθα τὴν μοιχείαν ὀνομάσας· ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀπολελυμένην ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς γαμεῖν. δίχα γὰρ λόγου πορνείας ὁ μὲν ἀπολύσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχεύειν, συμπλεκομένην ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρί· ὁ δὲ γαμήσας ἀπολελυμένην ὑφ' ἑτέρου, μοιχεύει τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν." Euthym. Zigab., In Matt. c. v. vers. 31, 32: Comment. in Evang., tom. i. pp. 188, 189. Lips. 1792.

[i] "Οὐ λύει τὰ Μωσαϊκὰ, ἀλλὰ διορθοῦται (ὁ Χριστὸς), ἐκφοβῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἵνα μὴ ἀλόγως μισῇ τὴν γυναῖκα. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπολύσῃ αὐτὴν εὐλόγως, τουτέστι, πορνεύσασαν, ἀκατάκριτός ἐστιν." κ.τ.λ. "ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος ταύτην, μοιχός ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐδέξατο, ἐπανέστρεψεν ἂν ἐκείνη, καὶ ὑπετάγη τῷ ἀνδρί." Theophylact., In Matt. Comment. c. v.; Op., tom. i. p. 28. E.

[k] Added from MS.

excuse for the Greek Church, we have great argument to believe; because, since the taking of Constantinople, being no more tied by the civil laws of the supreme power, they allow no divorce but for adultery[l]: neither is there any further difference between them and the Latin Church, but whether God's law, upon divorce for adultery, allow marrying again or not[l]. Which the Council of Trent hath no further impeached, than in case it be maintained, that the Church erreth in saying, that the bond of marriage remains insoluble notwithstanding adultery on either side (*Conc. Trid. Sess.* xxiv. cap. vii.[m]): lest the subjects of the state of Venice should be condemned unheard, who had always married after divorce for adultery; as the history relateth[n].

[l] "Æquum satis est igitur, ut existimemus ante eversum Christianum orientis imperium leges hic Cæsareas obtinuisse: postea vero, legibus illis cum imperio sublatis, ex canonibus et theologorum tyrannidi Mahumedanæ subjectorum sententiis, quales ostendimus, rem decisam; ita tamen ut conjugi adulterii causa dimisso secundum inire matrimonium liceret. Πορνείαν vero pro adulterio sumi, etiam in exceptione de divortiis evangelica, apud Græcos tum theologos tum jurisconsultos, tralatitium est." Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 32. p. 856.—"Postularunt autem in Synodo Tridentina Veneti, quando quidem ipsorum respublica habeat in potestate regna Cypri, Cretæ, Corcyræ, Zacynthi, Cephaloniæ, a Græcis habitata, quibus ab antiquissimo tempore in more positum est, uxorem adulteram repudiare aliamque ducere (de quo ritu toti ecclesiæ notissimo nunquam ab aliquo concilio damnati aut reprehensi sunt), iniquum esse illos absentes nec ad hoc concilium vocatos condemnare." Id., ibid., c. 33. p. 858; from Father Paul's Hist. of the Counc. of Trent, Bk. viii. (p. 755. Brent's transl. Lond. 1620): proceeding to allege on the same authority, that, to comply with the Venetians, "non anathemate ibi" (scil. by the Trid. council) "damnati qui aut sic nuptias inirent secundas, aut qui id nec illicitum esse profiterentur, sed tantum qui dixerint ecclesiam errare," &c. (as in next note).

[m] "Si quis dixerit, ecclesiam errare, cum docuit et docet, juxta evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam, propter adulterium alterius conjugum matrimonii vinculum non posse dissolvi, et utrumque, vel etiam innocentem, qui causam adulterio non dedit, non posse, altero conjuge vivente, aliud matrimonium contrahere, mœcharique eum qui dimissa adultera aliam duxerit, et eam quæ dimisso adultero alii nupserit; anathema sit." Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. can. 7: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 875. A, B.

[n] Viz., the Hist. of the Council of Trent by Father Paul, as cited above in note l.—See also upon this whole subject, and in answer to Selden, Hammond, Letter of Resolution to Six Quæres, Quær. iii. c. ii. § 52—118; Works, vol. i. pp. 599—607. In Cosin's Works, vol. iv. pp. 489, sq., Anglo-Cath. edit., is a speech of Cosin, "proving, that adultery works a dissolution of the marriage," delivered by him in Lord Rosse's case in 1669: but he stood in opposition to the other bishops (with but one exception) upon the point.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER XV.[o]

ANOTHER OPINION, ADMITTING THE GROUND OF LAWFUL IMPEDIMENTS. WHAT IMPEDIMENTS ARISE FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH, GENERALLY AS A SOCIETY, OR PARTICULARLY AS OF CHRISTIANS. BY WHAT LAW SOME DEGREES ARE PROHIBITED CHRISTIANS. AND OF THE POLYGAMY OF THE PATRIARCHS. MARRIAGE WITH THE DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER, AND WITH A COUSIN GERMAN, BY WHAT LAW PROHIBITED. OF THE PROFESSION OF CONTINENCE[p], AND THE VALIDITY OF CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES. THE BOUNDS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POWER IN MARRIAGE UPON THESE GROUNDS.

Another opinion, admitting the ground of lawful impediments.

I AM now to propose another opinion[q], pretending to justify the imperial laws examined concerning divorce; the moderation whereof I do much esteem above these novelties, tending to cast one article, concerning the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, out of the common faith of all Christians. It saith, that the secular power is able to limit the conditions upon which marriage is contracted (as being indeed a civil contract); so that marriage, contracted contrary to the conditions limited by the secular power, shall be *ipso facto* void, the persons being by the law rendered uncapable of contracting the same: and that, by the same reason, the same power is able to prescribe such conditions, as, coming to pass after marriage, are of force to void it by virtue of the provision going before, declaring it void whensoever such conditions should come to pass; as in case of murder, poisoning, treason, forgery, robbery, sacrilege, in case of impotence, ab-

[o] Misprinted XIV. in folio edition.

[p] Corrected from MS.; "conscience," in orig. text.

[q] "Cæterum absque dubio dicendum est posse principem sæcularem, ex genere et natura suæ potestatis, matrimonii impedimenta dirimentia fidelibus sibi subditis ex justa causa legibus suis indicere, eo pacto quo id Pontifex Summus potest, nisi sibi" (scil. Pontifex) "hanc potestatem reservasset, &c. Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. vii. De Imped. Matrim., Disp. iii. numm. 2, 3. pp. 6, 7. Antv. 1607. (first ed. Genoa 1592); adding as the reason for the position the doctrine of S. Thom. Aquin. (Cont. Gentiles, c. 78, and elsewhere), that "matrimonium, in quantum contractum civilem in officium communitatis institutum, subjacere legis civilis ordinationi:" but also affirming that the pope *has* reserved to himself the power in question.—So, and with the same qualification, Ægid. de Coninck, De Sacramentis et Censuris, tom. ii. Disp. xxx. numm. 5, 6. p. 795. Antv. 1619: and Domin. Soto, In IV. Sent., Dist. xl. Qu. unica, art. 5. p. 767. b. Duaci, 1613.—But Petrus de Soto, (Lect. iv. De Matrim., ad fin.) is quoted by Sanchez as affirming the position without any qualification at all: scil. that princes possess the right in question independently of the pope, and have surrendered it to him of mere "piety and free choice."

sence of long time, and the like; for in case of mutual consent, or upon reasonable cause without disparagement, themselves dare not take upon them to say, that the secular power can make any lawful divorce[r]. This opinion is indeed considerable; in regard of those impediments, which canonists and casuists declare to have the force of avoiding marriage consummate by carnal knowledge. For if they, or some of them, may appear to be well grounded, there can be nothing more effectual to clear my first intent; to wit, what is the true interesse and right of the Church in determining matrimonial causes.

What impediments arise upon the constitution of the Church generally as a society.

§ 2. I say then, that, upon the suppositions premised,—
135 that the Church is a society founded by God, and that there is a peculiar law of our Lord concerning the marriages of Christians,—it necessarily followeth, that, as there are diverse things which make marriages void or unlawful, so the Church is to be satisfied, that there is none of them to be found in those marriages which it alloweth. If we consider the Church generally as a society of reasonable people, certainly those things, which render the contracts of all reasonable people either void or unlawful, in what society soever they live, must needs be thought to render either void or unlawful those marriages, that are so contracted in the Church. As, for the purpose; whatsoever is contracted either by fraud or by force, is of itself originally void, supposing that fraud or that force to have been the cause why it was contracted: the reason being the same, that ties a man to any thing which ever he contracted; which is his own free consent, in what he is not limited to by the law of God and nature. For if this be the reason that obliges; where this reason fails, the obligation of necessity ceaseth. And shall it then be thought, that any solemnity, which the Church may celebrate a marriage contracted by force with, can avail to make that contract binding? or that a cheat, which had it not been be-

[r] The same Sanchez, lib. ii. Disp. xiii. num. 10. p. 153. b, and Disp. xvi. num. 9. p. 158. b, denies, that the "mutuus conjugum consensus," is a just cause, upon which the pope may dispense even with a "matrimonium ratum;" much less with one "consummatum:" quoting, however, in Disp. xv. num. 1. p. 156, certain doctors who think the contrary.—H. Cocceius (in H. Grot. De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii. c. v. § 8. tom. ii. pp. 253, sq.) maintains, that Justin's law is good, and that mutual consent *is* an adequate cause of divorce.

BOOK III.

lieved, a man would not have married, nor the marriage have been solemnized, when it is solemnized, shall have force to oblige? This to those, who, believing that marriage is a sacrament, do think it consequent, that the solemnizing of marriage renders those marriages of force to bind the parties, which otherwise are not only unlawful but also void[s]. For though I cannot here baulk my order[t], and resolve how many sacraments there are, and whether marriage be one of them or not; yet, since I can say, that, supposing it were, this would not follow for the reason which I have said, nothing hinders our discourse to proceed, as supposing it were, not granting that it is.

Or particularly as of Christians.

§ 3. In particular, seeing that by the law of Christianity none can marry with one that is bound to another already, the innocent party so married by cozenage is so far from being obliged by it as to be obliged not to use it upon notice. Again, in particular, seeing that Christianity declareth marriage to intend procreation and the remedy of concupiscence, the ugliness whereof was never discovered by idolaters and pagans: wheresoever is discovered a natural impotence to perform the act of marriage, there appeareth an error, which had it not been, the marriage had not been made; and therefore, adding the general to the particular, the contract must appear void. The same is much more to be said, if by any deceit there hath been an error in the sex of one of the parties. Difference in religion between Christians and pagans, between Christians and Jews, renders marriage void by virtue of the premisses; though it oblige not Christians to make use of their right by renouncing it, as Jews were obliged to desert idolaters. But that there may some new religion spring up in the world upon the divisions of the Church (which, we see, are possible), which, question may be made, whether it be lawful, or whether expedient for Christians, either to marry or to continue married with (suppose for the present that of the Gnostics, that of the Priscillianists, that of our Ranters, or Quakers); who can deny? And supposing such a question made, and supposing the Church to be a society trusted

[s] Sanchez (as before quoted, lib. vii. Disp. iii. num. 7. p. 7. b) does *not* hold this position, but declares such marriages null, notwithstanding the sacramental character.

[t] See below, c. xxix. § 9, sq.

with the guard of God's law concerning marriage, what determination can secure the conscience of a Christian but the determination of the Church, in a cause grounded on matter of Christianity, for the guard whereof the Church standeth? Doth not all the world acknowledge a public reputation of that honesty which Christianity pretendeth, and challengeth to be performed, in the marriage of Christians as they are Christians? Do not all Christians acknowledge, that there is a nearness both of blood and alliance, within which Christians are forbidden to marry?

By what law some degrees are prohibited Christians.

§ 4. You will say to me, that these degrees are limited by the law of God in the eighteenth of Leviticus; and that the Church hath no more to do in prohibiting that which is not there prohibited, than in licensing that which is. But that will not serve my turn; having proved [u], that the law of Moses in the first instance was given for the civil law of one people of the Jews, and for their civil happiness in the land of pro-
136 mise, given them on condition of living according to it, with a promise of freedom over themselves so doing: the Church, on the contrary, a society of all Christendom, founded upon undertaking the law of Christ, with promise of everlasting happiness. For what appearance is there, that the same law should contain the condition of temporal and eternal happiness in any part of human life and conversation? Indeed, he that should argue, that, seeing God prohibited to many degrees of affinity and consanguinity in the marriages of His ancient people, whom He treated expressly with upon only temporal promises, all the same degrees therefore are prohibited Christians, whom God deals with upon the promise of the world to come; I cannot see how his argument could find an answer. But having shewed [x], that Christians are bound to straiter terms of godliness by the law of Christ, than the ancient people of God, whom God obliged Himself to for the world to come but by intimations, which needed stronger inclinations to virtue to embrace; will it not follow, that the provision of the Levitical law is no exception to this general in matter of marriage? Indeed, it is not the

[u] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xii. § 1, sq. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. viii. § 12, sq.; § 16, sq.

[x] Ibid., c. xiii. § 1, sq.

BOOK III.

power of the Church, that brings in this ground of restraining more than is restrained by the Levitical law; but the nature of Christianity, which I shewed from the beginning[y] to be in order of nature before the constitution of the Church, and ancient to it. But having shewed[z], that there is no presumption in Christianity to hinder that to belong to the law of the Church, which is not recorded in the Scripture; by consequence I have shewed, that the practice of the Church may be sufficient evidence for it, and that the power of the Church is not only sufficient, but necessary, to the determining of that which is not determined by it.

[The prohibitions of Levit. c. xviii. do not all stand upon the perpetual law of God and nature.]

§ 5. I confess, I have a difficult objection to answer, when I read Levit. xviii. 24, 25:—"Be not polluted with any of these; for with these were the nations polluted, which I drive out before your face: and the earth is polluted, and I will visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and she spueth out her inhabitants." For by this it should seem, that all the prohibitions of that chapter contained in the general term of "these things" stood by the perpetual law of God and nature, so that they were never dispensed with before the Law; and that, therefore, there can be no reason to understand any degree to be prohibited Christians, which was not prohibited Jews. The objection were difficult enough, had we not peremptory instances to choke them with, that argue thus. For is it possible for any reasonable man to imagine, that God should call those things, which the fathers practised till now, those "abominations," for which He drives out the seven nations from before His people? Is it not manifest, that Jacob was married to two sisters at once? that Moses and Aaron came of the marriage of the mother's sister (Exod. vi. 20)? that Abraham was married to his brother's daughter at least[a]? And is it strange, that should be prohibited by Moses' law, which before was dispensed with? But, supposing that difference between the Law and the Gospel that I have proved, were it not strange, that no more should be prohibited under the Gospel than by the Law?

[Gen. xxix. 16—28.]

[Gen. xx. 12.]

Of the polygamy

§ 6. Of the polygamy of the fathers before the Law, I

[y] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. iv. § 1, sq.

[z] Ibid., cc. v., vii.

[a] Whether Sarah was Haran's daughter or Terah's, i. e. Abraham's niece or sister; see Selden, De Jur. Nat., &c., lib. v. c. 2. p. 504.

CHAP. XV.

of the patriarchs: [that it was dispensed with after the flood.]

said enough afore[b], to shew that it was dispensed with. How it was dispensed with, I said not; which seems to make men difficult of belief in the point. And truly, that which the fathers say sometimes,—that they were taught by God's Spirit that they might do it for the maintenance of the righteous seed[c],—seems somewhat strange: if we understood it, as if the world did acknowledge it to be prohibited, till the chief friends of God had particular revelation from Him, that it was allowed them, being forbidden all the world besides. Now we have good information from the Jews (which all men of learning do now accept for historical truth[d]), that after the flood there were certain precepts delivered to Noe and his sons (which therefore they call the seven precepts of the sons of Noe) with an intent to oblige all nations: among which there was one, that prohibited the uncovering of nakedness, signifying thereby the forbearance of all that was then to be counted uncleanness; which what it was, and what it was to contain afore the Law, though it be not recorded in Scripture,
137 yet we are to stand assured, that nothing, that we find practised by the fathers, was any part of it; because, being so highly favoured by God as we find they were, we are not to think, that they lived in rebellion against any part of His law. The Jews indeed say[e], that the same precepts were all delivered to Adam and to his posterity, saving one concerning the eating of blood; which was added, when the rest were renewed to the sons of Noah after the flood: which I think myself at liberty

[b] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 35.

[c] So says Innocent III. (in Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. xix. De Divortiis, c. 8. Gaudemus): "Nec ulli unquam licuit insimul plures uxores habere nisi cui fuit Divina revelatione concessum." And from him S. Thom. Aquin. and other schoolmen, quoted by Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. iii. Disp. lxxxii. num. 12. tom. ii. p. 289. b.—But the fathers generally seem to speak of a more widely extended dispensation for the practice. E. g. S. Aug., De Civ. Dei, lib. xvi. c. 38. § 3; Op., tom. vii. p. 450. C: "Eo tempore" (scil. of the patriarchs) ... "multiplicandæ posteritatis causa multas uxores habere lex nulla prohibebat." And so also De Doctr. Christ., lib. iii. c. 12. § 20; ibid., tom. iii. P. i. p. 51. C: and Cont. Faust., lib. xxii. c. 47; ibid., tom. viii. p. 388. A, B: and De Nuptiis et Concupisc., lib. i. c. 8. § 9: ibid., tom. x. p. 285. B. And S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxii. Ad Ocean., Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 649. And S. Chrys., Hom. lvi. in c. xxx. Genes., § 3; Op., tom. iv. p. 542. C.—S. Just. Mart. (Dial. cum Tryph. § 134. Op., p. 226. C) defends it as "*οἰκονομίαι τινὲς μεγάλων μυστηρίων.*"—See Bellarm., De Matrim., lib. i. c. 11; Controv. tom. ii. pp. 1603. C, sq.: and Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 6. pp. 519, sq.

[d] See above in Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iii. § 7. note g.

[e] So Maimonides, ap. Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Ebræor., lib. i. c. 10; Op., tom. i. pp. 158, sq.

BOOK III.

not to believe. For then, whatsoever is not contained in these precepts, must be understood to be allowed all the sons of Adam before the flood; whereas the polygamy of Lamech seems to be recorded by Moses for the first transgression of the original institution of paradise. And when we read, after the world had stood fifteen hundred years, that men began to multiply upon earth, there is appearance, that thitherto polygamy was not in use among the children of God; supposing them to be the posterity of Seth, which continued in the service of God, as the most received interpretation hath it[f]. For, had polygamy been then in use, they would have multiplied faster; as after the flood, and as the Israelites in Egypt. Not that it was not then in use among the children of men, after Lamech had begun it; but because, being not entertained by the children of God (one half of mankind at that time), it took not the like force, even among the children of men, as after the flood. This is the reason why, believing that the institution of paradise was in force, at least among the children of God, I admit the tradition of the Jews concerning the precepts of Noah's children after the flood, according to St. Jerome again[st] Jovinian[g], where he saith, that neither divorce nor eating flesh was licensed until the flood: polygamy and divorce being matters of so near kin, that the one cannot be imagined to have been allowed when the other was not. For if God gave the sons of Noah these precepts, He gave them assurance of His favour, living within the compass of them; which is to dispense with the primitive institution of paradise.

[Gen. iv. 23, 24.]

[Gen. vi. 1.]

§ 7. But I do not therefore think myself tied to those bounds, which the Jews limit the meaning and intent of this prohibition of uncovering nakedness with (namely in the point of simple fornication, which they no where allow to have been prohibited by it): as the laws of Moses (they say well) extend not to them, being made for free denizens of God's people, unless it be otherwise expressed; as in the prohibition of

[f] See Selden, ibid., lib. v. c. 8. p. 534.

[g] "Quod autem nobis objicit in secunda Dei benedictione comedendarum carnium licentiam datam, quæ in prima concessa non fuerat, sciat quomodo repudium juxta eloquium Salvatoris ab initio non dabatur, sed propter duritiam cordis nostri per Moysen humano generi concessum est; sic et esum carnium usque ad Diluvium ignotum fuisse." S. Hieron., Adv. Jovin., lib. i.: Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 161.

eating that which is torn, which they are commanded to give to "the stranger within their gates" (Deut. xiv. 21). For seeing that they were utterly prohibited to suffer idolaters to live within the land of promise, but that it is supposed strangers should live in it, which, being not tied to their laws, were not circumcised, and that they might have slaves of this rank; we have certain evidence for the truth of the tradition concerning certain precepts given all mankind after the flood. But if, because there is no punishment assigned for the fornication of strangers, it should therefore be thought, it was then no sin by God's law to all nations; I should deny the consequence. The fornication of Judah with Tamar, whom he took for a prostitute, we see he avowed not. And that of Samson with Dalilah, I may as easily say, was under pretence of marriage; as the Jews, that she was a proselyte of the children of Noah[h]. For it is agreed upon, that by the Law an Israelite might neither commit fornication with an Israelitess nor with a gentile; the one by the law of Deut. xxiii. 18, and Lev. xix. 20, the other by that which you read in the book *De Jure Naturali et Gentium secundum Ebræos*, [lib.] v. [c.] 12[i]. Wherefore, seeing the Law supposes harlots when it forbids the hire of them to be consecrated to God (Deut. xxiii. 18), it seems to follow, that the Law allows that trade only to strangers of the sons of Noah, that is to say, not idolaters, in the land of promise. For though the Jews will have this law to take hold of him that lies with a gentile or slave or Jewess, that is forbidden him, whether by the law of uncleanness (Levit. xviii.) or any other[k]; yet we find it not punishable by the Law, unless it be with a gentile slave, who, having partly obtained her freedom, is espoused to an Israelite (Lev. xix. 20); as the Jews limit it[l]: because otherwise they were forbidden

[Gen. xxxviii. 15-26.]

[Judg. xvi. 4.]

[h] "Inde etiam de Timnathæa illa atque Dalila Palæstina puella aiunt" (Judæi), "eas proselytas esse factas, quia Sampsoni nuptæ." Seld., as above quoted, c. 15. p. 573; from Gersomides and Moses Mikotzi.

[i] "Jam vero tam liberæ quam servilis conditionis hominum universorum, gentilismo nondum exuto, coitus et matrimonium Ebræis Judæisque cunctis interdictus habebatur, admissa interea juxta aliquos exceptione illa de captiva." Id., ibid., c. 12. p. 5 proceeding in c. 13. pp. 566—568, to discuss and limit the disputed exceptional case.

[k] "Eadem hic est ratio τῆς זונה seu scorti, sive ea fuerit pagana sive ancilla sive Israelitis, quacum matrimonium sive nomine incestus regulariter prohiberetur, sive alio interdicto sacro." Maimonides, commenting on the passage from Deuteronomy; ap. Seld., ibid., c. 4. p. 515.

[l] So Selden, ibid., c. 12. p. 563.

BOOK III. [Gen. xxxiv.] to marry slaves, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8[m]. For they, that counted the dishonour of Dinah such a reproach to them, that notwithstanding all possible reparation tendered they were to revenge it so deeply in blood; shall we imagine, that they counted it indifferent in the rest of mankind, even those who were retired from idolatry to profess the true God, as the Jews their successors seem to do? Rather are we to attribute this opinion of the indifference of it to the coming in of idolatry, which was the apostacy of the gentiles from the law given the sons of Noah (St. Paul, Rom. i. 24—27); according to the author of the Book of Wisdom (iii. 12, 16, 19; vi. 3—6), ascribing that inundation of uncleannesses, which overflowed all the world but God's people, to the coming in of idols. And therefore fornication, though forbidden by the decalogue, is not always punished in the Israelites themselves: because the Law (which, St. Paul saith, came in "because of transgressions," Gal. iii. 19; and was not given the righteous, but the unrighteous, 1 Tim. i. 9—11), intending to prohibit the grosser sins, which civil society is chiefly offended with, expected spiritual obedience upon the belief of God and His providence in taking account for our actions here, together with the promise of deliverance by the Messias to come; and not from the constraint of temporal punishment, which the Law was armed with. For if this were the means of grace provided for the seed of Abraham; well might it serve those strangers, who, renouncing the service of idols, should join themselves to God's people, and so become partakers of the same means with them, to induce a resolution of spiritual obedience. 1:8

§ 8. We have further, to persuade us to admit of this dispensation in the primitive institution of paradise, the tradition of the Jews[n]; affirming the prohibition of Levit. xviii. to have

[m] "Δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις." Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. iv. c. 8. § 23; tom. i. p. 166. ed. Hudson.

[n] "Receptissima est, quantum video, penes Talmudicos sententia; gentiles in legibus illis de incestu" (scil. in Levit. xviii.) "sic tantum contineri, ut, quoniam fuere ex jure naturali sex incestus genera ipsis, id est, universo generi humano, ante interdicta, ut ostensum est" (scil. in Seld., lib. v. c. 1. pp. 498, 499), "quæ simul cum aliis jam Israelitarum gratia introductis enumerantur, ideo continerentur quidem, ratione jam memorata, gentiles in legum procemio, sed non ut inde ad singulorum quæ sequuntur incestus interdictorum observationem tenerentur, sed ad eorum tantum quæ ex jure suo seu naturali etiam ante observanda: adeo ut quemadmodum Israelita quili-

belonged in part to the stranger within their gates, in part not: which tradition, being committed to writing so [soon[o]] after the dissolution of the government, and having still the force of law, where strangers should make themselves Jews (which certainly at the writing of their traditions fell out many times), we must needs allow for the interpretation of that law, which was in force while their state stood; though we question, whether it contain the due bounds of this prohibition, as it was first delivered to mankind after the flood. And hereupon well may we answer with them, that, when Moses saith, that for these abominations the seven nations were driven out before the children of Israel, he is to be understood respectively to those abominations, which were committed against the true intent of the prohibition of uncleanness, enjoined on all mankind; but not to those things, which we see were in use among the fathers before the Law, nor to whatsoever was committed against the first institution of paradise: which if it be admitted, then all, that is established by the law of Levit. xviii., will oblige the whole Church, without dispensation by any power of it; though not because by the act of giving the Law to the Israelites the Church is obliged, but because there is more reason why Christianity should restrain that which was allowed by the Law, than that the Law should restrain that which was allowed by the patriarchs.

§ 9. And, upon this principle, we shall not need to run upon any inconvenience, to obtain one degree of affinity and one of consanguinity to be unlawful for Christians, though not expressed in the letter of the Scripture; to wit, the marriage of the sister to a man's deceased wife, and that of cousin-germans.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sis-

§ 10. The former is thought to be secured by the text of Levit. [xviii. 16]; "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, it is thy brother's nakedness." For, the

bet universis tenebatur, ita gentilem quemlibet ditionis Israeliticæ seu proselytum quemlibet domicilii sex illis vetustioribus. Sic reddendo singula singulis rem capiunt." Seld., De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. p. 550.—The six kinds referred to are those mentioned in Levit. xviii. verses 7, 8, 9, 20, 22, 23.—See also, on the same side, Grot., De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. II. c. v. § 14. tom. ii. p. 215. ed. Cocceius, Lausan. 1751: and against him, Hammond, Letter of Resolution to Six Quæres, &c., Quære ii. Of Marrying the Wife's Sister, § 38; Works, vol. i. p. 588.

[o] Corrected from MS.; "late," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

ter, by what law prohibited.

wife's sister being as near as the brother's wife, the one being prohibited and nearness the only reason of the prohibition, the other cannot be licensed, saving the reason of the Law. Therefore the provision of Deut. xxv. 5—10, that the next of kin, though a brother, should marry the wife of the brother deceased, so that the children should be in account of law the children of the deceased; all this signifies no more, but that, the law being positive, this exception is made to it by Him that made it. So that, when it follows (Levit. xviii. 18), "Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside her in her life-time;" it is observed[p], 139 that, in the Hebrew, to "take a wife to her sister" is to take a wife to another wife: and, therefore, that this law is a prohibition of polygamy, at least when the taking of another wife may be an occasion to vex the former wife; not that a Jew was licensed hereby to marry his wife's sister after her death.

[That Lev. xviii. 18. prohibits polygamy, is the interpretation put upon that text by the Sadducees and scriptuary Jews.]

§ 11. This indeed was the interpretation of the Sadducees, and of those Jews that admit no interpretation of the law by[q] tradition, but only by the letter of it; for which they are reproved by the Talmudists, the off-spring of the Pharisees, in the book called *Pesikta*[r]. Though it is to me difficult to believe, that the Sadducees of old, or their successors, the scriptuary Jews, did thereupon tie themselves to one wife. It is indeed difficult enough to give an evident reason of difference in nearness of blood, wherefore the brother should be prohibited his brother's wife, and the sister allowed her husband's brother[s]. But it is one thing to allege an inconvenience, another thing to answer an argument; nor are we to presume, that God doth nothing by His law without acquainting them whom He imposed it upon with the reason of it.

[But this interpretation cannot stand.]

§ 12. Now this interpretation cannot subsist without over-

[p] See Hammond, as quoted in § 8. note n, § 17, sq.; Works, vol. i. pp. 583, 584: and see also note r below.

[q] Corrected from MS.; "of," in orig. text.

[r] "Reprehendit hic Pesictha non immerito Caraitarum sententiam, qui volebant vetari hic (Lev. xviii. 18) duas habere eodem tempore uxores, quia *soror* sæpe apud Hebræos alterum aliquid ejusdem generis significat," &c. Grot., Ad Levit. xviii. 18. And see Id., De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. II. c. v. § 9. tom. ii. pp. 204, sq.: and Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 6. p. 521.

[s] See Hammond as above quoted, § 1, 15, 16, pp. 581, 583.

throwing all that hath been said to shew that polygamy after the flood was first prohibited by Christianity[t]. For when thy brother's wife is generally prohibited in Leviticus, and afterwards licensed or commanded in case he die childless, it is but a particular exception to a general. But if in Exod. xxi. 10. a man is supposed to have power of having more wives than one, and by Lev. xviii. 18. enjoined to have no more than one, in Deut. xxi. 10—17. supposed to have more than one; can these be thought reconcilable? Certainly the tenor of these laws imports no such thing as dispensing, but a liberty already in use, which the law restrains not; but this law would restrain, if it had[u] been thus meant. And why should the law say, "in her life-time," if the intent of it were, that a man should not have two wives at once? Could there be any question, whether a man might marry a second wife or not?

[The Law in this verse forbids not marriage with a wife's sister after her death.]

§ 13. Therefore that clause must be thought to be added to signify, that after death this law forbids not to take the wife's sister to wife. And so, that which Jacob had done before, is by this law forbidden to be done for the future. For Jacob, when first he found that he had bedded his wife's sister, was innocent for all that was done, but had been utterly disabled to have companied with any other for the future without dispensation in this law: which we must imagine either to have come between Laban's proposition of marrying both and Jacob's assent, or else to have gone before all the actions of like nature, which the Scripture testifies: whereof whether is the more reasonable, let any man of reason choose. As for the limitation added to the right of having more wives than one under the Law, Exod. xxi. 10; whereby he, that hath an inferior wife, bought with his silver of God's people, is bound to pay her the benevolence due to a wife, though it make the marriage void by abuse of his right (for it is said, "he shall let her go free," which implies the dissolution of the marriage): yet it no way signifies, that he was not able to marry her afore. And when the prophet, Mal. ii. 14—16, blames the Jews for oppressing their wives out of love to strange wives, which by the Law they might not have: be this adultery, if you please (because such a

[t] Above, c. xiii. § 7, 8. [u] Corrected from MS.; "if, had it," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

marriage, as I have shewed[v], was *ipso facto* void), be it treachery in transgressing his covenant with the first wife; yet did not he, that took a second wife so as to oppress the first, violate this law of Levit. xviii. 18. For how can a marriage, that is good and valid, become void by oppressing, but as an Hebrew slave that one marries is made free by the Law, if she be not used as a wife (and so, no longer his wife)? that relief being only provided by the Law in that case. Therefore, when the Law saith, "to vex her," it is not [a[x]] limitation, but a reason; which the Law follows in sisters, because in them, as it is more likely to come to pass, so it is more unreasonable, as in Jacob's example: whereas, being a perpetual attendant of polygamy, as in the wives of Elkanah, it was not nevertheless admitted for a reason totally to prohibit it.

[1 Sam. i. 6.]

[The parallel case of the prohibition of the brother's widow, no argument to the contrary, in the case of a positive law as this is.]

§ 14. And therefore I say, that I am no ways tied to give a reason, why God, Who prohibited two brothers to have the same wife, should allow two sisters to have the same husband, after death. For, the law being positive (as it is confessed by the dispensation introduced by the law, on the one side), the will of the Lawgiver is the reason of those bounds which He limits; and therefore He is not obliged to enact those bounds, whereof there is no reason to be seen: His own knowledge of what was fitting for His design, of husbanding the restraints of the Law so as to make way for the necessity of the Gospel, being the only reason that remains undisputable. And is not the instance manifest, in that, the father's sisters being prohibited by the Law, the sister's daughter is not? whereupon Herod married his niece and espoused his daughter to his brother Pheroras (Joseph., *Antiq.* xii. xvi.[y]). 140

[Probable reason of the inequality in the prohibition as so interpreted.]

§ 15. Which he that considers, will not despise a probable reason evident to the Jews[z], though he acknowledge that it enforces nothing, setting the will of the Lawgiver aside; to wit, that the young are wont to frequent their grandfathers'

[v] Above, in c. xiii. § 12.

[x] Added from MS.

[y] For the betrothal of Pheroras to Herod's daughter, see Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. xvi. c. 7. § 3; tom. ii. p. 726. For Herod's marriage with *two* of his nieces, children respectively of a brother and of a sister, ibid., lib. xvii. c. 1. § 3. p. 751.—xii. in the text appears to be a mistake.

[z] See Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 10. pp. 546, 547: from Maimonides and others.

and grandmothers' houses, and there to have conversation with their father's sisters, having less interess in brothers' houses, and so frequenting them less. Which holds also in the brother's house more than the wife's sister's. And so, the reasons of the prohibitions of Leviticus xviii. being two, nearness of blood, occasion of uncleanness, if the Law had not made the marriages of such persons unclean, this reason may weigh where the other does not appear.

[Marriage with the wife's sister prohibited Christians by the Church.]

§ 16. As for the inconvenience that is feared, that Christian people should license themselves to do that under the Gospel, which it is confessed that God's people under the Law were not prohibited to do (for it is manifest, that some which count themselves great saints have done it):—either people do believe the Holy Catholic Church, or not: if they believe it, they must believe the power of the Church in limiting that, which our Lord Christ hath not limited, in testifying where our Lord Christ and His apostles have limited, though not recorded to us by the Scriptures; according as I have deduced it in the premisses[a]: if not, it is no marvel to see, that apostacy from the belief and unity of God's Church should now and then draw after it licentiousness in such a point as this is. If the canons and customs[b], hitherto reverenced by all Christians as the remains and evidence of the conversation delivered over by the successors of our Lord to His Church, cannot prevail with men, to forbear that which no example but their own warrants; the Scripture cannot stand long, standing only upon motives of conscience. It is as ordinary to hear it said, that the Scripture which is contained in the Bible, is not the Scripture, but that which is written in the heart; that the Man That was crucified at Jerusalem is not Christ, but He That dwells in the heart[c]: as it is to see a man marry the sister of his deceased wife. Temporal punishments may deter men from publishing such blasphemies[d]: but if the unity of the

[a] Above, c. xiv. § 14—33.

[b] See below, § 18—20: Bingham, XVI. xi. 3: Hammond, as above quoted, § 46, 47. p. 590: Dr. Pusey, On Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister, 8vo. Lond. 1849.

[c] See the sayings of Quakers to the effect of the blasphemies above mentioned, in Leslie's Snake in the Grass, sect. vii., and Satan disrobed from his Disguise of Light, § i. xi.; Works, vol. iv. pp. 95, sq.; 365, 379.

[d] A list of punishments inflicted on the Quakers may be found in the True Relation of the Quakers' Sufferings, in the Somers' Tracts, third Collection,

BOOK III.

Church come not in, to evidence the motives of faith, and by consequence to procure the reverence of those laws, whereby only it may be maintained; it will be as easy and obvious to despise Christianity and the Scriptures, as the Church, and those [rules and[e]] rulers whereby the service of God is maintained in the unity of it.

Marriage with a cousin-german, by what law prohibited.

§ 17. As concerning the marriage[f] of cousin-germans, the premisses being supposed, I am not a whit troubled, that I cannot produce such canons in writing, as may evidence, that all Christians from the beginning forbore it. For having shewed[g], that all the canons of the Church were in effect and force before they were written and enacted by councils; and that the enacting of them was but the limiting of some circumstances, abating the rigour of primitive customs, because the number of Christians multiplying could not so easily be held to it: I cannot see, how St. Augustin can be refused, when he tells us (*De Civ. Dei.*, xv. 16[h]); "*Raro per mores fiebat, quod fieri per leges licebat, quia id nec Divina prohibeat, et nondum prohibuerat lex humana; veruntamen, factum etiam licitum, propter vicinitatem horrebatur illiciti*"—"Seldom was that done by reason of custom, which by reason of law might have been done, because neither did God's law prohibit it, nor as yet had man's law prohibited it; notwithstanding, being lawful to be done, it was abhorred for the neighbourhood of that which was unlawful." God's law in Leviticus had not forbidden it: nor the laws of the empire as yet[i]. How then came Christians to abhor that, which the law of God and man, saith St. Augustin (that is to say, the law of Moses, and of the empire), licensed? Is it possible, that Christendom of its own free motion should conspire to impose upon itself such a restraint, having no share in Christianity? It is still as easy to maintain, that the world was made by the casual meeting of atoms,

["prohibuit."]

14

vol. ii. pp. 268, sq. And see also the story of James Naylor and others in Whitlock's Memorials, pp. 643, 644: whose blasphemies were much the same with those above referred to.

[e] Added from MS.

[f] Corrected from MS.; "marriages," in orig. text.

[g] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii.

[h] Lib. xv. c. 16. § 2; Op., tom. vii. p. 398. E.

[i] It was prohibited first by a law of Theodosius, said to have been made at the suggestion of St. Ambrose. See Dr. Pusey as before quoted, pp. 13, 16: Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. p. 557: and below, § 18. notes n—y.

according to Epicurus[k], denying providence. But suppose the apostles and their successors to have received for a necessary point of Christianity, that, "unless our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and suppose them to have the allowance of all marriages, that is, the discerning of what is agreeable to Christianity from what not; and you render a sufficient reason, how such a custom should prevail in the Church: which otherwise is not to be rendered. And, supposing such a custom, you grant, that that which Christians abhorred only because it was near that which the law of Moses or the law of the empire made unlawful, was become itself unlawful, by virtue of that custom, which no Christian, that would not offend the unity of the Church, could lawfully transgress[l]. The saying of Justin the Martyr, *Epist. ad Zenam et Serenum*, is truly apostolical, and takes place here again[m]; "*Πείθονται τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους*"—"They obey the laws that are, and in their lives go beyond the laws:" speaking of the Christians. But if it were the character of Christians to "go beyond the laws," shall we count it a thing lawful for a Christian to efface in himself the common character of Christians?

[Matt. v. 20.]

§ 18. When the great Theodosius made it a law to the empire not to marry cousin-germans[n] (which is the law that St. Augustin intimates[o], for which he is so much commended, not only by St. Ambrose, *Ep.* lxvi.[p], but by the heathen his-

[The law of Theodosius the Great prohibiting such marriages.]

[k] Lucret., De Rer. Nat., ii. 61, sq.; Diog. Laert., x. 38, sq.: Gassendi, Philos. Epicuri Syntagma, P. ii. De Physicâ, cc. iv., sq.; Op., tom. iii. pp. 15, sq.

[l] "If those times of the Church which we pretend to hold with, made it a law to the whole, even against Justinian's law, can we be one with them, and not do the like? unless we could say, that the law of Leviticus was intended for the Church which is taken away before." Added in margin in MS.

[m] See above, c. xiii. § 19. note e. The passage is from the Epist. ad *Diognetum*.

[n] This law is not extant, but is referred to both by subsequent laws and by various writers. The penalty assigned was death: but a dispensing power was reserved to the emperor. See Bingham, XVI. xi. 4; Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. pp. 557: Gothofred., ad Cod. Theodos., lib. iii. tit. x. tom. i. pp. 330—333: and below, notes p, q, r.—See also upon this subject, Dugard, Marriages of Cousin Germans vindicated from the censures of unlawfulness and inexpediency, Oxf. 1673: and Jer. Taylor, Duct. Dubit., Bk. ii. c. ii. Rule 3. § 34—89; Works, vol. ix. pp. 382—404. ed. Eden.

[o] As above, in § 17.

[p] "Nam Theodosius imperator etiam patrueles fratres et consobrinos vetuit inter se conjugii convenire nomine, et severissimam pœnam statuit, si quis temerare ausus esset fratrum pia pignora." S. Ambros., Epist. Class. i.

BOOK III.

torian Sextus Aurelius Victor, *in Theodosio*[q]); did he do this for a frolic (all reason of state dissuading the imposing of unnecessary burdens, where the necessary were so great), or did he do it, because he would promote Christianity, by imposing upon the empire, before it was all Christian, the custom of Christianity?

[Repealed by Justinian.]

§ 19. I know this act was repealed by Justinian[r], and perhaps upon advice of some bishops; who always frequented him, as we understand by Procopius[s]. But neither is the authority of Justinian of weight in the question of Christianity: neither did those bishops, that might give this advice, act in the quality of bishops, but of his friends and counsellors; their opinion as bishops would not have served to change the customs of the Church.

[But this repeal never took place in the west.]

§ 20. Therefore this repeal never took place in the west. For, first, the Goths retained Theodosius his law; as Cassiodore, vii. 46[t], testifieth (which Covarruvias[u] saith is the reason,

Ep. lx. (in edd. Erasmi, &c., lxvi.), Ad Paternum, § 8; Op., tom. ii. p. 1019. D.—written circ. 393.

[q] "Tantum pudori tribuens" (Theodosius) "et continentiæ, ut consobrinarum nuptias vetuerit tanquam sororum." Sext. Aur. Victor, Hist. Rom. Compend., in vita Theodosii.

[r] "Duorum autem fratrum vel sororum liberi, vel fratris et sororis, conjungi possunt." Justinian, Instit., lib. i. tit. x. leg. 4: Corp. Jur. Civ., p. 5. ed. Gothofred.—The law of Theodosius had been confirmed by Honorius (Cod. Theodos., lib. iii. tit. x. leg. 1. tom. i. p. 329), and by Arcadius (ibid., tit. xii. leg. 3. ibid., p. 339:—assuming the law to be genuine; for which see Sirmondi, De Lege *Celebrandis*, &c., Op., tom. iv. pp. 388, sq., against it, and Gothofred, ad Cod. Theod., lib. iii. tit. xiii. leg. 3. pp. 341, 342, for it, quoted by Dr. Pusey, Pref., p. liv. note b), but with a gradual diminution of penalties. The same Arcadius afterwards repealed it; and his abrogation of it was adopted by Justinian into his Code (Justiniani Cod., lib. v. tit. iv. leg. 19. Celebrandis. p. 149.)—For the reading "conjungi *non* possunt," in the Institutes, conclusively proved to be erroneous by the parallel passage just quoted from the Code, see below, note y.

[s] Justinian is accused by Arsaces of sitting "ἀφύλακτος ἑσαεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ νυκτῶν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων γέρουσιν ἄσχετον ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων." Procop., De Bell. Goth., lib. iii. c. 32: in Corp. Hist. Byzant., tom. i. p. 539. A.—In the Hist. Arcana of the same Procopius, c. xiii. (ibid., tom. ii. p. 40. A, B), is an account of the alleged unjust favouritism of the same emperor towards the clergy in the administration of justice.

[t] Cassiodor., Variar., lib. vii. c. 46. "Formula qua consobrina legitima fiat uxor:" scil. under Theodoric and the Ostrogoths. The prohibition is described as one enacted by "prudentes viri," throwing a protection round Divine laws on the subject by forbidding also the next degree outside those forbidden by God, and "reservantes principi tantum beneficium consobrinis nuptiali copulatione jungendis."—Gothofred (ad Cod. Theodos., lib. iii. tit. xiii. leg. 3. tom. i. pp. 341, 342) concludes also, that the law was not repealed in the west.

[u] This remark does not seem to be in Covarruvias' Commentary in Lib. iv. Decret., which is the work in which he treats of marriage; Op., tom. ii. pp. 108, sq. Lugd. 1606: although he mentions the subject in P. ii. c. iii. paragr. 6. num. 9. p. 155. a, and paragr. 10. num. 9. p. 166. b. Something of the kind occurs in Contius, Lectt. Sub-

why in Gaius—out of whom Justinian took his Institutes for the most part[x]—it is at this day read, "*Duorum fratrum vel sororum liberi vel fratris et sororis jungi non possunt*"—"The children of two brothers or sisters or of a brother and sister may not marry together[y];" contrary to that which Justinian is known to have enacted[z]). Then the later emperors revived the law of Theodosius[a]: upon which occasion it is still read in many copies of the Institutes, *De Nupt.* x. 4, "*non possunt*[b];" expressly against many parts of Justinian's law. And, for the east, how shall we say that Justinian's law was repealed, or upon what ground, but that the custom of the Church prevailed to move Christian emperors to repeal it, seeing Christendom scandalized at the licence introduced by it? He therefore, that alleges Justinian in these cases, or even Moses, let him allege Herod's marrying his brother's daughter, and espousing his daughter to his brother Pheroras, in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. and xvi.[c]; and so allowing the same: which when Claudius for his own lust licensed, there was scarce found a gentleman in Rome that would do the like, as Tacitus reporteth[d]. Indeed, when St. Augustin says this was rarely done afore Theodosius[e], signifying that sometimes

secivæ, lib. ii. c. 1. (ap. Novæ Declar. Juris, &c., p. 381. Venet. 1585). The name was abbreviated "Cvias," in the folio edit. of Thorndike, but is written at length—"Covaruvias"—in marg. in the MS.

[x] "Quas (Institutiones) ex omnibus antiquorum institutionibus et præcipue ex commentariis Caii nostri . . . compositas," &c. Justinian, Instit., lib. i. procem.

[y] "Fratres etiam amitinos vel consobrinos in matrimonium jungi nulla ratione permittitur." Gaius, Instit., lib. i. tit. iv. § 6. p. 567; ap. Leewium De Orig. et Progr. Juris Civ. Rom., Lug. Bat. 1671. Theophilus also in his Greek version of the Institutes, lib. i. tit. x. § 4. (p. 52. ed. Gothofred. 1587), reads "*οὐ δύνανται.*" And Ivo Carnot., Decret., P. ix. c. 1. Op., P. i. p. 295. b. Paris. 1647, likewise has the negative. There is neither permission nor prohibition on the subject in the newly discovered Gaius: see Instit. Gaii, lib. i. § 62, 63, pp. 27, 28. ed. secunda Gœschen, Berolini, 1824. The words in the text above (the negative of course excepted) are from Justinian. Sirmondi (as quoted above in note r) argues for its insertion: but the affirmative reading appears to be that generally received; and is indeed almost *proved* by the passage in the Code.

[z] See above in note r.

[a] See above in note r.

[b] See above in note y.

[c] See above, § 14. note y.

[d] "Neque tamen repertus est nisi unus talis matrimonii (sc. "inter patruos fratrumque filias") "cupitor, T. Alledius Severus, eques Romanus." Tacit., Ann., xii. 7.—Suetonius (in Vita Claudii, 26) mentions another, a freedman, who did the same thing.—Such marriages had been before unknown at Rome, and were regarded as incestuous (Tacit., ibid., 5; Sueton., ibid.): and the permission of them, granted under Claudius, and acted upon under Domitian (Sueton. in Vita Domit. 22), was abrogated by Nerva (Dio Cass., lib. lxviii. p. 77. C. ed. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606).

[e] See above, § 17, 18. notes h, o.

BOOK III.

it was done: we must acknowledge, not only that the marriage was not void, that was so made from the beginning (for neither is the marriage of the deceased wife's sister, or of the niece, void by the canons of the apostles[f]; and the Eliberine canon[g] enjoins, upon marrying the wife's sister, five years' penance, signifying that it was not void); but also we remain uncertain, whether it were censured by the Church or how.

[How forbidden degrees have been varied or increased by the Western and by the Eastern Church.]

§ 21. But when St. Gregory allows Augustin the monk to 142
allow the first Christian Saxons to marry in the fourth degree[h], we are not certified, whether according to the account of the Roman law, or according to that account which the popes afterwards brought in use. For the Roman law, counting the stock for one, made no first degree in the cross line, but reckoned brothers the second, and by consequence cousin-germans the fourth: determining both legal successions and affinities within seven degrees; which are sometime called six, as you include both terms, or exclude the one: *l.* x. ff. *De Gradibus et Affinibus;* Paulus, *Sent.* iv. 11; *ubi* Anianus;

[f] "Ὁ δύο ἀδελφὰς ἀγαγόμενος, ἢ ἀδελφιδῆν, οὐ δύναται εἶναι κληρικός." Can. Apost. 18: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 30. A.

[g] "Si quis post obitum uxoris suæ sororem ejus duxerit, et ipsa fuerit fidelis, quinquennium a communione placuit abstineri; nisi forte dari pacem velocius necessitas coegerit infirmitatis." Conc. Eliberit. (A.D. 305) can. lxi.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 977. A, B.

[h] "Quædam terrena lex in Romana Republica permittit, ut sive fratris sive sororis seu duorum fratrum germanorum vel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem revelare. Unde necesse est ut jam tertia vel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi jungi debeat. Nam secunda quam diximus a se omnimodo debet abstinere." S. Greg. M., Epist. lib. xi. Indict. iv. Ep. lxiv. Ad Augustin. Anglor. Episc., Resp. ad Interrog. 6; Op., tom. iii. p. 1154. A, B. In many MSS., for "tertia vel quarta," is read "quarta vel quinta;" and the passage is cited in both ways: for which see Gratian, Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxxv. Qu. 2 et 3. c. 20. p. 433. Thorndike appears to have taken the quotation from Gratian, who stops at the sentence here ending with "debeat." In the original text no question can be made what degrees S. Gregory intended by his numbers. In another and later Epistle, lib. xiv. Indict. vii. Ep. xvii. Ad Felicem Messan. Episc. (ibid., p. 1277. C, D), S. Gregory says—"Quod autem scripsi Augustino, Anglorum gentis episcopo, . . . de consanguinitatis conjunctione: ipsi et Anglorum genti, quæ nuper ad fidem venerat, ne a bono quod cœperat, metuendo austeriora recederet, specialiter et non generaliter ceteris me scripsisse cognoscas. Unde et mihi omnis Romana civitas extitit testis, nec ea intentione hæc illis scriptis mandavi, ut postquam firma radice in fide fuerint solidati, si intra propriam fuerint consanguinitatem inventi, non separentur, aut infra affinitatis lineam, id est, *usque ad septimam generationem*, conjungantur; sed adhuc illos neophytos existentes," &c. The question of Felix was, whether Gregory's direction to Augustin was not "ut *quarta* progenie conjuncti non separentur" (Ep. Felicis, ap. S. Greg. Epist., ibid., Epist. xvi. p. 1275. B): which however does not conclusively settle the doubtful reading in the original letter of Gregory.

et Modest. *l.* xlv. ff. *De Gradibus et Affinibus*[i]. Whereupon marriage was first forbidden in the west as far as the seventh degree inclusive: *Caus.* [x]xxv. qu. 2. *et* 3[k]; *et* cap. 20. *ib.*,

[i] Digest., lib. xxxviii. tit. x. De Gradibus et Affinibus, cc. 1—9: in Corp. Jur. Civ. pp. 551—553; from Gaius, Ulpian, Modestinus, Paulus, &c.—Julius Paulus, Sentent. Recept., lib. iv. tit. 11. p. 87. in fin. Cod. Justinian. ed. Gothofred.—Anianus, Interpretat. ad Pauli locum, pp. 181, 184. in edit. Pauli a Rittershusio, Norib. 1594.—Modestinus, lib. xii. Pandectarum; ap. Digest. lib. xxxviii. tit. x. De Grad., &c., c. 4. p. 551. b: xlv. in the text above is a mistake.—These quotations are from Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. p. 558.—"Pontificii . . . occidentis vetustis Christianismi seculis," . . . (interpreting Lev. xviii. 6. "Nemo ad propinquam carnis suæ accedat," &c.), . . . "ad civilia in jure Cæsareo cognationum nomina . . . se contulere; extra quorum limites quoniam specialia consanguinitatis vocabula jurisconsultis Romanis non habebantur, nec consanguinitatem hic præpedientem agnoverunt. Civilia illa nomina septem conclusa sunt gradibus; ut videre est in Pandectis. Et Paulus, 'Successionis,' inquit, 'gradus septem constituti sunt, quia ulterius per rerum naturam nec nomina inveniri nec vita succedentibus prorogari potest.' Ubi vetus interpres Anianus, 'In his septem gradibus omnia propinquitatum nomina continentur, ultra quos nec affinitas inveniri nec successio potest amplius prorogari.' Hinc interdictæ olim nuptiæ in occidente usque ad septimum gradum inclusive (qui et pro sexto"—so Gratian, Decret. Caus. xxxv. Qu. 2, 3. c. 21, as quoted below in note p—"variante in personis calculo, interdum æstimatur) rationibus redditis," &c. "Perinde ac si post septimum gradum omnimoda sanguinis relatio propinquitatisque, etiam ad sensum quo ipsi illa legis de nuptiis Mosaicæ verba prævia ac generalia intelligerent, prorsus deleta fuisset. Cum interea certo sciamus, non solum qui longius sive recta sive ex transverso, etiam in infinitum, distarent, vetustis jurisconsultis consanguineos nuncupari, sed etiam usque ad decimum gradum, jure Cæsareo, consanguinitatis nomine, sublata agnatorum et cognatorum differentia, succedere, atque excludere fiscum. Sed vero, quod et magis mirere, petita, ut dixi, jure Cæsareo graduum, extra quos . . . consanguinitatem non agnosci volebant, enumeratione generali, ita aliam nihilominus, et juri Cæsareo plane incognitam, jurisconsultisque nonnullis haud parum invisam" (sc. Alberic. Gentilis, De Nupt., lib. v. c. 6.—pp. 407—412. Hanov. 1614—"et alii ibi citati), gradus ex transverso supputandi inibant rationem, ut tametsi septimi gradus nomen quidem retinerent, decimum quartum tamen, ad Cæsareorum calculum, non raro innuerent. Nam ubi jure Cæsareo generatio cujuslibet personæ ex transverso gradum facit unicum, adeo ut frater et soror binis ita distent gradibus (nam in transversa linea primus gradus Cæsareis non habetur—Gaius, lib. i. ff. tit. de Gradibus—), et consobrini quatuor, horum liberi sex, atque horum denique liberi octo, scilicet pronepotes fratris et sororis; pontificii illi quarto duntaxat gradu hosce distari volunt, ita putatis consanguineorum gradibus, ut quot a communi parente, in æquali inde distantia, alter distet, tot solum inter se distent; in inæquali, quot a communi parente distet remotior: adeoque ut ipsas Cæsareorum proximitates, intra quas consanguineorum nomen cohiberi putabant (unde et leges stabiliebant nuptiales) ipsi duplicando ita excederent. Et demum de gradibus ita numeratis pronunciabant" (sc. Alexander PP. c. 2. &c. as below in note q), "'Ultra hos nec consanguinitas invenitur,'" &c.: "cum interim decimus ad juris Cæsarei calculum . . . vicesimus ita esset ad pontificii." Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. pp. 557—559: from the Pandects, &c., as quoted in the beginning of this note.—Judge Blackstone, in an Essay on Collateral Consanguinity (Lond. 1750), with reference to founder's kin fellowships, argues for a limit to such consanguinity at the *seventh* degree as reckoned by the canon law.

[k] Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Causa xxxv. (xxv. in the text above is a misprint). Qu. 2 et 3. "An ex consanguinitate uxoris aliqua possit in conjugem duci: et usque ad quem gradum debeat quisque abstinere sive a propriis sive ab uxoris consanguineis:" pp. 431—433. in Pithæi Corp. Jur. Canon. Paris. 1687.—cc. 1, 7, 16, 19, prohibit "usque ad septimum gradum, de consanguinitate, aut cognatione." c. 17.

BOOK III.

Greg. PP. I.[l]; Nic. PP. II. c. 17. *ib.*[m]; *et Sentent.* iv. *dist.* xl.[n]; Isid., *Orig.* ix., *et* c. 6. *Caus.* xxxv. qu. 5°; Grat. c. 21[p]: whereby it should seem, that this degree was dispensed with by St. Gregory, being otherwise then prohibited. But the pope afterwards, introducing a contrary way, of counting brothers for one degree and cousin-germans the second (which before were the second and the fourth), determined kindred by seven of these degrees, which were before just half so many; Alex. PP. II. c. 2. *Caus.* xxxv. qu. 5[q]: and

"usque ad post septimam generationem:" see below, note m. Other chapters either refer to the imperial law, as c. 2; or specify the fifth generation as permitted, the third as prohibited, the fourth as forbidden, but, "si inventi fuerint, non separentur;" as Fabian in c. 3, and Gregory I. in c. 20; for which see above in note h. For c. 21, see below, note p.—These quotations are all from Selden as in last note.

[l] Scil. the quotations from Gregory the Great, for which see above in note h.

[m] "De consanguinitate sua uxorem nullus ducat usque ad *post* generationem septimam, vel quousque parentela cognosci potuerit." Nicolaus II. Papa, ap. Gratian, as just quoted, c. 17.

[n] "Cognati vero vel affines in septimo gradu vel infra copulari non debent. . . . Attende quod sex gradus tantum ponit Isidorus, quia truncum inter gradus non computat. Alii vero, qui septem gradus ponunt, truncum inter gradus computant. Varie namque computantur gradus consanguinitatis. Alii enim patrem in primo gradu, filios in secundo ponunt. Alii primum gradum filios appellant, negantes gradum cognationis inter patrem et filium esse; cum una caro sint pater et filius. Authoritates ergo, quæ consanguinitatis cautelam usque in septimum gradum perhibent, patrem ponunt in primo gradu. Illi vero, qui usque ad sextum gradum prohibent, primum gradum filios appellant. Atque ita fit ut eædem personæ secundum hanc diversitatem inveniuntur in sexto et septimo gradu." Peter Lombard, Sentent., lib. iv. Dist. 40. A, B.

[o] In Gratian (Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxxv. Qu. 5. c. 6. p. 435. b.), the greater portion of Paulus lib. iv. tit. 11. as above cited, with the interpretation of Anianus, is quoted at length as from Isidore. See Contius, Lectt. Subsec., as quoted above in § 20. note u, lib. i. c. 10. pp. 365. b—368. b.—In Isidore, Origin. sive Etymolog., lib. ix. c. 5. Op. p. 80. Col. Agrip. 1617, there is a chapter De Affinitatibus et Gradibus, giving the names of the several generations, but not numbering them at all upon any principle of reckoning. At the end of c. 6., ibid. p. 81. D, "in quibusdam exemplaribus hæc adjiciuntur"—"Hæc consanguinitas dum se paulatim propaginum ordinibus dirimens, usque ad ultimum gradum subtraxerit, et propinquitas esse desierit; eam rursus lex matrimonii vinculo repetit, et quodammodo revocat fugientem. Ideo autem usque ad sextum generis gradum consanguinitas constituta est, ut sicut sex ætatibus mundi generatio et hominis status finitur, ita propinquitas generis tot gradibus terminaretur."

[p] Scil. Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxxv. Qu. 2 et 3. c. 21. as quoted by Selden. This c. 21 is quoted as from Concil. Cabillon. (Chalon sur Saone), but is really from Concil. Mogunt. (scil. of Mentz, A.D. 813)—"Contradicimus, ut in quarta vel in quinta sextaque generatione nullus amplius conjugio copuletur. Ubi autem post interdictum factum fuerit inventum, seperatur." Which is explained by Gratian ad loc. by the various modes of reckoning generations mentioned above in notes i, n. See it in Labb., Conc., tom. vii. p. 1252. B, C. There was also a council in the same year at Chalon sur Saone, which enjoined in general terms observation of the canons on the subject of prohibited degrees (can. 28, ap. Labb., ibid., p. 1278. B.).

[q] "Ad sedem Apostolicam perlata est quæstio noviter exorta de gradibus consanguinitatis: quam quidam," &c., "gradus contra sacros canones et ecclesiasticum morem numerare nituntur; novo et inaudito errore affirmantes, quod germani fratres vel sorores inter

all these prohibited, c. 14. *Caus.* xxxv. qu. 2 *et* 3[r]: till reduced to the fourth by the Lateran Council under Innocent III.[s] for the difficulty and burden of it (which fourth is just the eighth by the former account); which is now the law of the west under the Pope. A thing which I cannot admire at enough, either how proposed, or how admitted. Whereas, in the east, the seventh degree (according to the Roman account) is neither permitted, nor the marriage dissolved if consummate: *Jus Græcorum*, lib. iii. p. 204[t], lib. iv. p. 266[u]. Afterwards, under Michael Patriarch of Constanti-

se sint in secunda generatione, filii eorum vel filiæ in quarta, nepotes vel neptes eorum in sexta. Talique modo progeniem computantes, et in hujusmodi sexto eam gradu terminantes, dicunt deinceps viros ac mulieres inter se posse nuptialia jura contrahere.... Invenimus ... alteram legum, alteram canonum computationem"—(and this arising from the different objects of the two, the one providing for lawful inheritance, the other for rightful marriage). —"In legibus distincte non numerantur gradus nisi usque ad sextum: in canonibus autem usque ad septimam distinguuntur generationem. Hac igitur de causa ... curavit sæcularis imperator in singulis personis singulos præfigere gradus. Quia vero nuptiæ sine duabus non valent fieri personis, ideo sacri canones duas in uno gradu constituere personas." And accordingly, "duo gradus legales unum gradum canonicum constituunt. Fratres itaque, qui secundum sæculares leges dicuntur in secundo gradu, juxta canones numerantur in primo. Filii fratrum, qui illic numerantur in quarto, hic computantur in secundo," &c. "Illa quoque sacrorum præceptio canonum quæ jubet a propria abstineri consanguinitate, quamdiu generatio recordatur aut memoria retinetur, nec a prædicta parentelæ discrepat computatione. Nam in septem gradibus, si canonice et usualiter enumerentur, omnia propinquitatum nomina continentur. Ultra quos nec consanguinitas invenitur, nec nomina graduum reperiuntur, nec successio potest amplius prorogari, nec memoriter ab aliquo generatio recordari." But there is also another mode of reckoning. "Sunt enim quidam, qui non a fratribus sed a filiis eorum, id est, patruelibus vel consobrinis, genealogiam numerare incipiunt:" but who, also, "non progrediuntur ultra sextam generationem. .. Hæc itaque computatio, quæ incipit a fratrum filiis et numerat usque ad sextam generationem, tantundem valet quantum ea, quæ incipit a fratribus et computat usque ad septimam." Alexander II. Papa, an. 1065; ap. Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxxv. Qu. 5. c. 2. pp. 434. a—435. a.

[r] Ibid., Qu. 2 et 3. c. 14. "Sane consanguinitas, quæ in proprio viro observanda est, hæc nimirum in uxoris parentela de lege nuptiarum custodienda est," &c. And add cc. 16, 17, 19, ibid., as above in note k.

[s] "Prohibitio quoque copulæ conjugalis quartum consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradum de cætero non excedat: quoniam in ulterioribus gradibus jam non potest absque gravi dispendio hujusmodi prohibitio generaliter observari." Conc. Lateran. IV. (A.D. 1215, sub Innoc. III.), can. 1.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xi. p. 202. C. And see Selden, De Jure Nat. &c., lib. v. c. 11. p. 559.

[t] "'Επεὶ οὖν ὁ μὲν βασίλειος ἑβδόμου βαθμοῦ τῇ Θεοδότῃ καθέστηκεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς ὀγδόου βαθμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὖσι τὸν γάμον, ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τοῖς τοῦ ἕκτου, τοῖς γε μὴν ἑβδόμου οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτρέπει οὐδ' ἀπαρνεῖται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὁμοίων ἀμφισβητήσεων κινηθεισῶν· φκονόμηται τὸν τοιοῦτον γάμον, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ προβῆναι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι, μὴ διασπᾶσθαι μὲν ἐπιτιμίοις δὲ τοῖς οὕτω συναφθέντας καθυποβάλλεσθαι." Alexii, Patriarch. Constantin., Sentent.; ap. Leunclav., Jur. Græco-Rom., lib. iii. p. 204: adding a σχῆμα of the degrees intended, whence it appears that Theodote was daughter of Basil's second cousin.

[u] Joannis, Patriarch. Constant., Decret.; ap. Leunclav., ibid., lib. iv. pp. 266, 267: confirming the decree of

BOOK III.

nople (*ibid.*, lib. iii. p. 206[x]), the seventh was forbidden, the eighth always licensed. See further, Harmenop., lib. iv. tit. 5[y]; Arcudius, vii. 30[z]. Which I allege all to no purpose but this, that the consent of Christendom, submitting to be restrained beyond all degrees any way pretended to be expressed by God's law, is an evidence of the two principles alleged, that they were from the beginning admitted by all Christendom.

[The statute of 32 Hen. VIII. c. 38.]

§ 22. Indeed, when it is said, that which the Church censured not, which St. Gregory dispensed with, which the Roman emperors and Gothish kings reserved themselves a power of dispensing in (as appears by a law of Honorius and Theodosius, *in Cod. Theod.*, "*Si nuptiæ ex rescripto petantur*[a]," and by Cassiod. vii. 46[b]), it is no marvel, if it be permitted by the statute of Henry VIII. [an.] xxxii. [c.] 38[c]: we may see the case hath been not much otherwise with us since that statute, than with Christendom before the act of Theodosius. For, as then the known custom of the Church, so since, with

Alexius, and forbidding a marriage between the niece and the aunt's husband's brother.

[x] Michael., Patriarch. Constantin., Decret. "περὶ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι γάμον ἑβδόμου βαθμοῦ;" ibid., lib. iii. pp. 206—210.

[y] Constant. Harmen., Πρόχειρον Νόμων, lib. iv. tit. 6. (5 in the text is a mistake), pp. 298—300; "Περὶ βαθμῶν Συγγενείας καὶ Γάμων Κεκωλυμένων:"—"Οἱ τρισεξάδελφοι" (scil. the great-grandsons of brothers) "ὀγδόου (βαθμοῦ)· οἷς καὶ συναπτέον εἰς γάμον ἀκωλύτως."

[z] Arcudius, De Concord. Eccles. Occid. et Orient. &c., lib. vii. c. 30. pp. 551, sq. "De discrimine graduum consanguinitatis et affinitatis, quod est inter Græcos et Latinos."—"A tempore . . Michaelis Patriarchæ . . anno Domino 1050 ac deinceps usque ad nostra tempora Græci prohibuerunt fieri matrimonia usque ad septimam personam inclusive. Nam antea tempore Alexii Patriarchæ . . vetabant usque ad sextam inclusive. . . Porro septima persona, quam Græci prohibent, continetur in quarto gradu Juris Canonici, et ita Græci congruenter cum Latinis prohibent quidem usque ad quartum gradum, non tamen perfecte. Cum enim quartus gradus comprehendat etiam octavam personam, Græci cum ea permittunt fieri matrimonium. . . Venio ad affinitatem, in qua quidem adhuc amplius unum gradum civilem Græci remittunt. Non enim unus et idem duas secundas consobrinas ordine accipere potest, cum non constituant septimum gradum, quem Græci permittunt, sed sextum. Sextum autem dico, quod nimirum vir et prima uxor locum unius gradus teneant, et pro uno gradu reputentur."

[a] Scil. the law of Honorius in Cod. Theod., lib. iii. tit. x., referred to above in § 19. note r.

[b] Above in § 20. note t.

[c] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 38, among other things relating to marriage, stating, that "by reason of other prohibitions than God's law admitteth, for their lucre by that court" (sc. of Rome) "invented, the dispensations whereof they always reserved to themselves, *as in kindred or affinity between cousin-germans*, and so to fourth and fourth" (sic) "degree, carnal knowledge of any of the same kin, or affinity before in such outward degrees, which else were lawful, and be not prohibited by God's law," enacts, "that no reservation or prohibition, God's law except, shall trouble or impeach any marriage without the Levitical degrees."

us, the remains of the opinion of that public honesty, which Christianity first introduced, hath been the cause, that few have used the known liberty of the temporal law; and that, with such reluctation of judgment, as hath been thought the occasion of evil consequences.

[Of dispensations for forbidden degrees.]

§ 23. As for those degrees, which, being prohibited by the Popes, are of course dispensed in for paying the fees, without any notice of particular reason in the case: as it is not for me either to maintain the abuse of ecclesiastical power, or because of the abuse to yield the Church to have no power in those causes, which it could have no power in, if that power might not be abused; so I am able to conclude, that it were more Christian for any Christian state to undergo a burden altogether unreasonable, than to shake off a burden, for which there is so much reason in Christianity as I have shewed for prohibiting the marriage of cousin-germans.

Of the profession of continence.

§ 24. Another impediment, of force to void marriage, whether only contracted or consummate also by carnal knowledge, pretended by the Church of Rome, and practised in the eastern Church, is that of profession of single life, to attend upon the service of God alone[d]. For whether Christians under wedlock, upon consent, may part from bed and board for this purpose, there is no reason for any Christian to make difficulty: the wish of St. Paul, "that all were as he" (1 Cor. vii. 7), taking place in them as well as in all others; that, "to avoid fornication, one man should marry one wife" [1 Cor. vii. 2], not taking place but in them in
143 whom no such resolution is supposed; upon which supposition they are commanded to return to the use of wedlock, after having retired for "prayer and fasting," lest "Satan tempt" them through their "incontinence." But this is disputable, whether it be a dissolution of the bond, or only a suspension of the exercise of marriage. It is further pre-

[1 Cor. vii. 5.]

[d] Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. vii. De Impedim. Dispp. xxv., xxvi., xxxii.—xxxvii., pp. 97—162.—Bellarm., De Matrim., lib. i. c. 21; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1663, sq.: laying down the positions, that "votum continentiæ simplex sit impedimentum impediens contrahendum, non tamen dirimens contractum; votum autem solenne sit impedimentum impediens contrahendum, et dirimens contractum; quod ultimum sub anathemate definitum est in Concilio Tridentino, sess. xxiv. can. 9" (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 875. C). The canon law (Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxvii. Qu. 2. cc. 19, sq. p. 365, and Caus. xxxiii. Qu. 5. p. 427), forbids such vows without consent of both parties.

BOOK III.

tended[e], that the one party may, by publishing such a profession, make void the marriage that is not yet consummate by carnal knowledge, leaving the other free to marry elsewhere. This in the Church of Rome. For, in the eastern Church, I doubt not that those imperial laws took place, which made this profession a lawful cause of dissolving marriage in being "*per bonam gratiam*," as the Roman law called it[f]; whether the party so deserted were allowed to marry elsewhere or not.

[Of the East and the West, allowing and forbidding such profession in one party without consent of the other; the latter in the right.]

§ 25. And indeed we find St. Basil (*Quæstt. Fusius Explicat.*, xii.[g]), and St. Chrysostom (*in Matt. Hom.* lxix.[h], *Ad Pop. Ant.*[i], *et in* 1 *Tim. Hom.* xiv.[k]), together with Cassian in the example of Theonas (*Collat.* xxi. 9, 10[l]), in their zeal to monastical life, advising married persons not to stay for the consent of their parties in making such a profession as this: at such time as the west, where monastical life was not yet

[e] "Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit." Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. can. 6; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 875. A.—"Licere conjugatis ex consensu vovere continentiam" (i. e. perpetual continence), and, "Per vota solennia solvi matrimonium ratum, non consummatum," are the two propositions of Bellarm., De Monach., lib. ii. cc. 37, 38; Controv., tom. i. pp. 1664. A—1672. C.—See also Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. ii. Disp. xiv. num. 2. p. 154. b: and Arcudius, De Concord. Eccles. Occid. et Orient. &c., lib. vii. c. 16. p. 512. b.

[f] See above, c. xiv. § 33. note p.—Justinian (Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. De Episc. et Cler., leg. liii. sect. 3. p. 23) "authorises the deserting party, man or woman, to claim their own fortune again," in such a case, "and not be liable to the least punishment for their desertion" (Bingh. VII. iii. 3).

[g] S. Basil., Regul. Fusius Tractatæ, qu. xii. (Op., tom. ii. p. 354. B), desires married persons, who wish to enter on the monastic state, to be questioned, whether "*ἐκ συμφώνου τοῦτο ποιοῦσι κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου:*" but adds, that, "*εἰ διαστασιάζοι τὸ ἕτερον μέρος, καὶ διαμάχοιτο, . . πληρούσθω τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος, Εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρός Με, καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ,*" κ.τ.λ. "*τῆς γὰρ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑπακοῆς οὐδὲν προτιμότερον.*"

[h] "*Μὴ εἴπῃς, Διαλεχθῶ τῇ γυναικί· καὶ διαλύσω τὰ πράγματα πρῶτον. Ἀρχὴ ῥαθυμίας αὕτη ἡ ἀναβολή. Ἄκουσον ὅτι συντάξασθαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἠθέλησέ τις, καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν ὁ προφήτης,*" κ.τ.λ. S. Chrys., In Matt. Hom. lxviii. al. lxix. § 5; Op., tom. vii. p. 677. C.

[i] S. Chrys. passes a high enlogy on the monks of Antioch in Hom. xvii. Ad Populum Antiochenum, § 1, 2. Op. tom. ii. pp. 172. B—174. D; and again, Hom. xviii. § 4. ibid. p. 187. A, B; but there does not seem to be anything in the Homilies ad Pop. Ant. answering to the reference in the text.

[k] "*Τί μυρίους παραλαμβάνεις μάρτυρας; μηδὲ οἰκέτης ἰδέτω, εἰ δυνατὸν, μηδὲ γυνή,*" κ.τ.λ. Id., In 1 ad Tim. c. v. Hom. xiv. § 6: ibid., tom. xi. p 632. F.

[l] Cassian (Collat. xxi. cc. ix., x., pp. 786, 787. Atreb. 1628), after relating that Theonas without his wife's consent turned monk, carefully guards against giving an opinion as to the right or wrong of his conduct; concluding with, "Ego autem qui non meam super hac re sententiam prompsi, sed rei gestæ historiam simplici narratione complexus sum, æquum est, ut sicut mihi de eorum, qui hoc factum probant, laude nihil vendico, ita eorum, qui id improbant, non pulser invidia."

so generally[m] spread, St. Hierome (*Epist.* xiv.[n]) and St. Augustin (*Epist.* xlv.[o], *et* cxcix.[p], *et De Adult. Conjugiis*[q]) maintain the contrary opinion; which to me, I confess, seems far more probable. For, granting single life duly ordered to be the ordinary way and means of attaining perfection in Christianity, according to the premisses[r], this state of eminence necessarily supposeth that which is necessary to the being of Christianity. Therefore the way to perfection must be grounded upon justice. Now, in justice, the contract of marriage among Christians gives each party that interesse in the other's body which marriage exerciseth: which interesse nothing but consent seems to dissolve. And, therefore, seeing there is no tradition of the whole Church to enforce this right: not only particular Churches, not allowing it, shall not seem to me to depart from the unity of the whole in so doing; but also sovereign powers, through their several dominions, in regard of the interesse which all states have in the marriage or single life of their subjects, shall lawfully use their power to limit the force of it. But as for marriage consummate and used, I cannot see, how the party deserting upon such pretence is excused from the guilt of adultery, which the deserted may commit, either single or married again. As for the question that may be made, whether the marriage of one that hath professed single life be void or valid; supposing the profession of single life to be agreeable to Christianity (as I

[m] Corrected from MS.; "originally," in folio edit.

[n] "Sed illud quoque simul didici, quod me non mediocriter angit ac stimulat, te videlicet tantum hoc bonum absque consensu et pacto viri servare cœpisse, cum hoc apostolica omnino interdicat autoritas, quæ in hac duntaxat causa, non modo uxorem viro, sed etiam virum uxoris subjecit potestati. . . . Tu vero quasi oblita fœderis nuptialis, pactique hujus ac juris immemor, inconsulto viro vovisti Domino castitatem. Sed periculose promittitur quod adhuc in alterius potestate est," &c. Paulinus Nolanus, inter Epistt. S. Hieron., Epist. cix. (al. xiv.), Ad Celantiam de ratione pie vivendi; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 820. See also S. Jerom himself, Epist. xc. Ad Rusticum; ibid., p. 739.

[o] "Vovenda talia non sunt a conjugatis nisi ex consensu et voluntate communi." S. Aug., Epist. cxxvii. (al. xlv.), Arment. et Paulinæ, § 9; Op., tom. ii. p. 376. G.

[p] "Neque enim corporis tui debito fraudandus fuit (vir tuus), prius quam ad illud bonum, quod superat pudicitiam conjugalem, tuæ voluntati voluntas quoque ejus accederet." Id., Epist. cclxii. (al. cxcix.), Ad Ecdiciam, § 2; ibid., p. 889. B. S. Augustin, in this letter, "Ecdiciæ, quæ nesciente viro suo bona sua in eleemosynam distribuerat et vidualem habitum induerat, correctionem adhibet quam acerrimam, injungens ut super his faciat satis viro suo."

[q] See above in c. xiv. § 10. note f.

[r] Corrected from MS.; "promises," in orig. text. See above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 35—38.

BOOK III.

conceive I have shewed sufficient reason to believe[s]), there is no consideration sufficient to make marriage after it valid, but the abuse of the profession itself, amounting to such a height, as may serve to satisfy a Christian, that in consideration thereof it is itself in the first place become void.

Of the validity of clandestine marriages. [As I. where the consent of parents is wanting: which renders not the marriage void, but voidable by the ecclesiastical or the civil power.]

§ 26. Another impediment yet remains questionable; whether it be of force to dissolve those marriages, which are called clandestine, whether for want of consent in the parents or the solemnities of the Church. Some think[t], that want of consent of parents not only makes the act unlawful, which all agree in, but the marriage void. As if the reverence due to parents by God's law did make a man's contract with a third person void, who is no ways bound to enquire, whether his free consent be lawfully exercised or not. In the Scriptures we see God's people proceed by consent of parents: and daughters especially St. Paul supposes to refer themselves to their fathers; 1 Cor. vii. 36. But neither was Esau's marriage taken to be void, because it was made without such consent; Gen. xxvi. 35: nor was there any particular consent of Jacob's parents to his marriages, Gen. xxix: nor were the fathers of Judah or of Tobias made acquainted with their marriages. And as for the Roman laws, which void marriages for want of this consent in some cases[u]: it is no more an argument of the law of nature, than the power of the father by the same laws[x], which nevertheless allow the mother none; whenas God's law always, as well as the law of Moses, gives them equal interesse. It is therefore manifest, that there is

[Gen. xxxviii. 1, 2: Tobit vii.]

[Exod. xx. 12; Lev. xix. 3; Deut. v. 16, xxi. 18, xxvii. 16.]

[s] See note r.

[t] So Erasmus, Luther, Bucer, Brentius, Kemnitz, Calvin, according to Bellarm., De Matr. Sacr., lib. i. c. 19; Controv., tom. ii. pp. 1650. C, 1651. B: maintaining such marriages to be either actually void, or voidable by the parent or by the civil magistrate. So also Duarenus and Oldendorp, quoted by D. Covarruvias, in lib. iv. Decret. Epitome, P. ii. c. iii. Paragr. 8. num. 1: Op., tom. ii. p. 139. a. Lugd. 1606: who himself, with all Romanists since the council of Trent, maintains the validity of such marriages. See also Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. as quoted below in note u.

[u] See Bingham, XVI. ix. 2, XXII. ii. 4; as from Constantine, Constans, Valentinian, and others, both in the Theodosian code and in that of Justinian.—The council of Trent decrees, "clandestina matrimonia, libero contrahentium consensu facta, rata et vera esse matrimonia, quamdiu ecclesia ea irrita non fecit;" condemning those, "qui falso affirmant matrimonia a filiis familias sine consensu parentum contracta irrita esse, et parentes ea rata vel irrita facere posse," but adding that "sancta ecclesia . . . illa semper detestata est atque prohibuit." Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. Decret. de Reform. Matrim., c. 1; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 876. A, B.

[x] Liv. ii. 41, viii. 7: Cic., De Legg., iii. 8: and see the article Patria Potestas in Smith's Dict. of Antiq.

ground in God's law to make this impediment of force to dissolve marriage contracted without it: and that, either for the
144 Church, as the reverence of parents is a part of God's law now in being, which the power of the Church pretendeth to preserve; or for the secular power, as the interesse of parents in the marriages of their children is of consequence to the public peace and wealth.

§ 27. The same may be said of those marriages that are made without witness, or without solemnities of the Church: saving that, those solemnities, which contain the approbation of the Church, arising upon the account of the Church, it is evidently more proper for the Church, to make this impediment of force to dissolve marriage; for the secular power, to enact the law of the Church by force of arms and temporal penalties. [or 2. where witnesses, or the due solemnities of the Church, are wanting.]

§ 28. There remains one cause more to hinder marriage, so as to dissolve it when consummate, being made notwithstanding it; the condition of slavery in either of the parties, at such time whenas the rights of bondage subsisted. This cause stands now by the canon law, and is enforced and limited by the casuists[y]. But it was not the canon law, that first voided the marriage of a slave taken for free, but the laws of the empire; as Ivo, himself a collector of the canons, witnesseth, *Epist.* ccxliii.[z]: where, having produced the law of Justinian[a], he thus proceedeth;—"*In tali ergo contractu,* [Of marriage between slaves.]

[y] So the Apostolic Constit., as quoted above, c. xiii. § 17. note t.—"Οἱ ἄνευ τῶν κρατούντων γάμοι πορνεῖαί εἰσιν. οὔτε οὖν πατέρος ζῶντος οὔτε δεσπότου οἱ συνίοντες ἀνεύθυνοί εἰσιν, ἕως ἂν ἐπινεύσωσιν οἱ κύριοι τὴν συνοίκησιν. τότε γὰρ λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ γάμου βέβαιον." S. Basil. M., Epist. cc., Ad Amphiloch. de Canonibus secunda, can. xlii.; Op., tom. iii. p. 296. B: et ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1744. A. See also can. xl. Op., p. 295. E; Labb., p. 1743. E.—"Non omnis mulier juncta viro uxor est viri. . . . Nuptiarum autem fœdera inter ingenuos sunt legitima et inter æquales, multo prius hoc ipsum Domino constituente, quam initium Romani juris existeret." S. Leo, Epist. clxvii. al. ix., Ad Rusticum, Respons. ad Inquis. iv.: Op., tom. i. P. ii. p. 1422.—The canon law declares a marriage between a free woman and a slave contracted knowingly, valid; but voids it if contracted in ignorance. So Gratian, Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxix. Qu. 2; in Corp. Jur. Canon., pp. 373. b, 374. a: and Greg. IX. Decret., lib. iv. tit. ix. cc. 1—4; ibid., p. 211.—For the civil law, see below in note a.—See Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. vii. De Impedim., Dispp. xix.—xxi. tom. ii. pp. 76—89: Arcudius, De Concord. Eccles. Occid. &c., lib. vii. c. 5. pp. 481—483: Bellarm., De Matrim., lib. i. c. 19; Controv., p. 1653. B: Bingham, XXII. ii. 5, 6.

[z] Ivo Carnot., Epist. ccxlii. (ccxliii. above in the text is a mistake); Op., P. ii. p. 105. a: after citing the substance of the Novel of Justinian given in the next note. See also Epist. ccxxi.; ibid., pp. 94. a, 95. b.

[a] "Εἰ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰηθείη τις ἐλευθέρῳ συνάπτεσθαι προσώπῳ, εἶτα

BOOK III.

quod lex damnat, non homo sed justitia separat; quia, quod contra leges præsumitur, per leges solvi meretur"—"In such a contract then, that which the law condemns, it is not man but justice that separates; because what is presumed against law, by law deserves to be dissolved."

["dissolvi"]

[Between legal kindred.]

§ 29. Which reason takes place also in legal kindred, according to the imperial laws; whereby an adopted brother is disabled to marry his sister by adoption[b].

[Between god-parents and their god-children.]

§ 30. In imitation whereof, an opinion of the public honesty of Christianity so prevailed in the[c] Church afterwards, that being once gossips came to be a hindrance of marriage[d]; which opinion, howsoever grounded, notwithstanding introduced the same kind of burden and no other, than that of legal kindred by adoptions.

The bounds of ecclesiastical power in marriage upon these grounds.

§ 31. These reasons, though not admitted by all professions in religion that shall meet with this, yet, seeing they proceed upon one and the same common ground, the effect and consequence whereof cannot be admitted in some and refused [in[c]] the rest, and seeing that some of them are admitted on all sides, there being no other reason sufficient why they should be admitted, may serve to evidence the

ἐκεῖνο δοῦλον ὕστερον ἀποφανθείη καθεστὼς, οὐ φήσομεν λύεσθαι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ γάμον γενέσθαι, παρὰ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, τὴν τῆς περὶ τὴν τύχην ἀνισότητος." Justinian., Auth. Coll. iv. tit. i. novell. 22. c. 10. p. 45.—"Cum ancillis non potest esse connubium: nam ex hujusmodi contubernio servi nascuntur," &c. Constantinus, in Cod. Justinian., lib. v. tit. v. leg. 3. p. 151. a.

[b] Sanchez., De Matrim., lib. vii. De Impedim., Disp. lxiii.; tom. ii. pp. 227—233: determining, that "cognatio legalis dirimit subsequens matrimonium" (numm. 16, sq.), but that "hoc impedimentum esse solo jure humano interdictum" (num. 21).—Bellarm., De Matrim., lib. i. c. 30; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1723. A, B.—See, for the canon law, Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxx. Qu. 3. p. 376. b.

[c] Corrected from MS.; "that," in orig. text.

[d] Justinian appears to have first forbidden a godfather to marry his godchild (Cod. lib. v. tit. iv. De Nuptiis, leg. 26. p. 150). See the law of the Greek Church in Harmenopulus, *Πρόχειρ. Νόμ.*, lib. iv. tit. vi. § 18. *Περὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος*, p. 302: and the canon law in Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxx. Qu. 3. p. 376. a; and Sext., Decret., lib. iv. tit. iii. cc. 1—3. p. 32. b: and for the Church of Rome, the council of Trent (Sess. xxiv. Decret. de Reform. Matrim., c. ii. ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 877. D, E), limiting the extent of the prohibition while sanctioning it, "statuit, ut unus tantum, sive vir sive mulier, juxta sacrorum canonum instituta, vel ad summum unus et una, baptizatum de baptismo suscipiant; inter quos et baptizatum ipsum, et illius patrem et matrem, necnon inter baptizantem et baptizatum, baptizatique patrem ac matrem, tantum spiritualis cognatio contrahatur." See also Sanchez, De Matrim., lib. vii. De Impedim. Dispp. liv.—lxii. pp. 207—226: Bellarm., De Matrim., lib. i. c. 30; Controv., tom. ii. p. 1723. A, B: Bingham, XXII. ii. 11.

[e] Corrected from MS.; "by," in orig. text.

interesse of the Church in matrimonial causes. And that evidence may serve to infer, that, though the secular power hath also an interess in the same, yet, in regard of the trouble which concurrence may cause in civil government, Christian princes and states have done wisely (as well as, in regard to the interess of the Church, they have done Christianly) in referring the conduct of matrimonial causes, almost wholly, to the Church. Especially, supposing that they take good heed, that the laws thereof neither trench upon the interess of their crown, nor the wealth of their subjects. But whether secular power can make laws, by virtue whereof that, which a man voluntarily acts afterwards, shall be of force to void marriage contracted afore (upon which ground the opinion, which I propounded last[f], would justify the divorces which the imperial laws make, to the effect of marrying again), will be a new question: seeing that, if any thing be to be excepted[g], it will be in man's[h] power to dissolve any marriage; and the law of Christ, allowing no divorce but in case of adultery, will be to no effect. Neither will there be any cause, why the same divines should not allow the act of Justin[i], that dissolves marriage upon consent; which they are forced to disclaim[j], allowing the rest of those causes which the imperial laws create. Indeed, whether[k] any accident, absolutely hindering the exercise of marriage and falling out after marriage, may by law become of force to dissolve it, I need not here any further dispute. For, to[l] the securing of any Christian man's conscience, it is not the act of secular power enacting it for law, that can avail; unless the act of the Church go before, to determine, that it is not against God's law, and therefore subject to that civil power which is Christian. The reason indeed may fall out to be the same, that makes impotence of force to do it: and it may fall out to be of such force, that Gregory III. pope is found to have answered a consultation of Boniface of Mentz in the affirmative; [*Caus.*] xxxii. qu. vii. c. *Quod proposuisti*[m]. But this

[f] Scil. in this chapter, § 1.

[g] Corrected from MS.; "accepted," in orig. text.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "in any man's," in orig. text.

[i] See above in c. xiii. § 20. note o.

[j] See above, § 1. note r.

[k] Corrected from MS.; "whither," in folio edition: as indeed the word is usually misprinted in that edition.

[l] Corrected from MS.; "so," in orig. text.

[m] "Quod proposuisti, quod si mulier infirmitate correpta non valuerit debi-

BOOK III.

makes no difference in the right and power of the Church, but rather evidences the necessity of it. For though, as Cardinal Cajetan[n] says, the canon law itself allows, that popes may err in determining such matters; cap. iv. *De divortiis*, cap. *Licet de sponsa duorum*[o] (which every man will allow in the decree of Deusdedit pope, *Epist. unica*[p]): yet, the ground of both powers[q] witnessing the constitution of the Church as a necessary part of Christianity, as it determines the true bounds of both, so it allows not the conscience of a Christian to be secured by other means. And were it not a strange reason of refusing the Church this power, because it may err; when it must in that case fall to the secular powers, who have no ground to pretend any probable cause of not erring? For he, that proceedeth in the simplicity of a Christian heart to use 145

tum viro reddere, quid ejus faciat jugalis: bonum esset, si sic permaneret, ut abstinentiæ vacaret: sed quia hoc magnorum est; ille qui se non poterit continere, nubat magis: non tamen subsidii opem subtrahat ab illa, quam infirmitas præpedit, non detestabilis culpa excludit." Greg. III. Papa Bonifacio Episcopo: ap. Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxxii. Qu. 7. c. 18. p. 391. a. It is really from a letter assigned to pope Gregory II., and to the year 726; Epist. xiii. § 2; ap. Labb., Concil., tom. vi. p. 1448. E. Gratian subjoins a remark, that "illud Gregorii sacris canonibus, immo evangelicæ et apostolicæ doctrinæ, penitus invenitur adversum."

[n] Cajetan, in his tract De Author. Papæ et Concilii, c. ix. (Opusc., tom. i. tract. i. fol. 6. b. Antv. 1612), alleges, that the pope cannot err "errore judiciali in fide," but can err "personaliter." In the Apologia for this tract, c. xiii. (ibid., tract. ii. fol. 26. a), he cites among other cases the "c. quanto de divortiis" (as quoted below in note o), and answers it, admitting the discrepancy, by saying, that neither Innocent nor his predecessor (whom Cajetan supposes to be Celestinus) passed a definitive sentence, but spoke only in such terms as "*sensisse*," and "*credimus*."

[o] "Licet *quidam prædecessor noster sensisse aliter videatur*," &c. "Si vero alter fidelium conjugum vel labatur in hæresim vel transeat ad gentilitatis errorem, non *credimus*, quod in hoc casu is qui relinquitur, vivente altero, possit ad secundas nuptias convolare," &c. Innocent III. Papa, Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. xix. De Divortiis, c. 7. p. 221. b. Pithœus determines the "predecessor" to be Urban III.—Alexander III. Pope, ap. Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. iv. De Sponsa Duorum, c. 3. p. 207. b, decrees, that "sponsalia de præsenti non solvuntur per sequens matrimonium, etiam carnali copula consummatum," .. "*quamvis aliter a quibusdam prædecessoribus nostris sit aliquando judicatum.*" And the contrary determination here mentioned, it appears, had been acted upon in the Church of Modena (ibid., c. 5. p. 208. a).—"cap. iv." in the text appears to be a mistake.

[p] Enacting, that "separentur viri ab uxoribus, qui aliquo casu natos proprios coram episcopo tenent:" ap. Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Caus. xxx. Qu. 1. c. 1. p. 374. b; and Labb., Conc., tom. v. pp. 1648. D—1649. B: dating circ. 614. It goes so far as to prohibit marriage up to the seventh degree of spiritual kindred, and to enact that wives, "cum separatæ fuerint pro hac illicita re," shall recover their whole dower, "et post expletum annum recipiant alium virum; similiter et vir uxorem." It is pronounced spurious by Labbè; and contradicted by decrees of later popes and councils, Grat., ibid., cc. 3. sq.; although confirmed by a decree of the council of Vermeriæ (Verberie, near Soissons, in France), A.D. 756, ibid., c. 2.

[q] Misprinted "power," in orig. text.

the means, which God by Christianity hath provided for his resolution, may promise himself grace at God's hands; even when he is seduced by that power, which is not infallible. But he, that leans upon that warrant, which God by his Christianity hath not referred him to, must answer for his errors, as well as the consequences of the same.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE POWER OF MAKING GOVERNORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH. UPON WHAT GROUND THE HIERARCHY OF BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS STANDETH, IN OPPOSITION TO PRESBYTERIES AND CONGREGATIONS. OF THE POWER OF CONFIRMING, AND THE EVIDENCE OF THE HIERARCHY WHICH IT YIELDETH. OF THOSE SCRIPTURES WHICH SEEM TO SPEAK OF PRESBYTERIES OR CONGREGATIONS.

Of the power of making governors and ministers of the Church.

Now are we come to one of the greatest powers of the Church. For all societies, according as they are constituted either by the act of superiors or by the will of members, are by their constitution either enabled to give themselves governors or tied to receive them from those by whose will they subsist. The society of the Church, subsisting by the will of God, is partly regulated by the will of men, voluntarily professing themselves Christians. If God, having limited the qualities and the powers by which His Church is to be governed, do refer the designing of persons to bear those qualities and powers to His Church; it must needs appear one of the greatest points that He hath left to their choice. Therefore I have made it appear from the beginning[r], that the original of this power was planted by our Lord Christ in His apostles and disciples; to whom immediately He committed the trust of propagating it.

[Of the primitive episcopacy of the Church.]

§ 2. And now, that I may further determine, within what bounds and under what terms those His immediate commissaries did appoint it to be propagated to the end of the world; I say, that, by their appointment, the body[s] of Christians contained in each city, and the territory thereof, is to con-

[r] See below, § 7, 8. notes e—p: and references there given.

[s] Corrected from MS.; "bodies," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

stitute a several Church, to be governed by one chief ruler, called a bishop, with presbyters or priests subordinate to him for his advice and assistance, and deacons to minister and execute their appointment; the said bishops to be designed by their clergy, that is, their respective priests and deacons, with consent of neighbour bishops ordaining them, and by the assent of the people whom they are to govern[t]. I say further, that the Churches of greater cities, upon which the government of the less dependeth, are by the same rule greater Churches; and the greatest of all, the Churches of the chief cities: so that, the chief cities of the Christian world at the planting of Christianity being Rome, Alexandria, and Antiochia, by consequence those were by this rule the chief Churches; and, in the first place, that of Rome[u].

[This position excludeth that of the Independents.]

§ 3. This position excludeth in the first place that of Independent congregations[x]: which maketh a Church and a congregation to be all one, so that the people of each congregation to be able, first to give themselves both laws and governors, then to govern and manage the power of the keys according to God's word, that is, according to that which they shall imagine to be the intent of it. For whatsoever authority they allow their ministers or elders: seeing they are created out of the people by the mere act of the people, and that the 146
consent of the people is required to enact every thing that passeth; it will be too late for them to think of any authority not subordinate to the people, upon whom they have bestowed the sovereign[x].

[And that of the Romanists.]

§ 4. On the other extreme, this position excludeth that of the Romanists: who will have the fulness of ecclesiastical power to have been first settled upon St. Peter, as sole monarch of the Church, and from him derived upon the rest of the apostles, as his deputies or commissaries; so that the power, which other bishops, priests, and deacons have in their respective Churches, being granted by the successors of St. Peter, bishops of Rome, is therefore limitable at their pleasure; as no otherwise estated by Divine right, than because

[t] See Prim. Gov. of Churches, cc. iv., v., xii.: Rt. of Ch. in a Chr. State, cc. ii., iii.: Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 5, sq.

[u] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. vi. § 5: Rt. of Ch. in a Chr. St., c. ii. § 15—19.

[x] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. ii. § 24, iv. § 8.

God hath settled it in St. Peter and his successors, as the root and source of it[y].

[Two mean opinions: 1. that of the Presbyterians.]

§ 5. Between these extremes there remain two mean opinions: whereof one is the platform of the presbyteries; in which every congregation is also a Church, with a consistory to rule it, consisting of a minister with his lay-elders (whom now they call "triers[z]," referring to them the trial of those who come to communicate) and deacons. Of these congregations, so many as they (without rule or reason so far as I know) think fit to cast into one resort or division, they call a session or class; and as many of those as they please, a synod; and of synods, a province: so that, as the Churches of all one sovereignty constitute the national Church, containing all the provinces thereof, so would they have also provincial, synodical, and classical Churches, consisting of the congregations, classes, and synods, which each respective classis, synod, or province, containeth[a].

[2. that of the Catholic Church.]

§ 6. The other mean opinion is the frame of the Catholic Church, as I have shewed[b] (and shall shew) it to have been in

[y] Bellarm., De Roman. Pontif., lib. ii. cc. 12, sq.: lib. iv. cc. 22, sq.: Controv., tom. i. pp. 740. D, sq., 1043, D, sq.—*One* point in the above statement is *not* held by Bellarmine or the major part of Romanists: viz., that "the rest of the apostles derived" their ecclesiastical power from St. Peter. "Sunt autem tres de hac re theologorum sententiæ" (speaking of the source of episcopal jurisdiction). "Prima eorum, qui volunt tam apostolos quam ceteros episcopos immediate a Deo accepisse et accipere jurisdictionem. Ita docet Franciscus Victoria, . . . et Alphonsus a Castro" (to whom might have been added many others, and in particular a large number of the bishops of the council of Trent, especially the Spanish bishops: see Bramhall, Just Vindic., &c., c. vi.; Vindic. of Grotius, &c., c. iv.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 189, Pt. ii. Disc. iii. ibid. vol. iii. p. 529).—"Altera est eorum, qui volunt *apostolos non a Christo sed a Petro*, et episcopos non a Christo sed a Petri successore, accepisse vel accipere jurisdictionem. Ita Joannes de Turrecremata, lib. ii. c. 54. Summæ de Ecclesia" (fol. 169. b, 170. a. Venet. 1561), "et Dominicus Jacobatius, lib. x. De Conciliis, art. 7" (pp. 664. D, sq. Rom. 1538)—"Tertia est media, eorum, qui volunt *apostolos* quidem *accepisse a Christo immediate omnem suam auctoritatem;* tamen episcopos non a Christo sed a summo pontifice eam accipere. Ita Cajetanus," &c. &c.; "quæ sententia verissima est." Bellarm., as above, lib. iv. c. 22. pp. 1044. D, 1045. A.

[z] For the "triers," see above, c. xi. § 25. note m; and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Assembl., c. viii. § 16. note f: and the ordinances of Parliament of March 14, 164⅗, and June 5, 1646.

[a] An ordinance of Parliament passed Aug. 19, 1645, for "electing and choosing of Ruling-Elders in all the congregations, and in the Classicall Assemblies for the cities of London and Westminster, and the severall Counties of the Kingdom:" which contains also directions for the constitution of Classical, Congregational, Provincial, and National Assemblies. See also Heylin, Hist. of Presbyterians, lib. xiii. § 52. p. 475. There was another ordinance of a similar purport January 19, 164⅘.

[b] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. viii.—x. And see below, § 8. notes n, o, p, and references there given.

BOOK III.

force from the time of the apostles; having first shewed[c], that the visible unity of the Church is a thing commanded by God, in the first place, for the communion of all Christians in the true faith, and in the service of God according to the same.

Upon what ground the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons standeth: in opposition to presbyteries and congregations.

§ 7. For it is visible, that the means, by which this hath been attained, is the dividing of Christendom into Churches, which we now call dioceses; providing each of them a sufficient number of priests and deacons, under one head, the bishop, as well to regulate the faith and manners of the people, as to minister unto them the offices of God's service. Therefore, whatsoever means I employed at the beginning to shew[d], that those persons, who succeeded the apostles in time, obtained not their places by force or fraud but by their will and appointment, will here be effectual to prove, that the qualities which they held in their several Churches, were not obtained by force or fraud but by the same appointment. Wherefore, having shewed[e], that from the beginning the unity of the Church hath been maintained by the mutual intelligence and correspondence of the chief Churches (upon whom the less depended); and that this intelligence and correspondence was always addressed and managed by the heads of the said Churches (nor could it indeed have been maintained, had there not been such heads always ready to address and manage the same): I have in effect shewed, that this was the course, whereby the apostles executed their design of maintaining unity in the Church. Is it not plain by the instances produced in the first Book[f], that the whole Church remained satisfied of the faith of each Christian upon the testimony of his bishop[g], because they rested satisfied of his? that hereupon, whosoever was recommended by his bishop, was admitted to communion as well abroad as at home? What other interess had the Church of Rome in the faith of Paulus Samosatenus[h], or Dionysius Alexandrinus[i]? the Churches of Alexandria and Antiochia, in the proceedings of

[c] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. v., vi.
[d] See references in § 8. notes n, o, p.
[e] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 27, sq.
[f] Ibid., § 34—39.
[g] Corrected from MS.; "bishops," in orig. text.
[h] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 21, 22.
[i] Ibid., § 23.

Novatianus[k]? all Churches in the fortune of Athanasius[l]? What other reason can any man give for that uniform difformity of ecclesiastical traditions and customs, which appeareth from point to point in all matters, the whole Church agreeing in things of highest concernment, but all Churches differing in matters of less consequence? Is it not manifest, whensoever instead of this daily correspondence synods were assembled upon more pressing occasions, that only bishops appeared in behalf of their respective Churches[m]? For if
147 others appeared in the name of bishops upon occasion of old age or other hindrances; I need not say, that it was the bishop's right, in which another appeared. Into these qualities and preeminences over the rest, whether of the clergy or people, that bishops should be able to insinuate themselves all over Christendom, had it not been so appointed by the apostles: it is no less contradictory to common sense, than that Christianity should ever have been received, had not such men as our Lord Christ and His apostles preached and done such things as the Scriptures relate, to make it receivable; or than that all Christians should of their own inclinations agree to those laws, which have made the Church one society from the beginning, had they not found themselves tied to follow the appointment of the apostles that founded it.

[How far this hierarchy is in Scripture.]

§ 8. Wherefore I will not take upon me to shew you the names of archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, in the Scriptures: much less any command there recorded, that all Churches be governed by bishops, all higher Churches by higher bishops. But I pretend to have shewed (by the particulars produced in the Right of the Church, chap. iii.[n], in the Primitive Government of Churches throughout[o], and in the Apostolical form of Divine Service, chap. iv.[p], and never contradicted to my knowledge), that there are express marks left us in the Scriptures of several Churches planted in several cities; so that there is never mention of more Churches than one in one city, but perpetually of more than one in one province: of heads of those Churches, whether

[k] Ibid., § 17.
[l] Ibid., § 25.
[m] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 64, 65.
[n] § 1—17.
[o] See especially cc. ii.—vii.
[p] Serv. of God at Relig. Assemblies, § 1—17.

BOOK III.

apostles themselves, or their fellows and successors, applied to the charge of several Churches: of chief Churches, and inferior Churches, according to the capacity of the cities in which they were first planted.

[It hath been in force ever since the time of the apostles.]

§ 9. I challenge further here, as proved by that which hath been said in the first Book[q], that this form of government hath been in force ever since the time of the apostles; whose immediate successors are to be named in the greatest sees, upon which it is evident that inferior Churches depended from the same time: as manifest by that, which hath been said in the places afore-named, that the advice and assistance of presbyters, together with the ministry and attendance of deacons, to and upon the said heads, is as anciently evident in the records of the Church, as any record of any Church is ancient. And upon these premisses I conclude, that the same course and way of government by bishops, priests, and deacons, which afterwards prevailed throughout the whole Church, was first begun by the apostles; as without whose authority it could not have taken effect all over the Church.

[No Scripture authority for either the Independent or the Presbyterian positions.]

§ 10. And of those, that take upon them to depart from the Church that they may not be so governed, I take myself enabled to demand, where there is any precept recorded in Scripture, that the government of the whole Church be settled either in independent congregations, or in congregational, classical, synodical, provincial, and national Churches. The very names are as barbarous to the language of the Scriptures, as the subject is to the writers of it.

[Nor to counterbalance the contrary authority of the Catholic Church of all times.]

[Exod. viii. 18.]

§ 11. And yet, were all this shewed me, I would say, that, as the magicians of Pharaoh in the third miracle, so must the architects of this design fail in the highest point of œcumenical or catholic; which having never been compassed but by the means of single heads of the chief Churches, it is absolutely too late for any other form to pretend (I say not, to come from any command of the apostles, but) to be receivable in the Church, being founded by God for one and the same body to continue till the coming of Christ to judgment. For if the apostles of our Lord, determining in part that order which should preserve the unity of the Church

[q] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 1—13.

(which what it was, the original practice of the whole Church evidenceth), leave the rest to be determined by the Church for its own necessity and use; that which is so determined by the Church, whensoever it becomes necessary to maintain unity in the Church, shall no less oblige, than that which the apostles determined *in specie* themselves. The reason is the unity of the Church, not only of Divine right, as provided for by the apostles, but holding the rank of an end, to which
148 particular provisions of the apostles in this matter [serve her[r]] but as means.

§ 12. It is true, I am far from believing, that, had the reformation retained this apostolical government, the Church of Rome would thereby have been moved to join in it. But when I see the schism which it hath occasioned to stand partly upon this difference; when I see so many particulars begun by the apostles (as the Scriptures themselves evidence), others determinable by the Church; when I see those, that correct *Magnificat*[s], introduce instead of them those laws, which have neither any witness from the Scriptures nor any footing in the authority of the whole Church: I must needs conclude those, that do these things, inasmuch as they do them, to be causes of the schism, that is, schismatics. For what authority upon earth can introduce any form unreconcileable[t] with that, which the apostles first introduced to procure the unity[u] of the Church (being to continue one and the same body from the beginning to the end), but he must give cause of dissolving the unity of the said body; unless he can convince the rest of the Church, that it is God's act, to Whom all the Church is to be subject, whereas to him they are not?

[Those therefore, who cast off episcopacy, are schismatics.]

§ 13. Wherefore let not Presbyterians or Independents think, that they have done their work, when they can answer texts of Scripture, so as not to be convinced that bishops are of divine right. Unless they can harden themselves against the belief of "one Catholic Church," they must further give account, why they depart from that, which is not against God's law, to introduce that, which it commandeth not. For

[Not enough for their cause, if they could prove episcopacy not to be in Scripture.]

[r] Corrected from MS.; "seem," in orig. text.

[s] See Hooker, E. P., V. lx. 1—3: and Jer. Taylor, Apol. for Author. and Set Forms of Liturgy, § 84; Works, vol. v. p. 291.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "reconcileable," in orig. text.

[u] Corrected from MS.; misprinted "vanity," in folio edit.

BOOK III.

that is to proclaim to the Church, that they will not be of it unless they may be governed as they list themselves; whereas they cannot be of it by being governed otherwise, than the whole Church from the beginning hath been. Let them not marvel, that those, who go not along with them in it, forewarn others of making themselves schismatics by communicating in their innovations.

[The unity of the Church further excludes the position of the Independents.]

§ 14. But against the Independents I must further take notice, that, by the supposition of one society of the whole Church, the whole pretence of the congregations is quite excluded. For if God appointed all Churches to make one Church by the communion of all in the service of God, supposing the same faith; then did not God appoint all congregations to be chief within themselves, but to depend upon the whole, both for the rule of faith and for the order of God's service. Again, it is evident to common sense, that the people of one Church can pretend no interest to give law to another Church: whereas, whomsoever we enable to preserve the unity of the whole, those persons must either have right to oblige those that are not of their own congregations; or else God shall have provided that the Church shall be one, but excluded the only means by which it can be preserved one.

[What right the people have in the acts of the Church.]

§ 15. And, therefore, to all those texts of scriptures, which are alleged to prove the chief power of the people in the Church, which is the ground of the congregations, I give here this general answer, which elsewhere I have applied to the said several passages[x]: first, by way of exception, that they can infer no more now against the clergy, than they could then against the apostles; so that, seeing the apostles were then chief, notwithstanding all that those scriptures contain, the clergy also remain now chief in the Church: secondly, and directly, that they import no more than the testimony, consent, and concurrence of the people, by way of suffrage or agreement and applause, to the acts of the clergy; the interess whereof is grounded upon the sensible knowledge, which the people have, of the persons concerned in ordinations, censures, or other acts of the Church; in regard whereof it is no more than reason requires, that they be duly satisfied

[x] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii.: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 33—38.

of the proceedings of the Church, without making them judges of matters of right in it: so that to make the people chief in Church matters upon account of this title, is to make the people of England sovereign, because English juries have power to return evidence in matter of fact, either effectual or void.

Of the power of confirming.

§ 16. Another reason I here advance, upon supposition of the force and weight of the tradition of the Church in evidencing the reason and intent of the sayings and doings of the apostles recorded in the Scriptures. Philip, one of the seven, having preached and converted and baptized the Sama-
149 ritans, the apostles at Jerusalem send down to them Peter and John, at whose prayers with laying their hands upon them they receive the Holy Ghost; Acts viii. 14—17. And so St. Paul lays hands upon the twelve men, that were baptized afore at Ephesus, and they receive the Holy Ghost; Acts xix. 1—7. For what reason shall we imagine, why they, that were enabled to baptize, were not enabled to give the Holy Ghost (baptism being the condition upon which the Holy Ghost was due by the promise of the Gospel), but to shew, that they were baptized into the unity of the Church, out of which they were not to expect the Holy Ghost? Therefore, that their baptism may have effect, that is, give the Holy Ghost, the allowance of the apostles (upon whose government the unity of the Church dependeth) is requisite; which allowance their prayers for the Holy Ghost, and imposition of hands, implieth and presupposeth. It cannot be doubted, that the visible grace of speaking in strange languages the great works of God, was then given for an evidence of the presence of the Holy Ghost with God's people; whereupon it is called by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 7, "the manifestation of the Spirit." But even of this kind of graces St. Paul saith again, 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33;—"The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; for God is not" the author "of unsettledness but of order, as in all Churches of the saints." If therefore there come no confusion upon prophets prophesying one by one, because God, Who is the author of order, grants such inspirations and revelations to inferiors, that they cease not therefore to be subject to those which He grants to superi more reasonable is

BOOK III.

that the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised to them that are baptized, should nevertheless depend upon the blessing of the apostles. So that, when St. Peter says to them that were converted at Pentecost, Acts ii. 38, "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost;" it seems to me no more than reason requires, that he supposes the same blessing: as also St. Paul, in those of whom he saith, that, "having believed in Christ, they were sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise;" and again, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed to the day of ransom:" Ephes. i. 13, iv. 30. Unless a reason could be shewed, why St. Peter and St. John should travel from Jerusalem to Samaria to do that, which they need not do at Jerusalem, where they were: or, originally, why the imposition of the apostles' hands should be requisite to procure some the Holy Ghost, and not others.

And the evidence of the hierarchy which it yieldeth.

§ 17. This being that which the Scriptures record of the apostles, all men know, how ancient, how general, the custom hath been in the Church[y], for bishops to confirm the baptized, by praying for the effect of it, which is the Holy Ghost, with imposition of hands; professing thereby, that they own their faith and baptism, and acknowledge them for part of their flock, as acknowledged by them for their pastors: which is that eminence of honour due to the bishop, in which the welfare of the Church consisteth, saith St. Hierome, *Adversus Luciferianos*[z]. For Tertullian also (*De Bapt.* cap. xvii[a].) reserveth unto the bishop the right of granting baptism; though he allow not only priests and deacons, but partly also laymen,

[y] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 63: and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Assembl., c. viii. § 15, 16.

[z] "Non quidem abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem; ut ad eos, qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat. . . . Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit, ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi. Quod frequenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis. Ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest." S. Hieron., Adv. Lucifer.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 295.

[a] "Dandi quidem (baptismum) habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest." Tertull., De Baptism., c. xvii.; Op., pp. 230. C, 231. A.

to baptize. Now if from the beginning this privilege was reserved the apostles, in sign of the truth of that baptism which so they allowed; if those, who received baptism at years of discretion, having themselves made profession of their faith, were nevertheless to acknowledge their pastors, and the unity of the Church wrapped up in them, as that upon which the effect of baptism dependeth: how much more those, that are baptized infants? who cannot otherwise, according to the original constitution of the Church, be secured, that they profess the faith of the whole Church, but by their bishop's allowance; through whom they have communion with the whole Church. For as I have shewed[b], that there was originally no other mean to maintain the unity of the Church, but the faith of the bishop to secure the whole Church of the faith of his flock; so was the same the only mean to secure the flock, that they held the faith of the whole Church, which owned their bishop and his faith.

150 § 18. And howsoever the profession of faith may be limited, and the bishop in exacting the same; yet is it necessarily an act of chief power in the Church to allow the communion of the eucharist. So that, when once Presbyterians share this part of the bishop's power among their "triers" (allowing them to admit to the communion those that can say the catechism which they made themselves[c]): first, they put upon us a new faith, which we must own for the faith of the Church; then, to debauch partizans to themselves, they authorize the malice of gross carnal Christians to domineer over their neighbours: whom they may easily pick a quarrel with for not answering their catechism, but are not able either to warrant or to teach them the truth of the least tittle of it; which so nearly concerning their salvation, how necessary is it that it be reserved to the head of each Church? Besides that by acknowledging him they visibly submit to the laws of the Church by which he governs, and to his authority in such matters as the laws do not determine; which is the very means of maintaining unity in the Church.

[Of the power of admitting to the holy eucharist.]

§ 19. And, truly, the consideration of this point discovers unto us the only sure ground, upon which any man may re-

[The unity of the

[b] See above, § 7, 8. Review of Serv. of G
[c] See above, c nd sembl., c. viii. § 16.

BOOK III.

in the assigning of several offices to several orders.]

solve what offices of Christianity may be ministered by the several orders of the Church. For when the power of confirming, proper to the bishop, evidenceth, that he alone granteth baptism (either by particular appointment, or by general law, in which his authority is involved); but a layman sometimes may minister it: we see what St. Paul means, when he says, 1 Cor. i. 17, "God sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel;" our Lord having said, Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go preach, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:" to wit, that the power of appointing it, not the ministry of doing it, is proper to the apostles and their successors. Which reason will hold in sundry particulars, concerning ordination, concerning absolution and penance, concerning confirmation, and others: in all which, this being once secured that no man act beyond the power which he receiveth, it will be no prejudice to the unity of the Church, that some orders do that by particular commission from their superiors, which their order enables not all that are of it to do; because, in such cases, it is not authority, but ministry, which they contribute.

[Of the order of priesthood.]

§ 20. As for the order of priesthood; that the power of consecrating the eucharist is equal to the power of the keys, in which that order hath an interest, in the inward court of conscience (the outward court of the Church being reserved to the bishop, with advice and assistance of his presbyters); whereas the power of preaching and baptizing is of ordinary right communicable to deacons: for the proof of all this, I refer myself to that, which I have said in the Right of the Church, chap. iii.[d]; and to that, which must be said here in due place[e].

[The agreement of the whole Christian world proves episcopacy.]

§ 21. Let not then those of the presbyteries or congregations think their business done, till they can give us some reasonable account, how all the Christian world should agree to set up bishops into a rank above their clergy and people both, if this had been forbidden, nay, if it had not been so ordered, by the apostles.

Of those scriptures which seem

§ 22. Not that I grant them to have any more appearance of evidence from the Scriptures, to destroy the superiority of

[d] § 13, sq. [e] Below, c. xx.

CHAP. XVI.

to speak of presbyteries or congregations.

the bishops and the concurrence of the clergy to the maintenance of unity in the Church, than the Socinians have, to destroy the faith of the Holy Trinity, and the satisfaction of Christ: but because I do grant these, as I granted the other[f], that there is that appearance of evidence, which every one that is concerned to be subject to bishops cannot evidently resolve; as every one, that is bound to believe the Holy Trinity and the satisfaction, is not bound to be able evidently to resolve all objections which the Socinians can make against it out of the Scriptures.

[St. Jerome alleges scriptures to shew the superiority of bishops over priests to be of human right; but knows nothing of lay-elders.]

§ 23. For it is granted, that St. Hierome[g] hath alleged many texts of scriptures, to shew, that bishops and priests were both the same thing under the apostles; and that, therefore, the difference between them is but of positive human right by custom of the Church: and hath many followers in this opinion among Church writers[h]: though with this difference, that it can never be pretended, that St. Jerome, or any ecclesiastical writer after or before St. Jerome, ever alleged the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 17,—"The
151 elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, specially those that labour in the word and doctrine,"—or any other syllable of the whole Scripture, to shew, that any of those, that St. Paul pronounces "worthy of double honour," were laymen, that is, of the rank of the people; which is now an

[f] Above, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. xvii., xxvii.

[g] "In utraque Epistola" (sc. S. Paul to Timothy and to Titus)," sive episcopi sive presbyteri, quamquam apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri fuerint; quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis." S. Hieron., Epist. lxxxii. Ad Ocean.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 648.—"Nam quum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos, quis patiatur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi Corpus Sanguisque conficitur?"—and again, after quoting several passages from S. Paul to prove "presbyter" the same as "bishop"—"Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est: ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet." Id., Epist. ci. Ad Evang.; ibid., pp. 802, 803.—"Hæc propterea" (after quoting from Holy SS. to shew "presbyter" to be equivalent to "bishop"), "ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei, qui sibi præpositus fuerit, esse subjectos: ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate presbyteris esse majores; et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen," &c. Id., In Epist. ad Titum, c. i.; ibid., P. i. pp. 413, 414.

[h] Calvin, Instit., IV. 4.—Beza, Respons. ad Saraviam.—Blondel, Apologia pro Sentent. Hieron. de Episc. et Presbyt.—Salmasius under the name of Walo Messalinus, De Episc. et Presb.—And see below, § 26. note r: and Bramhall, Serpent Salve; Works, Pt. ii. Disc. ii. vol. iii. pp. 466, sq.: and Vindic. of Grotius, &c., ibid., Disc. iii. cc. ii. iv.; ibid., pp. 517, sq., 531, sq.

BOOK III.

essential ingredient of the design both of our presbyteries[j], and also, so far as I know, of the congregations[k].

[Diverse interpretations put upon these scriptures.]

§ 24. I do indeed acknowledge, that there is difficulty in expounding those texts of the apostles, which speak to this purpose, so as to agree them with the original and universal practice of the Church. And therefore it is no marvel, if learned men, that have handled this point among us[l] (where without affectation I may say, that it hath been most curiously and ingenuously disputed), have gone several ways, upon several grounds, in assigning the reason, why the degree of deacons is mentioned next to the degree of bishops in so many texts of the apostles, having the order of priests between both, as the original and perpetual custom of the Church required.

[Of the opinion of Dr. Hammond, that there were but two orders of the ministry in apostolic times, viz., bishops and deacons.]

§ 25. For it is well enough known, that there is an opinion published and maintained by many learned observations in the primitive antiquity of the Church[m], that, during the time when those texts of the apostles were written, there were but two orders, of bishops and deacons, established in the Church; though bishops also are called presbyters, the name not being yet appropriated to the middle order, while it was not introduced, as afterwards it came to be. And this opinion allegeth Epiphanius[n] very fitly, confuting Aerius the heretic

[j] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 2—9: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 40.

[k] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 23.

[l] See below, § 25—27. notes m, r, s, and c. xvii. § 4. note m: not to mention Hooker, E. P., VII., Abp. Ussher, On the Original of Episcopacy, &c.; and the names of Whitgift, Bridges, Bilson, Bancroft, Sutcliffe, Downham.

[m] This is the position of Dr. Hammond, in the fourth of his Dissertationes Quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex S. Scripturis et Primæva Antiquitate adstruuntur, contra Sententiam D. Blondelli et aliorum; Works, vol. iv. pp. 693, sq. Lond. 1683. See Diss. iv. cc. vi. sq. pp. 799, sq.: where, of four possible ways of explaining the equivalency of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος in the N. T., Hammond enquires, "Annon primum aut quartum demum ἰσοδυναμίας genus hic locum habere possit, ita, ut aut utroque vocabulo ἐπισκόπου et πρεσβυτέρου soli *singulares episcopi* constanter et nunquam non in sacro Codice denotentur, aut saltem, voce ἐπισκόπος ad solos *singulares episcopos* pertinente, vox πρεσβύτερος communiter ad *episcopos*, quandoque tamen licet raro ad *presbyteros* pertineat." And in c. xxi. § 3, 4. p. 816, he instances James v. 14 as the only passage where πρεσβύτερος *may* mean presbyter, although he does not think it does even there. See also the passage quoted in the next note. This tract was first published 4to. Lond. 1651.

[n] "Superest ut Walonis demum argumento (presbyteros hic"—sc. Phil. i. 1.—"fuisse qui episcopi vocantur, ex eo probantis, quod presbyterorum mentio non intercedat inter episcopos et diaconos) illud unum reponatur, quod contra Aerium Epiphanius, lib. iii. tom. i." (Hær. lxxv. Adv. Aerium, § 5: Op., tom. i. p. 908. C, D), "præfandum duxit: 'In exordio' nempe

or schismatic, objecting the same; that at the beginning, the multitude of believers in less places being so small, that one governor together with some ministers to attend upon him in executing his orders might well serve them, it is no marvel, if there be no mention of any more orders in so many texts of the apostles.

§ 26. And it may be said, that, as there were Churches founded and governed by a certain order from the beginning that we read of them in the apostles, so no bishop, priest, or deacon, was appropriated to any particular Church till after that time by degrees they came to be settled to certain Churches by ecclesiastical law and custom: so that, during the time of the apostles, themselves[o], and their companions, whom they associated to themselves for their assistance, were in common the governors of Churches then founded, according as they fell out to be present in those[p] Churches, to whom they had the most relation by planting and watering the faith planted in them; either by virtue of the agreement

[Of another opinion, that chief governors were not appropriated to particular Churches during the apostles' time.]

'evangelii—*νεόν ὄντος τοῦ κηρύγματος, πρὸς τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα γράψαι ἀπόστολον*—ad ea quæ istis temporibus accidebant,' aut 'conveniebant, scripsisse apostolum.' Quæ vero sunt illa? "*ὅπου δὲ γέγονε χρεία, καὶ ἦσαν ἄξιοι ἐπισκοπῆς, κατεστάθησαν ἐπίσκοποι, πλήθους δὲ μὴ ὄντος, οὐχ εὑρέθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτεροι κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ἠρκέσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον μόνῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἄνευ δὲ διακόνου ἐπίσκοπον ἀδύνατον εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεμελήσατο ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος διακόνους εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν.*'" Hammond, ibid.' c. x. § 18. pp. 805, 806.—"Illud interim Epiphanii denuo præmittendum est, 'ex historiis,' quas ille '*βαθυτάτας*—profundissimas, et antiquissimas' vocat, petitum. 'Initio prædicatæ per orbem fidei,'" &c. as before quoted. "Nam, inquit ille" (Epiphanius), "'*ἕκαστον πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀπαρχῆς τὰ πάντα ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ, προβαίνοντος τοῦ χρόνου, τὰ πρὸς τελείωσιν τῶν χρειῶν κατηρτίζετο.*' . . . 'Sic,' inquit, 'Moses ad Ægyptum mittitur *βάβδῳ μόνῃ*—sola virga' munitus, tandem ei Aaron sufficitur, dein principes populi tandemque septuaginta seniorum synedrium. Pulcherrima certe totius rei *σκιαγραφία*. Primo Mosem . . *singulares* tantum *rectores* aut *principes* (additis tantum, ut fas erat, *ὑπηρέ*toribus aut ministris) popu lias, aut *πατρίας* gentesque, diviso, ubique præfecisse, et ita per singulares præfectos omnia aliquamdiu administrata esse. Sic et apostolos, seu commissarios Christi, huic Dei populo . . præfectos, primitias prædicationis suæ, . . in *πρεσβυτέρους*, i. e. præfectos, vel *episcopos* constituisse, iisque *diaconos* tantum adjunxisse. Tandem vero, crescente et feliciter aucto populi numero, ipsi Mosi septuaginta collegarum synedrium, ut et principibus singulis viginti trium conventum aut consistorium, suffectum esse, ne soli tanto oneri aut invidiæ non sufficerent; et eodem plane modo episcopis singulis plures tandem, quos hodie presbyteros dicimus, in partem officii onerisque assumptos et suffectos esse. . . Id vero apostolorum tempore (si unicus excipiatur Johannes, qui ad Trajani imperium vixit, et *ὅλας ἁρμόσαι ἐκκλησίας* fertur) factum esse, nullis quidem indiciis aut vestigiis nobis comparuit." Id., ibid., c. xix. § 4, 5. p. 813.—So also in his Annot. on Act. xi. 30. —See Bingham, II. xix. 3.

[o] Corrected in MS. into, "during the time the apostles themselves," which does not agree with the continuation of the sentence.

[p] Corrected from MS.; "these," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

taken by the apostles within themselves, or by the appointment of some of them, if we speak of their companions and assistants[q]. But afterwards, when the faith came to be settled, then, as those, which had been governors of Churches in common before, became chief governors of particular Churches, to whom by lawful consent they became appropriated, so were they provided of priests and deacons to assist and attend them in the execution of their office towards the body of Christians, then multiplied in several Churches[r].

[A third opinion already declared, that the name of bishops in the apostles' writings comprehended priests; and how.]

§ 27. I do confess to have declared[s] an opinion something differing from both of these sayings, about the reason here demanded; as not being persuaded, either that the order of presbyters was not yet introduced into the Church during the apostles' time, or that chief governors were not appropriated and settled in some churches during the same: though I have no need to undertake that in all they were; believing and maintaining, that the apostles themselves, in the Churches of their own planting and watering, were acknowledged chief governors in ordinary[t], notwithstanding their extraordinary, both power, not confined to any one Church, and graces and abilities proportionable: in which regard, and under which limitation, visible to the common sense of all men of their own and the next ages, I do maintain bishops to be their successors. Whereupon it follows, that I allow the name of bishops, in the apostles' writings, to comprehend priests also, because of the matter of their function common to both: though with a chief power in the bishop; in priests, so limited, as to do nothing (that is to say, nothing of consequence

[q] Corrected from MS.; "assistances," in orig. text.

[r] See below, c. xvii. § 19.—Saravia, in his tract De Diversis Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii, c. 8. (pp. 9, 10. Lond. 1611), maintains, that "Ecclesiæ nullos in suis primordiis habuerint episcopos et presbyteros præter Apostolos et eorum cooperatores:" distinguishing in c. 10. p. 11, the first presbyters, ordained as "cooperatores apostolorum in opere Domini," from another kind subsequently ordained, "qui oppidatim . . singulis ecclesiis fuerunt præfecti," and tracing from this distinction "duos diversæ authoritatis presbyterorum ordines, . . quibus etsi Scriptura distincta non dedit propriaque vocabula, posteritas dedit," sc. episcopi et presbyteri.—See also Hooker, E. P., VII. xi. 8: quoting (besides Æneas Sylvius, Marsilius, and Thomas Waldensis, and Calvin and Bullinger) Jewel, Defence of Apology, Pt. ii. c. ix. div. 1. (Works, vol. iv. p. 637. ed. Jelf), and Fulke, Answ. to Rhemists, on Tit. i. 5; as maintaining, that episcopal government did not begin until after the death of the apostles.

[s] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii. § 2, sq.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "ordering," in orig. text.

to his power over the whole Church) without his consent and allowance[u].

§ 28. But this variety of opinion in expounding these scrip-
162 tures draweth after it no further consequence, to prejudice the primitive law of government in the Church, than this,—that there are more ways than one to answer the seeming probabilities, pretending to make the evidence of Catholic tradition unreconcileable with the truth of the Scriptures; in the agreement whereof the demonstration of this truth consisteth. I conceive, therefore, I might very well refer myself to the reader's free judgment; to compare the reasons, which I have produced, with those, that since have been used[v]. Notwithstanding, I shall not think much, briefly, according to the model of this design, to express the sense I have of the most native meaning of the most texts alleged in this business; that I may have opportunity to point out again the peremptory exceptions, which are visible in them, either to the imagination of mongrel presbyteries, compounded of clergy and people, during the time of the apostles, or of the chief power of any such presbyteries in their respective Churches.

[Notwithstanding these diverse ways of interpretation, these scriptures are peremptory against the Presbyterians and Independents.]

CHAPTER XVII.

THE POWER GIVEN THE TWELVE UNDER THE TITLE OF APOSTLES, AND THE SEVENTY DISCIPLES. THAT THE SEVEN WERE DEACONS. OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERS AT JERUSALEM, AND THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE. PRESBYTERS APPROPRIATED TO CHURCHES UNDER THE APOSTLES. ST. PAUL'S DEACONS NO PRESBYTERS. NO GROUND FOR LAY-ELDERS.

The power given the twelve under the title of apostles.

First then, as the name of apostle in the original meaning is very general, to signify any commissary, proxy, delegate, or ambassador, so the use of it in the apostles' writings is larger than to be confined to the twelve. For when St. Paul saith, that our Lord appeared to "the twelve," afterwards to "all the apostles," 1 Cor. xv. 5, 7; he must needs understand other apostles besides the twelve: perhaps the same

[u] See Prim. Gov. of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St.

[v] See below, c. xvii. § 4. n.

BOOK III.

that he meant, where he reckoned Andronicus and [Junias[x]] "remarkable among the apostles," Rom. xvi. 7: and that, in another sense than Paul and Barnabas are called "apostles," Acts xiv. 4, 14; for, the name of apostle intimating whose apostle he is that is called an apostle, we have no reason to count Paul and Barnabas any man's apostles but our Lord Christ's, though they were first sent with the blessing of such doctors and prophets as the Church of Antiochia then had, Acts xiii. 1—3; whose authority cannot in any reason be thought to extend so far as to constitute an apostle parallel to the twelve, which St. Paul so oft, so expressly, challenges. For since we see their commission is immediately from the Holy Ghost, that is, from God, we are not to value their right by the solemnity which it is visibly conferred upon them with: unless you will say, that by virtue of that imposition of hands they were messengers and commissaries of that Church, and that they then appeared to be no more than so, though afterwards God set on them marks of the same authority with the twelve. Truly, those whom St. Paul calls "false apostles, ... transforming[y] themselves into the apostles of Christ," 2 Cor. xi. 13, must needs be understood to have pretended commission from our Lord Christ Himself. For hereupon they stood upon it, that they had seen Him in the flesh, disparaging St. Paul that had not, who therefore vindicateth himself to be nevertheless; 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2 Cor. v. 16. And indeed there is great cause to think, that they were of Cerinthus his party; who, as Epiphanius relateth[z], having taught at Antiochia that Christians are tied to Moses' law, and being disowned by the apostles to have received no such commission from them (Acts xv. 1, 24), out of discontent set up a sect by themselves, borrowing to their former doctrine something of Simon Magus (being of that time); as you may see by Epiphanius[a] and Irenæus[b]: whereof this[c] may justly seem to have sowed the seeds at Corinth about that time. As for those who pre-

[x] Misprinted "Junias," in folio edition.

[y] Corrected in MS.; "transferring," in orig. text.

[z] See Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xii. § 7.

[a] Ibid., § 8, 9.

[b] Ibid., § 12, 13.

[c] Altered in MS. into, "they:" or, aliter, into, "their having seen Christ, and yet been disowned by the apostles."

tended to be "apostles and were not," but were discovered to be otherwise by the angel of the Church of Ephesus (Apoc. ii. 2); whose commission they pretended, our Lord's, or the apostles', or what besides, let every man judge. For those, whom St. Paul calls "apostles of the Churches," 2 Cor. viii. 23; and Epaphroditus, when he is called "the apostle of" the Philippians, and "minister" of St. Paul's "necessities," Phil. 153 ii. 25: I am confident their titles import not apostles to, but from, the said Churches; that is, not sent by God, or any body else, to them (not that they might not have commission from the apostles, but that it is not here signified by this title), but sent by those Churches with commission to bestow their oblations at Jerusalem; and by the Philippians, to present the offerings which they contributed to the support of St. Paul, Phil. iv. 10—18.

And the seventy disciples.

§ 2. Now our Lord having ordained not only twelve apostles for the heads of the twelve tribes of that spiritual Israel of His Church which He now began to create, but also seventy inferior disciples, though not called apostles, yet sent to preach by our Lord during His lifetime, Luke x. 1, answerable to the seventy elders of Israel under Moses and in after ages; though it cannot be doubted, that those, whom our Lord had set His best marks upon during His lifetime, were, and were to be, of greatest authority in His Church after the raising of it; yet we have no mark left to shew, that these seventy were, by the said commission of our Lord during His lifetime, entitled to any rank or particular charge in the Church after His death, but by the appointment of the twelve and acceptation of the Church.

[Exod. xxiv. 1, 9; Numb. xi. 16; &c.]

That the seven [may have been of the number of the seventy; and] were deacons.

§ 3. And, therefore, I find no difficulty in believing those ancients[d], which conceive, that some of the seven (which are the first that we read of applied by the apostles to any particular office or function in the Church) may have been of the

[d] Epiphanius, Adv. Hær., lib. i. tom. i. Hær. xx. § 4. (Op., tom. i. p. 50. C, D), appears to be the principal authority for the assertion. See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 34. note g. His testimony is disputed by Blondel, Apol. Hieron., sect. iii. § 8. pp. 113, 114: and defended by Hammond, Dissert. 3tia, c. 5. pp. 783, 784. The only other evidence (so to call it) given in Blondel, is that of Dorotheus, De Vita et Morte Prophet. &c. Synopsis (ap. Bibl. PP. tom. iii. pp. 148. H, 149. A): whose authority may be estimated by the fact, that he includes one "Cæsar, bishop of Dyrrachium," among the 72 disciples (which is the number he gives), *on the authority of St. Paul, Philipp.* i.

BOOK III.

number of the said seventy disciples. No, not though we allow, according to the sense of all antiquity[e], that they were properly deacons to the twelve as governors of the whole Church, at that time comprised in the city of Jerusalem and the adjacent parts. For was not their function sacred and ecclesiastical, which before the ordaining of them was performed by the apostles themselves? Were not the monies which they dispensed the oblations of Christians, consecrated to God, in the maintenance of the Church? Were not the "tables" which they "furnished" out of those goods, the feasts of love, where Christians at the beginning (to have more opportunity of instruction from the apostles, and to strengthen one another) did eat together, the poor at the charge of the rich, celebrating withal the eucharist[f]? He that doubts of the premisses, let him satisfy himself by the reasons premised. He that finds the evidence of them, why should he make difficulty in admitting those seven to be deacons then, more than in admitting those, who afterwards either waited at the altar or dispensed the oblations of believers to the maintenance of the poor? The state of Christianity was altered, and so the manner of exercising their function was not the same; but if the reason of the difference be no more than follows upon [that[g]] alteration in the state of Christianity, the society and corporation of the Church remaining all one, then is the office the same. Let no man then, that believes a Church by divine right and consecration of the same, imagine the deacon's office to be conversant in temporal things (because in dispensing of monies), those monies being consecrated to God for the maintenance of the faith. Nor let any man, that sees these seven, as soon as they are ordained to "wait upon" these "tables," fall to preaching the Gospel (Stephen at Jerusalem, Philip in Samaria, and why not all the rest as occasion might[h] serve?), think this

[e] See ample authorities in Bingham, II. xx. 1.

[f] See Cajetan as quoted above, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 11. note o. But the principal original objectors are the Trullan Council—"Ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀποστολικῷ ῥητῷ τὸν νοῦν ἐφαρμόσαντες τῶν πατέρων, εὕρομεν, ὡς ὁ λόγος αὐτοῖς οὐ περὶ τῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμένων ἦν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῶν τραπεζῶν ὑπουργίας:" can. 16; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 1150. B.—And so also Calvin and his followers, for whom see Rt. of Ch. in a Chr. St., c. iii. § 68. note f.

[g] Added from MS.

[h] Corrected from MS.; "may," in orig. text.

any stranger, than that the apostles themselves should wait upon the same tables at such times, as no man doubts that they preached the Gospel. The empty noise of "minister of the word and sacraments," sounding in the mouth of those, who scorn to acknowledge any error in themselves or their faction, binds up poor people like children in a biggin of vain belief, that by God's law no man is to preach or baptize that may not consecrate the eucharist[i]: who, were they to prove what they take for granted, would be as silent as their hearers.

§ 4. But if these seven attend upon these tables, and that under the apostles; how comes it, that the oblations of the Antiochians are consigned to the hands of the presbyters[j] by Paul and Barnabas, Acts xi. 30? Forsooth, what were these presbyters, but so many lay-elders[k], to give check to
154 the apostles by their interess in disposing of the Church goods? Sure, they that have heard of twelve princes of tribes and seventy elders, that governed all Israel with and under Moses, and, in correspondence with them, twelve apostles and seventy disciples, the first-fruits of the spiritual Israel under our Lord Christ, will not commit so gross an inconsequence as not to subordinate them to the twelve. He that admits that which I said even now, that it doth not appear that the seventy disciples (whatsoever dignity and respect they might have among the disciples by being so sent) did hold any office in the Church by virtue of it, but that which they were designed to by the act of the Church; must also allow, that, upon such designation, both the seventy and others might properly be called presbyters or elders. Only, supposing the name of presbyters to be relative to the body of those whereof they are presbyters, there will be as much difference between them and the apostles, as between the twelve princes and the elders of Israel (to whom all matters of the law resorted, which could not be ended at home), and every little piepoudre judge, that could decide alone or with two more upon compromise. Wherefore I will not contend with them, who think it so convenient to say, that those

Of the first presbyters at Jerusalem.

[Numb. i. 4, vii. 2; 1 Chron. xxvii. 16: Exod. xxiv. 1, 9; Numb. xi. 16.]

[Exod. xviii. 25, 26.]

[i] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 5. note p; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 14.

See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. v. § 6.

[k] "Ad presbyteros, id est, ad ecclesiæ *gubernatores, de quibus Paulus* 1 *Tim. v.* 17." Beza, ad Act. xi. 30.

BOOK III.

elders of Acts xi. 30 were presbyters of the local Church of Jerusalem[1]. For when, upon the matter, the Church of Jerusalem and the whole Church were both a thing (the Church of Antiochia being but yet in the cradle, and therefore those of Judea and Samaria, mentioned Acts ix. 31, where the harvest was less, though somewhat elder, yet not more considerable): whether as elders of the whole Church, that is, bishops; or as elders of the Church of Jerusalem, that is, priests (supposing the same order promiscuously called bishops and presbyters, which I never doubted, and since hath been largely and learnedly proved[m]); will scarce be decided by these texts. And the interesse of the Church will be secure, though it be not decided. For when the deputation of the Church of Antiochia is addressed to the apostles and these elders; when they assemble to consider of it; when the answer containing the decree goes forth in their name, Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 23: it is still the decree of the princes and elders of the Israel of God, whether you take them for elders of the Church of Jerusalem or bishops of the whole Church. Nor is the case much otherwise, when Paul and his companions consult with James and the elders, almost about the same business, Acts xxi. 18: though, of the twelve, it seems there was none then left at Jerusalem but James (whom, for the many marks which the Scriptures give us that his care was appropriated though his power no way confined to that Church, the Church calleth bishop of Jerusalem); and of those presbyters, many were either settled in or dispersed to other functions (as those, whom first we read of in the Church of Antiochia, must have been of that quality, Acts xiii. 1; no less than Barnabas and Silas, Acts ix. 27, xi. 22—26, xv. 22).

Of the interest of the people [in the acts of the Church].

§ 5. But is there any man, that can pick out of all this any manner of pretence for the equality of, whether governors, or ministers, of the Church, [or] for the concurrence of lay-elders to the acts of their government? For the concur-

[1] So Thorndike himself, Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 64. Hammond maintains them to have been the bishops of Judæa (Dissert. iv. c. 20. § 7. p. 815); but allows the other opinion possible.

[m] The reference probably is to Selden, De Synedr. Vet. Ebræor., lib. ii. c. 7. § 9. Op., tom. i. pp. 1373-6; first published in 1653: possibly also to Blondel, Apol. pro Sentent. Hieronymi, publ. in 1646: and to Lud. Cappellus in his Theses Theologicæ, &c. Pt. iii. Diss. 22. De Episc. et Presbyt. Discrimine, pp. 319, sq. Salmur. 1651. Thorndike's Prim. Gov. of Ch., of which see c. vii. § 3, sq., was first published in 1642.

rence of the people there may be some pretence: because they are present at passing the decree, and the letter that bears it goes in their name; Acts xv. 4, 23: and because the choice of Matthias and of the seven proceeds upon their allowance and nomination of the persons; Acts i. 20—23, vi. 3—6. But that therefore the chief interess should be in the people, is an imagination too brutish[n]. Cannot the apostles, finding themselves obliged to ordain persons so and so qualified for such and such offices in the Church, appeal to the people, whom they acknowledge so and so qualified; cannot St. Paul afterwards provide, "that no man should blame" them "in dispensing the power which" they "are trusted with," 2 Cor. viii. 20: but a consequence must thereupon be inferred against themselves, that they are commanded by God to refer things concerning the salvation of God's people in general, as the power of an apostle, the order of deacons[o], the decree of the synod at Jerusalem, to the temerity and giddiness of
155 the people? when it is evident in the text, that the people are neither left to themselves, whether[p] to proceed or not, nor to proceed but within bounds limited: so that, proceeding within those bounds, they could not prejudice the apostles' interess; without, they were to be restrained. As for the matter of faith determined at Jerusalem, is any man so little a Christian as to doubt, whether it obliged them whom it concerned, or whether by virtue of that act? Those that so readily admitted it, Acts xvi. 4, did not. The whole interess of the people, consequent to this proceeding of the apostles, consists in being reasonably satisfied of matter of fact concerning persons and causes, to be justiced by the apostles and their successors in the Church; and can no more argue the people to be chief in the Church, than the trial by juries can argue England to be no monarchy. Which interesse, when it is shamefully abused to the dishonour of Christianity, I say not I would have it taken away, as in some places perhaps it is; but I say, he that would not have the satisfaction which they may demand limited by certain bounds,

[n] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 1, 2, 18: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 33—38; and c. iii. § 71.

[o] Corrected from MS.; ' in orig. text.

[p] Corrected from MS.; "whither," vt.

BOOK III.

with force of law, that it may not be so abused any more, can neither pretend to be reasonable, nor Christian. But that the people of one Church should do an act which must oblige other Churches, is a thing so gross, that they, who allow their Christians the freedom to be tied to nothing but what themselves please, do by consequence, allowing others the same, destroy all principles and grounds of one Catholic Church: which having proved as largely as my design admits[q], I remit those, who may pretend themselves unsatisfied in this point, to void me these grounds, before they claim of me that which cannot stand with the truth of them.

No ground for lay-elders.

§ 6. But, the due interess of the people being thus satisfied, and their pretended interest by the same means excluded; what becomes of the lay-elders' interest upon their account? For lay-elders can be no more than the foremen of the people, to act that interess which they challenge to their due advantage. And, in this quality, I have granted elsewhere[r] (and cannot repent me of that opinion), that in some parts of the western Church some of the chief of the people (that is, that were not of the clergy) did concur to the acts of the Church in behalf of the people and of their interess. And, in this quality, Blondel[s], the most learned of Presbyterians, claims the lay-elders of Geneva to be receivable. Which as he knew very well, and all his party will own, to be utterly inconsistent with the meaning and intent of them who first brought them in at Geneva[t]; so will it both cut off all pretence for them, that is derived from any other ground, and leave the claim also to be limited by that, which the preservation of the whole Church and the unity thereof will require.

[q] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. vi—x.

[r] See the account of "the elders of the people" in the African Churches, in Serv. of God at Relig. Assembl., c. iv. § 19, 20: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 76.

[s] "Sub Constantino A.D. 312 ... nova rerum facies apparuit... Seniores suos habuit, a clero diversos, qui fidelis plebis nomine regiminis quascunque partes suo ordine ac modo attingerent," &c. Blondel, De Jure Plebis in Regim. Eccles., p. 35; in fin. Grotii De Imp. Summ. Potest. circa Sacra, Paris. 1648. And see also p. 68. In pp. 79, sq., he maintains at length, that the well-known text, 1 Tim. v. 17, has nothing to do with an order of lay-elders. And in p 83, he assails Bucer, as speaking "non modo falsa sed et compugnantia," in defending the Genevan doctrine touching the lay-elder-ship.

[t] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 2. note h: and Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 25—27: and Bp. Sage, Vindication of Principles of Cyprianic Age, c. viii. § 8. Works, vol. iii. p. 460. Edinb. 1846.

CHAP. XVII.

[St. James the Less a Scripture example of a bishop.]

§ 7. In the mean time, the order of bishops, and the superiority thereof above the order of priests, stands exemplified in the person of St. James the brother of our Lord, by so ancient testimonies, concurring with such circumstances of Scripture, marked out bishop of Jerusalem, whether one of the twelve or not[u]. In that, indeed, the reports of the ancients are not reconcileable. But if not, why should St. Paul be so careful to protest, that he received not his authority from him, no more than from St. Peter and St. John: Gal. i. 18, 19; ii. 9—12? Could there be any question of receiving his authority from any but those of the twelve? Therefore, and for other reasons elsewhere alleged[x], I count it, as shouldered by most probabilities, so subject[y] to least difficulty, to believe him to be James the son of Alpheus; as having nothing of consequence to answer, but why Hegesippus, writing so soon after the apostles, hath not remembered it[z]. But of that let each man think as he finds most reasonable. Those testimonies of antiquity, which expound those circumstances of Scripture, which mark him out for the head of that Church, do not discharge him from the care of other Churches, especially of the circumcision: which, perhaps by his care, together with St. Peter and John, were won to Christianity; according to the division which St. Paul hath recorded unto us, Gal. ii. 9, 10: whereupon we see him exercise the office of an apostle to the Churches of the Jews' dispersions by his Epistle; James i. 1.

Presbyters appropriated to Churches under the apostles.

156 § 8. But let us proceed. St. Paul and Barnabas ordained them[a] presbyters "Church by Church"—"κατ' ἐκκλησίαν," Acts xiv. 23: and appointed Titus to constitute presbyters in Crete "city by city," Tit. i. 5. Be it granted, because Epiphanius hath said it[b], and it is a thing in itself reasonable, that in some places the number of believers was so small, that there needed but a bishop to govern, and a deacon or deacons to attend upon the execution of his orders. That there should be Churches constituted by the name of such Churches in

[u] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ii. § 1—4: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 3—5: and Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ii. § 2.

[x] See the places cited in note u.

[y] Corrected from MS.; misprinted, "so a subject," in orig. text.

[z] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 3—5.

[a] Corrected from MS.; "their," in orig. text.

[b] See above, c. xvi. § 25. note n.

BOOK III.

such provinces, and no more people any where specified, would make them Churches that might be, not that were. Tertullian's saying, "*Ubi tres, ecclesia* [*est*], *licet laici*[c]"—"Where there be three, though of the laity, there is a Church," is not meant of such Churches; but that three Christians (or two in our Saviour's terms, Matt. xviii. 19), that meet to serve God, are a Church, because so assembled, being of the Church. At least, in mother Churches of mother cities (where the apostles made their chief residence, because the harvest was there greatest, and likewise their ministers), that there should be no more Christians than one bishop could govern and teach during the apostles' time, seems to me to carry no appearance of truth. And to imagine, that those, who were designed for pastors of Churches in being, were always resident in the mother Church (though occasions, whereof there is no rule, might and must cause their presence there many times); the reason of their office admits not. But if we admit "πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ πόλιν" καὶ "κατ' ἐκκλησίαν" to signify more than one in a city and a Church, it seems not to be refusable[d], that they were appropriate to those Churches; the name of "presbyters of such and such Churches" being relative to the people of their respective Churches.

[The elders of the Church of Ephesus.]

§ 9. Further, St. Paul, sending to Ephesus, "called" to him "the elders of the Church," whom by and by he saith "the Holy Ghost" had placed bishops over His "flock, to feed the Church of God;" Acts xx. 17, 28. Here ἡ ἐκκλησία, by virtue of the article, may refer us either to the whole Church, or to that part of the Church which the speech most concerned, or in fine to the very Church of Ephesus. There is a conjecture[e], that St. Paul makes them bishops, by saying, that God had made them bishops of His Church, who were presbyters when he sent for them. But I allow not those of the Church of Rome, that our Lord made the bread and wine of His last Supper His Body and Blood by saying, "This is My Body, This is My Blood[f];" but by that which He did

[c] De Exhort. Castit., c. vii.; Op., p. 522. A.

[d] Corrected from MS.; "refutable," in orig. text.

[e] "How and if these presbyters which came from Ephesus and the ther parts of Asia *were made bishops* at Miletus?" &c. Jer. Taylor, Episc. Asserted, § xxi. num. v. (first published in 1642.) Works, vol. v. p. 77. ed. Eden. But this does not quite come up to the statement in the text.

[f] See above, c. iv. § 1, sq.

before He said it. For the same reason, therefore, I cannot allow, that St. Paul here makes them bishops of presbyters by saying, God hath made you bishops in His Church; not declaring, by any thing that he says or does, any intent so to do thereby to be understood. But I cannot but consider, that Irenæus (iii. 14[g]) tells us, that St. Paul at this time called together "the bishops and presbyters, *qui erant ab Epheso et* [*a*] *reliquis proximis civitatibus*"—"which were of Ephesus and other the next cities;" and St. Jerome (*Ad Evagr.*[h]), that he called together "*omnes illos apud quos prædicaverat*"—"all those with whom he had preached." Which if we grant, the article of "*τῆς ἐκκλησίας*" will refer us to that part of the Church that was concerned; whereas the words as they lie (as [that[i]] he "sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the Church") refer us to the Church there mentioned, of Ephesus.

[Of the "bishops and deacons," in the Epistles to the Philippians and to Timothy.]

§ 10. When St. Paul addresses his Epistle to the Philippians, "together with the bishops and deacons," Phil. i. 1; when, in his instructions to Timothy, he passes immediately from bishops to deacons, 1 Tim. iii. 1—8: it is said[k], that the bishops of the next cities together with their deacons were present or ordinarily resident on the capital city, according to that which I said even now of Ephesus. And it may be said, that they were bishops and deacons at large, in respect to the Church at large; not applied to the functions either of bishop or priests in this or that Church. And, truly, I do remember the words of Clemens (*Ad Corinth.*[l]), speaking of the apostles:—"*Κατὰ πόλεις οὖν καὶ χώρας κηρύσσοντες τὸν λόγον, καὶ βαπτίζοντες, κατέστησαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν . . ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν*"—"Preaching therefore the word by cities and by countries, and baptizing, they made the first-fruits of them" (whom they had baptized) "bishops and deacons of those that should
157 believe:"—and that St. Paul addresses his Epistles "to the

[g] Adv. Hær., lib. iii. c. 14. p. 235. a:—"Episcopis et presbyteris, qui," &c.

[h] These words are not in S. Jerome's Epist. ad Evangelum, or (as in edd. before Bened.) Evagrium.

[i] Added from MS.

[k] So e. g. Hammond, On Acts xi. 30, and Philipp. i. 1; and Dissert. iv. c. 10. § 11. p. 805. And see Jer. Taylor, Episc. Asserted, § xxiii. num. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 85.

[l] S. Clem. Rom., Epist. ad Cor. I. § 42; ap. PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 144. ed. Jacobson: quoted above in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. vii. § 3; and Serv. of God in Rel. Assembl., c. xi. § 2; and in Epil. Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 15.

BOOK III.

Church that is at Corinth, and to all that called on the name of the Lord in all Achaia," 2 Cor. i. 1: so that they provided for the ordering of them, that should become or were become Christians, before they were yet cast into Churches. And it is reasonable to think, that those were ordained in the mother cities, and there stood upon their guard, expecting opportunity of framing their flocks. And that this was a cause, why the titles of bishops and presbyters are promiscuously used and attributed. But I cannot therefore yield, that one bishop with one or more deacons could serve the Churches of Philippi, Corinth, or Ephesus; or that as yet no governors were affected and applied to several Churches. For when St. Paul directs Timothy to dispose of the stock of the Church for "the honour," that is, the maintenance, of widows and presbyters, to "receive accusations against presbyters under two or three witnesses," and to "rebuke them that should offend before all;" 1 Tim. v. 2, 16—20: it seems not reasonable to imagine Timothy the judge of the bishops of inferior Churches, as regularly every bishop is of his own presbyters; that he should rebuke the bishop of foreign though inferior Churches before the people of his Church of Ephesus; that he should dispose of the stock of his Church at Ephesus upon widows or presbyters of other Churches than that at Ephesus: but, rather, that the proceeding of Timothy is prescribed as a form for the proceeding of others in their respective Churches.

St. Paul's deacons no presbyters.

§ 11. Another opinion saith[m], that the deacons whom St. Paul puts next to bishops are presbyters: called also "ministers of God" and "Christ;" as Timothy, 1 Thess. iii. 2; and St. Paul himself, [1 Cor. iv. 1[n]]; "ministers of the New Testament," as St. Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 6; "ministers of the Gospel," as St. Paul, Ephes. iii. 7; "ministers of righteousness," into whom "the ministers of Satan" are "transformed," 2 Cor. xi. 15; "ministers of the Church," as St. Paul, Col. i. 25: observing[o], that the vulgar Latin of St. Jerome translates "διακόνους," Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, "*diaconos*;" elsewhere,

[m] So Jer. Taylor, Episcopacy Asserted, § xxiii. num. 7. (Works, vol. v. pp. 86, 87). And see also above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 68. note g. And for later writers, below, note p. But Thorndike's immediate reference has not been traced. Calvin (ad loc.) suggests as a possible interpretation, that the deacons meant were the *lay* presbyters.

[n] Misprinted in folio edit., "2 Cor. ii. 23."

[o] See note m.

in thirty places, "*ministros*;" and concluding, that these deacons are the same with presbyters under the apostles and the bishops their next successors, till the order of deacons was brought in by the Church [p]. Which to me seems strange;—that the titles of the apostles and their companions should constitute or signify an inferior order of presbyters:—and, therefore, [I] think it more pertinent to the meaning of those texts, to observe the terms which are added in them, to limit that ministry for which they are called "ministers," either by the persons or subject matter to which it relates. For the apostles' commission being immediate from our Lord (as the commission of their companions, when they became their apostles, from themselves), and the matter in which the apostles ministered to God or Christ (their companions also to them), being "the word" or "the Gospel" (that is, the work of publishing it), distinguishes them from the deacons, that are under bishops, in St. Paul, as those that ministered to their respective bishops, and by their appointment to the people, as the seven at Jerusalem by the appointment of the apostles. For if St. Paul be called "minister of the Church," Col. i. 25; he is so called as minister of the whole Church, or minister of God in the work of it, not of this or that Church; which deacons are called deacons because they minister to, but at the order of their bishops and presbyters. As for the companions of the apostles, when they are sent upon their commissions to preach the Gospel, they are fitly called "ministers of the word—the Gospel—the New Testament," or "evangelists:" when they give personal attendance upon them, the apostles, they may fitly be understood to be called their ministers, in the same sense as deacons are called deacons for attending upon their bishops; allowing always as much difference between them and ordinary deacons, as between St. Paul, for example, and the bishop or priest on whom the deacon attends. And for these two several notions you have just grounds in the texts of the apostles: Acts i. 17, 25; vi. 1, 4; xix. 22; 2 Tim. iv. 5—7, 11. Besides, when Phœbe is called a deaconness of the

[p] This opinion is formally defended by bishop Burnet also, Hist. of Rights of Princes in disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c., Pref. pp. 14—19. and c. i. 8vo. Lond. 1682. And Boehmer likewise (Dissert. Jur. Eccl. Antiq., vii. 20. pp. 373, sq. Halæ 1729) maintains the identity of the diaconi of apostolic times with presbyters.

BOOK III.

church at Cenchreæ, Rom. xvi. 1; when St. Paul says, that "they, who minister well, procure themselves a good step, and much freedom in the faith which is in Christ Jesus," 158 1 Tim. iii. 13: I understand not, what this opinion would make of deaconnesses, or what is that "fair step" which deacons attain by ministering well; which in my opinion is clearly the rank of presbyters, as Clemens Alexandrinus[q] and others of the fathers[r] have expounded it. Neither do I think it possible to give a more reasonable reason, why the Vulgar, translating διακόνους "*ministros*" so often elsewhere, should translate it "*diaconos*," Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8[s]: than to put a difference between that sense, in which it stands for the deacons of Churches (which the Greek word "*diaconus*" hath[t] been used to signify all over the Latin Church), and that signification, in which the apostles and their companions are called the "ministers of Christ," or "of the Gospel;" in which, because the Greek "*diaconi*" was not famous in the Latin, therefore he employeth the Latin "*ministri*," that answers it. Plainly, seeing the word διακονεῖν beareth a notion of 'waiting upon another's pleasure in executing his orders,' and the word πρεσβύτερος, of 'ruling and governing;' and seeing I have shewed, that the presbyters, according to the ancient custom of the Church (derived originally from the synagogue), did sit with their bishop, though in a rank under him, while the deacons stood, as waiting upon them (as you may see in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, chap. iii. and iv.[u], and in the Right of the Church, chap. iii.[x]): I cannot see, how both these names can be accepted to signify the same persons; or how the degree, which St. Paul saith is attained by well performing the deacon's office, can be any thing but the rank of presbyters.

[Οἱ προϊστάμενοι, and οἱ ἡγούμενοι, in St. Paul's Epistles.]

§ 12. There remains the words of the apostles, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13:—"Now we request you, brethren, to know those that labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them more than abundantly in

[q] Clem. Alex., Strom., lib. vi. c. 13, and lib. vii. c. 1: Op., tom. ii. pp. 793, 830. And see Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 69.

[r] E. g. "Τοιοῦτοι οἱ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λάμποντες, ἀπὸ διακόνων ἐν πρεσβυτερικῷ βαθμῷ, καὶ ἐπισκοπικῷ." Theodoret., in 1 Tim. iii. 13; Op., tom. ii. p. 569. B.—And so both Grotius, and Estius, ad loc.

[s] See above, note p.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "had," in orig. text.

[u] Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iii § 20, c. iv. § 10.

[x] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 9.

love, for their work's sake:"—and again, Heb. xiii. 7, 17:— "Remember your leaders, which have spoken to you the word, the issue of whose conversation seeing, imitate ye their faith;"—and,—"Be ruled by your leaders, and yield to them, for they watch for your souls, as those that must give account; that they may do it joyfully, and not groaning; for that is not for your turn." Where, it is manifest, he distinguisheth those that first planted the Churches to whom he writes, from those that governed them at present. But whether it be more reasonable to understand by these words one governor to one Church, or a bench of presbyters to each; whether assigned to one particular Church, or belonging to any Church as much as to these[y]: I shall willingly refer it to the reader to judge.

[The "presbyters of the Church" in St. James.]

§ 13. The words of St. James I conceive admit no denial. James v. 14: "Is any man among you sick? let him call for the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." Here are elders more than one; and those proper and relative to one and the same Church; and the office which they do, not compatible to any lay-elders, according to any pretence, supposing especially that which I said afore[z] to clear the intent of it.

[The "angels" in the Book of Revelations.]

§ 14. In fine, "the seven stars," which "are the angels of the seven Churches, and the seven candlesticks," which "are the seven Churches," Rev. i. 20, seem to yield us a pregnant evidence of so many governors, proper to so many Churches; to wit, so many bishops: as is argued elsewhere[a].

[St. Paul's enumeration of Church-offices in his Epistles to the Corinthians and Ephesians.]

§ 15. As for the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 28: "And some hath God set in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors, then miracles, then graces of healing, helps, governments, kinds of languages:"—and Ephes. iv. 11; "And He gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors:"—it is true, the offices of "apostles and evangelists" cannot be confined to one particular Church; but the offices of "pastors and doctors" may and ought, of "helps and governments" must: at least if we understand them, as I have shewed that they are to be under-

[y] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. vii. § 3—6.

[z] Above, cc. ix. § 21, 32; xii. § [illegible]

[a] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iv. § 12; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 9; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 8.

BOOK III.

stood[b]; to wit, "governors" of the sick, impotent, and needy, and their assistants in that work. For I may freely say, there hath nothing been said to the purpose of those offices but this[c]. And therefore, seeing the apostle in both places speaks of the whole Church, which consisteth of all Churches, the form whereof is still the same, how much soever they differ in bigness; it seemeth to me very reasonable to understand by St. Paul, that God hath placed in the Church as well those offices which relate to all or to many Churches, as those 159
which relate unto one; that, by the means of all of them, the university of Christians may be edified in and to the unity of one body, which is the whole Church.

No ground for lay-elders.

§ 16. These being the particulars that concern this point in the writings of the apostles, I am not solicitous for an answer to the puritans' objections; finding in them no ingredient of any of their designs, but only a number of presbyters of the same rank in one and the same Church, no ways inconsistent with the superiority of bishops, no ways enduring the power of the keys in the hands of lay-elders.

[Why the Scriptures do not express more plainly the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons.]

§ 17. But if the writings of the apostles express not that form of government by bishops, priests, and deacons, which it is manifest that the whole Church ever since their time hath used: first, neither can it be said to agree any thing so near with any of their designs; and all the difference is reasonably imputable to the difference between the state of the Church in making and made, the qualities of apostles and evangelists not being to be propagated to posterity any more than their persons, but the uniformity of succeeding times not being imputable to any thing but their appointment.

[Why "bishop" and "presbyter" are used interchangeably in Holy Scriptures and in the

§ 18. As for the reason, why the titles of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are so promiscuously used, as well in the records of the primitive Church, as in the writings of the apostles[d]: I admit that of Epiphanius[e], that at the beginning a bishop with his deacons might serve some Churches; I admit the ordaining of bishops for inferior Churches to be framed, and

[b] Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Assembl., c. iv. § 18—20.

[c] Thorndike had originally followed a different interpretation of the word "governments" in 1 Cor. xii. 28. See Serv. of God at Rel. Assembl., c. iv. § 30, 38.—Grotius and Hammond (ad loc.) interpret it severally of presbyters and bishops.

[d] See above, c. xvi. § 25. note n.

[e] See above, § 8. note b.

in the Churches of mother cities, according to Clemens[f]; I admit the ordaining of clergy to no particular Churches[g]: but I cannot reject that, which I learned from an author no ways inconsiderable, the supposed St. Ambrose upon St. Paul's Epistles. He, not only in the words quoted in the first Book[h], upon 1 Cor. xi.[i], but upon Rom. xvi.[k] and 1 Cor. i.[l], alleges, that, when St. Paul writ, governors were not settled in all churches, acknowledging that presbyters were. Can he then be thought to make presbyters and the governors of Churches all one? But Amalarius, *De Officiis Eccles.* ii. 13[m] (quoting things out of these commentaries, which now appear not[n]), and out of him Rabanus, upon 1 Tim. iv. 14[o], and Titus i.[p],

[f] Quoted before in § 10: and see references in note l there.

[g] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 45.

[h] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 31. See also Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii. § 3.

[i] Quoted by Thorndike, as in last note.

[k] "Adhuc enim rectores ecclesiis paucis erant in locis." Pseudo-Ambros., In Rom. xvi. 22; in App. ad Op. S. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 110. E: having spoken before, on v. 11, ibid. p. 109. C, of Narcissus a "presbyter."

[l] "Propterea ecclesiæ scribit, quia adhuc singulis ecclesiis rectores non erant constituti." Id., In 1 Cor. i. 2; ibid., p. 112. A.

[m] Quoted above in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 1.

[n] See Review, &c. as quoted in note m.

[o] "Quæ autem sit causa, non est justum eam silentio præterire, ob illam immutationem nominum quæ ad præsens esse videtur et qua ex causa discreta nunc sunt nomina; et neque episcopus dici potest presbyter neque presbyter unquam episcopi nuncupationem poterit sibi vendicare, usque dum presbyter esse desistit. Antiquis etenim temporibus, quando pietati studebant presbyteri, omni in loco ordinabantur; hoc quidem nomen contemplationis honoris accipientes, sicut et apud Judæos presbyteri dicebantur qui populo præerant. Vocabantur autem et episcopi ab illo opere quod et implere videbantur, eo quod considerare omnia quæ ad cultum pertinent pietatis fuerant constituti; ita ut universorum dispensationem haberent commissam. Nam et perfectam dispensationem et auctoritatem ecclesiastici ministerii ipsi tunc commissam habebant, et omnia regebantur pro eorum arbitrio," &c. Raban. Maur., Comment. in Epist. Paul., lib. xxiii. c. 3; In 1 Tim. iv. 12; Op., tom. v. p. 500. F, G.—"Evidens est, quia quos ipse nominavit presbyteros, hos a Paulo episcopos accersitos denuntiavit; hi vero qui ordinationis nunc habent potestatem, qui nunc nominantur episcopi, non hujus ecclesiæ creabantur episcopi, sed provincias integras et in tempore regebant, apostolorum nomine nuncupati; sic universæ Asiæ Timotheum præposuit B. Paulus, et Cretæ Titum. Evidens autem est, quoniam et alios aliis provinciis per partes itidem præposuit, ita ut unusquisque eorum integræ provinciæ solicitudinem indeptus percurreret ecclesias universas, et ad ecclesiasticam functionem ubi deerant clerici ordinarent, et quæcunque causæ duræ apud illos accidebant, dissolvebant, eos simul et verbo doctrinæ corrigens," &c. "Nam et universæ civitates tunc presbyteros, ut dixi, habebant, qui suas ecclesias singuli; qui vero nunc episcopi nominantur, illi tunc apostoli dicebantur. Quoniam vero per singulas civitates aut possessiones, qui ordinationem episcopatus susceperunt, et tunc quidem hoc modo ecclesiæ regebantur. Quoniam vero pietas incrementum sumpsisse videtur, et repleti sunt non modo civitates credentium sed regiones, beatis vero apostolis decedentibus, illi qui post illos ordinati sunt ut præessent ecclesiis, illis primis exæquari non poterant, neque miraculorum testimonium par illis habere sed et in multis aliis infirmiores illorum esse videbantur; grave existimaverunt apostolorum sibi vindicare nuncupa-

BOOK III.

says, that they, who under the apostles had power to ordain, and are now called bishops, were then set over whole provinces by the name of apostles (agreeing herein with Theodoret upon 1 Tim. iii., iv.[q], and St. Hierome upon Gal. i.[r], and many others of the fathers[s], that extend the name of apostles far beyond the twelve); as Timothy in Asia, Titus in Crete: the Churches of particular cities having their own presbyters to govern them, but expecting ordinations, and the settling of the more weighty causes, from these their superiors. These were the presbyters that ordained Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14; saith Rabanus[t]: who certainly, being ordained to so high a charge, could not be ordained by the presbyters of any particular Church. Now the successors of these apostles or presbyters, finding themselves inferior to their predecessors, saith he[u], and the same title a burden to them, appropriated themselves the name of bishops, which imports care, leaving to priests that which imports dignity, to wit, that of presbyters. This Amalarius allegeth out of the said commentaries[x]: adding, that in process of time, through the bounty of those who had the power of ordaining, these bishops were settled two or three in a province; until at length not only over all cities, but in places that needed not bishops. This, being partly the importance of this author's words, partly that which Amalarius and Rabanus gather from his meaning, gives

tionem; diviserunt ergo ipsa nomina, et illis, id est, presbyteris, presbyterii nomen reliquerunt. Alii vero episcopi sunt nuncupati, hi qui et ordinationis prædiii sunt potestate, ita ut plenissime iidem præpositos se ecclesiarum esse cognoscerent; facta sunt vero et ampliores episcopi, causa sic depostulante." Id., ibid., pp. 500. G—501. B. "Presbyteros vero hoc in loco non eos nominavit qui nunc nominantur presbyteri: nec autem res admittebat istos manus imponere ad ordinationem ipsi.s functionis, sed apostolorum dicit conventum, qui aderat apostolo Paulo, et cum eo manus imponebant in ejus ordinationem. Presbyterium autem illud nominavit contemplatione honoris," &c. Id., ibid., c. 4; in 1 Tim. iv. 14; ib., p. 504, F, G.

[p] "Audiant episcopi, qui habent constituendi presbyteros per urbes singulas potestatem," &c. Id., ibid., lib. xxv. c. 1; in Tit. i. 5; ibid., p. 520. D: from S. Jerom: citing also, a little further on, the other well-known passages on the subject from the same father.

[q] Op., tom. iii. pp. 473. D, 474. A. See above in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 37. note a.

[r] "Quod autem exceptis duodecim quidam vocentur apostoli, illud in causa est: omnes qui Dominum viderant et Eum postea prædicabant, fuisse apostolos appellatos." S. Hieron., In Epist. ad Galat. i. 19; Op., tom. iv. P. i. p. 236: quoting 1 Cor. xv. 7, Phil. ii. 25, 2 Cor. viii. 23. See also Jer. Taylor, Episc. Asserted, § iv. Works, vol. v. pp. 21—23.

[s] See Suicer in v. Ἀπόστολος, II. 3.

[t] See note o.

[u] See note o.

[x] See references in notes h and m.

a clear answer to all that St. Jerome[y] hath objected out of the writings of the apostles, to prove that bishops and presbyters are by their institution both one, because they are called both by the same title: and therefore cannot, with any judgment, be alleged to his purpose[z].

[In what way bishops came in the room of apostles.]

§ 19. In fine, the same author upon Ephes. iv. affirmeth[a], that, for the propagation of Christianity, all were permitted at the first to preach the Gospel, to baptize, and to expound the Scriptures in the church; but when Churches were settled, and governors appointed, then order was taken, that no man should presume to execute that office, to which he was not ordained. By whom I beseech you, but by the same, who had
160 formerly allowed and trusted all Christians with all offices, which the propagation of the common Christianity required? Even the apostles and disciples, and their companions and assistants, in whom that part of power rested, which the apostles had endowed them with: until, bishops being settled over all Churches, they might truly be said to succeed the apostles in the government of their respective Churches; though nobody can pretend to succeed them in that power over all Churches that belonged to their care, which the agreements passed between the apostles must needs allow each one.

[How even presbyters succeed the apostles.]

§ 20. Nor need I deny that, which sometimes the fathers affirm[b], that even presbyters succeed the apostles. For in the Churches of Barnabas and Saul's founding, Acts xiv. 23, while they had no governors but apostles and presbyters; it is manifest, that the presbyters did whatsoever they were able to do as lieutenants of the apostles, and in their stead. But shall any man infer thereupon, that they, who say this, allow presbyters to do whatsoever the apostles could do; seeing them limited, as I have said[c], by the authors which I allege? For what if my author say, upon Ephes. iv.[d], that at

[y] See above, c. xvi. § 23. note g.

[z] As they are by e. g. Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., sect. ii. cc. 40, 42. pp. 80—84.

[a] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., cc. ix. § 5, x. § 3.

[b] So Ignatius, Ad Magnes. § 6, Ad Trall. § 3, Ad Smyrnens. § 8; ap. PP. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 306, 326, 414. ed. Jacobson:—Irenæus, Adv. Hær., lib. iv. c. 43. p. 343. b:—S. Hieron., Epist. xlix. (al. xiii.) Ad Paulinum; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 565.—And see Jer. Taylor, Episcopacy Asserted, § xi. Works, vol. v. pp. 45, 46.

[c] Above, § 18, 19.

[d] Quoted above in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 4: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 54.

BOOK III.

the first the eldest of the presbyters succeeded upon the bishop's decease? Shall the rule of succession make any difference in the power to which he succeeds? Or both acknowledge the laws, which they, that order both, shall have appointed, even the apostles?

[As schismatical to break the unity of the Church by denying the superiority of bishops, as if that superiority had been settled immediately by the apostles themselves.]

§ 21. Let St. Hierome then (and whosoever prefers St. Hierome's arguments before that evidence which the practice of the Church creates) have leave to dispute out of the Scriptures the beginning of bishops from the authority of the Church, which neither St. Hierome, nor any man else, could ever have brought the whole Church to agree in, had not the apostles' order gone afore for the ground of it: provided that the love of his opinion carry him not from the unity of the Church, as it did Aerius[e] (for he, that saith that this ought to be a law to the Church, need not say, that every Christian is bound upon his salvation to believe that it ought to be a law to the Church). So long as the succession of the apostles is upon record in the Church in the persons of single bishops, by whom the tradition of faith was preserved, according to Irenæus[f] and Tertullian[g], the unity of the Church, according to Optatus[h] and St. Augustin[i]; what wilfulness can serve to make all presbyters equal in that power, which all the acts whereby the unity of the Church hath been really maintained evidently challenge to the pre-eminence of their bishops above them in their respective Churches? The constitution of the whole Church out of all Churches, as members of the whole, will necessarily argue a pre-eminence of power in the bishop above his presbyters, not to be derived from any agreement of the Church, but from the appointment of the apostles. In the mean time, supposing the whole Church to agree in that, which God had enabled them to agree in, having not tied them to the contrary, but having tied them to live in visible unity and communion, all Churches with all Churches; they, that depart from this unity upon this account, shall be no less schismatics, than had the superiority

[e] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 2.

[f] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 5. note z.

[g] Ibid., note a.

[h] See ibid., § 6: and Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. v. § 8. note h.

[i] See ibid.: and Prim. Gov., ibid., note i.

of bishops been settled by the apostles. This is that which I come to in the next place. CHAP. XVII.

161

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE APOSTLES ALL OF EQUAL POWER; ST. PETER ONLY CHIEF IN MANAGING IT. THE GROUND FOR THE PRE-EMINENCE OF CHURCHES BEFORE AND OVER CHURCHES. OF ALEXANDRIA, ANTIOCHIA, JERUSALEM, AND ROME. GROUND FOR THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME BEFORE ALL CHURCHES. THE CONSEQUENCE OF THAT GROUND. A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE FOR IT.

[St. Peter the first of the apostles.]

Some consideration I must now bestow upon that position, which derives a monarchy over the Church from St. Peter's privileges[k]. For I make no scruple to grant, that he was indeed the first and chief of the apostles, as he is reckoned in the Gospels, Matt. x. 2, Mark iii. 16, Luke vi. 14: and that, in likelihood, because he was the first in leaving all to adhere unto our Lord, as the man to whom our Lord's call is directed, Luke v. 4—11; though he was first brought to our Lord by his brother Andrew, as Philip once brought Nathanael that was not of the twelve, John i. 41—46; so that this first call gave them acquaintance, but made them not apostles. And from this beginning we may well draw the reason, why St. Peter is always the forwardest to answer our Lord's demands, and to speak in the name of his fellows: Matt. xiv. 28, xv. 15, xvi. 16, xvii. 24, xviii. 21, xix. 27, xxvi. 33; Mark viii. 29, x. 28, xi. 21, xiv. 29; Luke viii. 45, ix. 20, xii. 41, xviii. 28, xxii. 34; John vi. 68, xiii. 6; Acts i. 13, 15, ii. 14, 37, iv. 8: which it would not become the reverence we owe the apostles to[l] impute to St. Peter's forwardness, without acknowledging the ground of it, being visible.

[But no sovereign over them.]

§ 2. But these privileges will not serve to make St. Peter sovereign over the apostles. The stress lies upon Matt. xvi.

[k] So e. g. Bellarm., De Roman. Pontif., lib. i. cc. xviii., sq.; Controv., tom. i. pp. 676. B, sq.: respecting the "prærogativæ" of S. Peter. In c. x.—xiii. (ibid., pp. 638. B, sq.) "probatur Petri monarchia ex loco evangelii Matt. xvi." And in cc. xiv.—xvi. (ibid., pp. 661. A, sq.) the same conclusion is drawn from S. John xxi.

[l] Corrected from MS.; "so," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

16—19:—"And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; and Jesus answered and said to him, Blessed art thou, Simon son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but My Father in the heavens; and I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, shall be loose in the heaven:"—and upon John xxi. 15—17, where St. Peter, thrice professing to love Christ, receives of Him thrice the command of "feeding His sheep." But will this serve the turn ever a whit more? It must be either by virtue of the matter, which our Lord says of or to St. Peter, or by virtue of His saying it to St. Peter and to none else. Against this latter consideration I conceive I have provided by the premisses. For seeing there is a sufficient reason to be given otherwise, why St. Peter answers before the rest, when our Lord demands whom they acknowledge Him to be; the reply of our Lord, addressed to him alone, will give him no more than the precedence, not the sovereignty over the apostles. Which is still more evident in St. John; because St. Peter, having undertaken before the rest to stand to our Lord in the utmost of all His trials, had deserted Him most shamefully of them all, denying under an oath to have any knowledge of Him. For it is not observed for nothing, that he professes the love of Christ thrice[m]. Let St. Peter then be the prince-apostle, or the chief apostle; let him be, if you please, the prince of the apostles: there will be found a wide distance between "*princeps apostolorum*" in Latin, as some of the fathers[n] have called him, and "sovereign over the apo-

[m] "Redditur negationi trinæ trina confessio, ne minus amori lingua serviat quam timori," &c. S. Aug., In Evang. Joan. Tract. cxxiii. § 5; Op., tom. iii. p. 817. A. And so also S. Cyril. Alex., In Joan. xxi. Comment., lib. xii.; Op, tom. iv. pp. 1118. E—1120. B. See Andrewes, Ad Card. Bellarm., Apol. Resp., pp. 20, 21. Oxf. 1851. Bellarmine (De Roman. Pontif., lib. i. c. xiv., Controv. tom. i. p. 664. B) argues from this consideration, that the words are said to St. Peter and to none else.

[n] E. g. S. Hieron., Dial. adv. Pelag., lib. i.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 491: S. Greg. M., Explan. Psalm. iv. Pœnitent., in v. 16; Op., tom. iii. P. ii. p. 503. B; and Epist. lib. v. Ind. xiii. Ep. xx. Ad Mauric. Augustum; ibid., tom. ii. p. 748. B.—"Caput omnium Apostolorum." Optat., Cont. Parmenian., lib. ii. c. 2. p. 31. ed. Dupin; lib. vii. c. 3. p. 102 ibid.—"In quo primatus apostolorum." S. Aug., De Bapt., lib. ii. c. 1. § 2; Op., tom. ix. p. 96. D.

stles[o]." When Augustus seized into his hand the sovereign power of the Roman empire "*nomine principis*," as we read [in[p]] the beginning of Tacitus[q],—"under the title of prince;"—he was well aware, that the title, which he assumed, did not necessarily proclaim him sovereign, which he desired not to do.

§ 3. As for the matter of our Lord's words: those, that fear where there is no fear, will have our Lord say, that He buildeth His Church upon the faith of St. Peter, professing our Lord to be Christ[r]; or to point at Himself[s], when He saith, "Upon this rock will I build My Church." But what
162 needs it? Saith He any more to St. Peter, than St. Paul saith to the Ephesians, ii. 20; "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone?" or St. John of the new Jerusalem, Revel. xxi. 14; "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, upon which were the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb?" How then shall St. Peter be sovereign by virtue of an attribute common to him with the rest of the apostles?

[Was the rock upon which the Church was built, but in common with the other apostles.]

§ 4. Some conceive[t], that, when our Lord proceeds to tell

[Of the promise, that "the

[o] Bellarm. (De Verbo Dei, lib. iii. c. 4. Controv., tom. i. p. 175. A: De Roman. Pontif., lib. i. c. 9. ibid. pp. 632. C, sq., et lib. iv. c. 25. p. 1049. C) distinguishes the power assigned to S. Peter from that assigned to the other apostles thus—that S. Peter's power "ordinaria fuit, reliquorum extraordinaria;" S. Peter "potestatem suam transmittere potest," the others could not; S. Peter "*super alios apostolos potestatem habuit*, the rest not so: in short, that S. Peter had a "monarchia" instead of a simple "primatus." Inconsistently too with his general admission quoted above, c. xvi. § 4. note y, he affirms (De Rom. Pont., lib. i. c. 18. p. 687. A—C), that "solus Petrus a Christo episcopus ordinatus fuerit, cæteri autem a Petro episcopalem ordinationem acceperint."

[p] Added from MS.

[q] Annal., lib. i. c. 1. See Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. I. c. iii. § 10. num. 1, and Cocceius's notes; for the difference between principatus and regnum.

[r] So S. Chrysostom, and many other fathers, cited by Suicer, Thesaur. sub v. Πέτρα, § ii. So also the Magdeburg Centuriators, Cent. I. lib. i. c. iv. De Eccles. Christi, p. 175: and Erasmus, Paraph. in Evang. Matth. c. xvi.; Op., tom. vii. p. 92. F; and Zegerus, in loc., ap. Crit. Sac. tom. vi. p. 482.

[s] So S. Augustine sometimes; see below, § 18. note n. And Bede, In Joh. xxi.; Op., tom. v. p. 857. It is the interpretation adopted by Calvin, Instit. IV. vi. 6: and by Luther, In Matt. xvi., Op. tom. v. fol 62. b (Witeb. 1550-7), and Adv. Papatum, ibid., tom. vii. fol. 460. b. And see Suicer, Thesaur., sub v. Πέτρα, § iv., for patristic interpretations to the same purpose.—"Nec est verisimile (ut nonnulli existimant) Christum ita dicentem—'Επὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, *digitum in Semetipsum intendisse*, ut et alias, cum . . 'Destruito hoc Templum,' dixit." Cameron., in loc., ap. Crit. Sac. tom. vi. p. 489.

[t] "De diaboli aut etiam de improborum molitionibus tanto consensu hunc locum exponi valde miror. Nusquam enim reperio ᾅδου vocem neque apud Hellenistas neque apud Novi alia significatio

BOOK III.

gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church."]

him, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church," He means no more, but that He will rescue His from death by raising them again. But raising from death implies raising from sin in the Old Testament, expresses it in the New; and the city of God, which is the Church in the New Testament, refers to the "city of Satan" that oppugneth it: and, therefore, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," cannot signify less than a promise, that the Church shall continue till our Lord's second coming to judgment, notwithstanding the malice of Satan and his complices. But St. Peter is not the only foundation of it, though nobody else be named here.

[The keys of the Church given to St. Peter, but in common with the twelve.]

§ 5. Again, our Lord gives St. Peter "the keys of His Church" here; as in St. John He commands him to "feed His flock." But is the office of 'feeding Christ's flock' St. Peter's peculiar? Have not the apostles the charge of it, even from our Lord? Do they do it by virtue of St. Peter's commission, or by His appointment? How are they Christ's apostles otherwise[u]? As for the keys of the Church: they are given to St. Peter here; they are given to the twelve by 'the power of remitting and retaining sins,' as I have shewed[x], John xx. 21—23; by 'the power of binding and loosing' they are given to the Church, Matt. xviii. 18. And can any man make St. Peter sovereign over the apostles and over the Church by virtue of that, which is no privilege of his, the rest of the apostles and the Church being all endowed with it?

[Other passages, from the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles.]

§ 6. Hear we not what St. Luke saith, Acts viii. 14: "The apostles at Jerusalem, hearing that Samaria had received the word of God, sent to them Peter and John?" Can St. Peter go upon commission from the apostles, who gives the apostles the commission they have? Those, that preached circumcision at Antiochia, had "no commission" for it from the Church at Jerusalem; Acts xv. 24. It must have been from St. Peter, if that Church had acted then by virtue of his commission;

quam aut 'mortis,' aut 'status post mortem.' . . . Sicut ergo de Christo Capite dictum est a Paulo, Θάνατος Αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει, . . . ita hic Christi corpori, id est, populo credentium, promittitur fore ut mors ipsa . . non eas vires habeat ut eos detinere possit sub suo jure ac potestate." Grot., In Matt. xvi. 18.

[u] See above, § 2. note o.

[x] Above, c. ix. § 12, sq.

CHAP. XVIII.

but he was present, and is signified as one of them that writ these words. Let any man stand upon it, that will[y], that the "false apostles," whom St. Paul writes against 2 Cor. xi. 13, pretended commission from St. Peter; because of the opposition, which they made between him on the one side, and St. Paul and Apollos on the other side; 1 Cor. i. 12. (though I shewed you better reason afore[z], that they pretended that commission from the apostles, which they disowned Acts xv. 24): it is easy for me to say, that they pretended not St. Peter's name as sovereign over the apostles, but as founder of the Church of Corinth as well as St. Paul, which Dionysius of Corinth in Eusebius witnesseth[a]. Whereas, when St. Paul pleads his commission of apostle from God and not from man, Gal. i. 1, ii. 6—9, and that in express opposition to St. James and St. John as well as to St. Peter, it is manifest, that they, as well as St. Peter, might have pretended to give it, had he not been an apostle: but, being an apostle, none but our Lord Christ. And, therefore, when he resists St. Peter and reproves him to the face, Gal. ii. 11—14; understand this resistance and reproof as you please, whether true or colourable[b]; had St. Peter been monarch, it had not been for an apostle to colour his proceeding with a pretence, inferring rebellion against his sovereign.

§ 7. Wherefore there may be [lesser[c]] and greater apostles, for personal[d] qualities; and St. Paul, that is "the least of" them for his calling, may be inferior to none for his labours,

The apostles [therefore] all of equal power; St. Peter only chief in managing it.

[y] "In his quidem advertendum est, quoniam non sic dicebant alii se esse Cephæ, quod Cephas Corinthi prædicasset; . . . sed potius, quo illam contentionem et scissuram ecclesiæ declinarent, rem ad suum principium reducentes (quod sic falli non possent) dicerent alii, se esse primos omnium post Christum pastoris et ecclesiæ Capitis Petri discipulos, alii vero Auctoris omnium Christi. Idcirco idem Paulus inferius, nulla de Cepha habita mentione, nec de Christo, sed quia sui tantum causa et Apollo oborta fuerat contentio, subdit," &c. Baron., Annal., in an. 57. num. iii. tom. i. p. 446. C. Antv. 1597: quoted by Estius, ad loc., in order to reject the interpretation.

[z] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 31.

[a] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c note r.

[b] S. Chrys. (In Gal. c. ii. vv. 11, 12; Op., tom. x. pp. 686. D—688. A), with the Greek fathers generally, and S. Jerom (In Galat. c. ii. v. 12: Op., tom. iv. P. i. p. 244), maintain the act of S. Peter and the rebuke of S. Paul to have been an arrangement between the two apostles, i. e. an "œconomy;"—"δύο ταῦτα οἰκονομῶν, καὶ τὸ μὴ σκανδαλίσαι τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τὸ παρασχεῖν τῷ Παύλῳ εὔλογον τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως πρόφασιν." S. Jerom maintains this view in several epistles addressed to S. Augustin, by whom it is strenuously denied and refuted: see Estius ad loc.

[c] Misprinted "les-," in folio edition.

[d] Corrected from MS.; misprinted "personable," in folio edit.

BOOK III.

1 Cor. xv. 9, 10, 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11, 12; nay, St. Peter may have a standing pre-eminence, of head of the bench, to avoid confusion and to create order in their proceedings: and yet their commission be immediate from our Lord, and the matter of it, and the power it creates, the same for substance.

The ground for the pre-eminence of Churches before and over Churches.

§ 8. Having thus destroyed this ground, upon which some people[e] claim a monarchy over the Church for the pope by the Scriptures (without seeking for other exceptions to the pretence that may be made to the same purpose from the tradition of the Catholic Church[f]); I proceed to settle the ground of that eminence and superiority, which I conceive some Churches have over others, for the unity of the whole Church: because of necessity the reason and ground, upon which it stands, must be the measure of it how far it extends; and the positive truth thereof will be negatively an exception to that sovereignty, which the bishop of Rome by the succession of St. Peter pretendeth. I say then, that the apostles and disciples of our Lord Christ, intending to convert the world to the faith, and to establish one Church of all that should be converted to it, did agree and appoint, that the Churches of the chief cities should be the chief Churches; and that the Churches of inferior cities should depend upon them, and have recourse to them in all things that might concern the common Christianity (whether in the rule of faith or in the unity of the Church in the offices of God's service); reserving unto themselves the ordering of those things, which, being of less moment, might concern their own peace and good order rather than the interesse of other Churches[g]. 16

[What evidence there is, that such ground comes from the apostles.]

§ 9. I do not pretend to produce any act under the apostles' hands, in which this conclusion is signed: but to proceed upon the principles premised to argue and to infer, that those things, which I shall evidently shew have passed in the Church, could not otherwise have come to pass; unless we could suppose, that a constant order, which hath wholly taken place in the Church ever since the apostles, could have prevailed over those infinite ways which confusion might have imagined, had there been no ground from whence

[e] Scil. Bellarmine (see § 1. note k) from Turre-Cremata, Cajetan, &c.: and Romanist controversialists in general.

[f] See below, cc. xix., xx.

[g] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii.: and Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. viii—ix.

this certain order should rise. And here I do profess, that if any man will needs be contentious, and say, that this order came not in by the appointment of the apostles themselves[h] (because during their time the probability of converting the Roman empire and other nations to Christianity could not appear, and that it doth not appear by any circumstance of Scripture that the spirit of prophecy was given them to such purposes); I will rather grant all this, than contend about those terms which I need not insist upon: though I do firmly believe, that, before all the apostles left the world, the conversion of the gentiles was their design, and the design of their successors. But I will provide, on the other side, that, whether the apostles themselves, or their companions and successors, in whom the power of governing the whole Church was as fully to all purposes as in the apostles themselves (for though they might be assisted by the gift of prophecy in those occasions, as it is probable they were at the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv., yet must their authority proceed, whether so assisted or not), the obligation upon the Church must needs remain the same, to cherish and maintain that order which once might have been established by them; the unity of the Church, which is the end of it, not being otherwise attainable.

Of Alexandria, Antiochia, Jerusalem, and Rome.

§ 10. And upon this ground I maintain, that the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Antiochia, had from the beginning a privilege of eminence above other Churches[i]. For, Rome being the seat of the empire, Alexandria and Antiochia, which had formerly been the seats of the successors of Ptolemy in Egypt and Seleucus in Asia, having from their first coming under the Roman empire had their peculiar governors, it is no marvel, if the Churches founded in them held their peculiar privileges and eminences over the Churches of their resorts, from the very founding of Christianity in these mother-

[h] De Dominis, De Rep. lib. iii. c. 12. § 21. tom. i. p. 335, and Brerewood, Of Patriarchal Government, Qu. 1, "reckon the first rise of patriarchs to have been after the apostolical age, and some time before the council of Nice" (Bingh., II. xvii. 7): which opinion Bingham (ibid. 8) prefers to that of Baronius and others, affirming the apostles themselves to have originated them, and of Launoy, Basnage, and others, dating their origin *after*, and of S. Jerom, apparently dating it *at*, the council of Nice.

[i] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. vi. § 5: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 4; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii.: Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 4, sq.

BOOK III.

cities, and the propagating of it from thence into inferior cities, and thence over the confines. And this is the only reason that can be rendered, why the Church of Jerusalem, which in respect of the first abode of the apostles and the propagation of Christianity is justly counted the mother of all Churches, and which gave law to that of Antiochia and the rest that were concerned in the same dispute with it, and during the apostles' time received oblations of maintenance from the Churches of the gentiles, became afterwards inferior to these, and in particular to that of Antiochia[k]. But he, that shall compare these cities, and the greatness of them and eminence over their respective territories, with that of Rome, not only over the rest of the empire, but over those cities, will find it consequent to the ground of this design, 164 not that the Church of Rome should be sovereign over the Churches of these cities (for that were inconsequent to the power of the apostles whence it proceedeth—who, as I have proved[l], were equal among themselves—and the authority of their companions and successors, into whom it stood immediately divided); but that it should have that eminence over them (and, by consequence, much more over the Churches of inferior cities), as is requisite to the directing of such matters as might come to be of common interesse to the whole Church, to such an agreement as might preserve the unity thereof with advantage to the common Christianity. Now when I name these Churches of Antiochia and Alexandria, for example's sake, supposing, that the Churches of the chief cities of other provinces of the empire had also their eminence over the Churches of inferior cities within the said provinces; I suppose also, that they accordingly approached to the dignity and privileges of that at Rome: the power of obliging the whole (which for the state, under God, rested then in the emperor alone within the empire) resting for the Church in the successors of the apostles, according to the[m] weight and greatness of their Churches. For though Tertullian, *De Præscrip. Hæret.*, cap. xxxvi.[n], challengeth, that the very

[Acts xv.; xvi. 4.]

[Acts xi. 29, xii. 25, xxiv. 17; Rom. xv. 25; 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3; 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1; Gal. ii. 10.]

[k] E. g. the Trullan council (can. 36. ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 1159. B) places the five patriarchates thus—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

[l] Above, in § 1—7.

[m] Corrected from MS.; "this," in orig. text.

[n] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii. § 4: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 6.

chairs which the apostles sate in, the very authentic letters which they sent to the Churches of Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, and Ephesus, were extant in his time in the said Churches; yet doth it not therefore follow, that the privileges of those Churches should be all the same with all Churches wherein the apostles sate: which would necessarily follow, if nothing were to come into consideration but that they were founded by the apostles themselves. For supposing, that the apostles themselves (or their companions and successors, endowed with the same power, as not confined by any act of the apostles, under whom they claimed, to the contrary) appointed, that regard should be had to the privilege of the cities wherein they were planted: it follows of reason, that St. Peter for the Jews, and St. Paul for the gentiles (at least principally), should make it their business to plant Christianity and to found the Church of Rome; and that the eminence of these apostles (one chief by our Lord's choice, the other eminent for his labours) may very well be alleged for the privileges of that Church, and yet the consequence not hold in other Churches, for which it may be alleged that they were the seats of apostles, because the reason for which these apostles bestowed their pains there hath a reason for it, to wit, the eminence of that city.

Ground for the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome before all Churches.

§ 11. Here you easily see, that, deriving the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome, not from St. Peter's personal pre-eminence only (which it would be impossible to shew how it comes entailed upon that Church, the pre-eminence of the apostles not resting in all their Churches), but from an order given out by the apostles, advancing the privileges of Churches according to the secular eminence of cities; I say, you easily see, that the concurrence of St. Paul with St. Peter to the founding of it is a confirmation of that ground, whereupon the pre-eminence thereof standeth: whereas that opinion, which derives it only from the personal eminence of St. Peter, admits not the concurrence of St. Paul to the constitution of this pre-eminence. Wheresoever therefore you find St. Peter and St. Paul acknowledged joint founders thereof in the writings of the fathers[o], all that must be understood; to settle the opinion which I here advance, and to destroy that

[o] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. v. § 3, 4.

BOOK III.

plea, which derives it from the sovereign power of St. Peter over the rest of the apostles.

[St. Ignatius as well as St. Epiphanius beareth witness to this ground.]

§ 12. And Epiphanius[p] is not the only author where you find it. The disputes of these times will afford you more than this abridgment can receive. But I conceive I have made a fair way to the ground for it, by observing some probabilities, that St. Peter[q] should be head of those that turned Christians of Jews, as St. Paul[q], of gentiles, at Rome: which I will here confirm, by expounding the inscription of Ignatius his epistle to the Romans[r] according to it, otherwise not to be understood. It addresseth to the Church, "*ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*"—"which governeth in the place of the fields at Rome." The word *τόπος* is here used, as many times besides, speaking of those places which 16
a man would neither call cities nor towns; as Acts xxvii. 2, "*Μέλλοντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους*"—"Being to sail by the places of Asia." *Χώρα*, it is plain, signifies "the country." "*Τόπος χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*," then, must necessarily signify here the Vatican, lying in the fields as a suburb to Rome, and being the place where St. Peter was buried, and where the Jews of Rome then dwelt; as we learn by Philo, *Legatione ad Caium*[s], speaking of Augustus;—"*Τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομὴν . . οὐκ ἠγνόει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθέντες· αἰχμάλωτοι γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἠλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες*"—"He knew that great quarter of Rome, which is beyond the river Tiber, to be held and inhabited by Jews, most of whom were Romans and libertines; for, being brought captives into Italy, they were set free by their masters, without constraining them to adulterate any of their country-laws." Hereupon "the synagogue of the libertines," Acts vi. 9, is the synagogue of the Roman Jews[t]. Now St. Peter's church we know is to this day in the Vatican, as St. Paul's in the way to Ostia; as from the beginning we understand by Caius,

[p] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. v. § 4. note s.

[q] Corrected from MS.; transposed in orig. text.

[r] Apud PP. Apost., tom. ii. p. 342. ed. Jacobson.

[s] Philo Jud., De Virtutibus sive De Leg. ad Caium, Op., tom. ii. p. 568.

[t] See Mangey ad loc. Philonis. And so Grot. ad Act. vi. 9.

in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 25[u], the places of their burials were. Which circumstance points them out heads, the one of the Jewish Christians at Rome, the other of those that were converted being gentiles. For that the Vatican was then the Jewry at Rome, we learn also by Tully, in his oration *pro Flacco*[x]; where he complains, that his cause was heard in the fields of Mars, "*prope gradus Aurelios*," that the Jews, who were offended at Flaccus for prohibiting them to send their oblations to Jerusalem, when he was governor of Asia, might come in and discountenance the cause. For plainly this was hard by the bridge, that passed out of those fields into the Vatican, where the gate called *Porta Aurelia* stood (hard by St. Peter's church); to which gate it seems there were steps to go up, which he calleth there "*gradus Aurelios*[y]."

§ 13. It is also easy to see, that this supposition draweth the ground and reason of the superiority of Churches originally from the act of temporal power, which constituteth the eminence of cities over other cities: but, nevertheless, immediately from the act of the Church (or of those that have authority to oblige the Church); taking the superiority of cities, as it is, for the most reasonable ground of planting in them the most eminent Churches, but by their own authority providing, that so it be observed. Therefore it is to be considered, that the Church is (by God's command, howsoever by His promise) to continue one and the same till the coming of our Lord unto judgment; but the dominion of this world, upon which the greatness of cities is founded, changes, as God's providence appoints: besides that change, which temporal power, remaining in the same hands, is able to produce within its own dominions. The consequence of which consideration will be this: that, where temporal power makes

The consequence of that ground [infers that such pre-eminence is transferable].

[u] "Γάϊος . . . φησί· Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὡστίαν, εὑρήσῃς τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν." Euseb., H. E., lib. ii. c. 25. pp. 67. D, 68. A: speaking of S. Peter and S. Paul.

[x] "Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaici. Hoc nimirum est illud quod non longe a gradibus Aureliis hæc causa dicitur. Ob hoc crimen hic locus abs te, Læli, atque illa turba quæsita est. Scis, quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in concionibus. Summissa voce agam, tantum ut judices audiant." Cic., Pro L. Flacco, 28.

[y] Ernesti however locates the Aurelii gradus with the Aurelium tribunal in the Forum.

BOOK III.

such a change in the state of those cities which are the seats of Churches, that the government and advancement of Christianity either may proceed, changing the privileges of the Churches, or cannot proceed otherwise, there the Church either may or ought to transfer the pre-eminences of Churches from city to city; and therefore that, where the case is otherwise, the Church is not bound upon every act of temporal power to proceed to any change. If this seem obscure, being thus generally said; let not the reader despair, before we have done, to find instances in things that have come to pass[x], not only to clear my meaning, but also to evidence the reason upon which I proceed.

[And gives no jurisdiction to the Church of Rome over the whole Church.]

§ 14. It is likewise easy for him, that considers this supposition and the effect and consequence of it, to see, that it gives no jurisdiction to the Church of Rome (much less to the head thereof in behalf of it) over other Churches than those which resort immediately to it (as every diocese is concluded by the mother-church, and every province by the synod of it); much less the power of giving law to the whole, but by the act of those synods whereof the whole consists; or of judging any appeal that may be brought to it. But it makes the Church of Rome, as other head-churches, the centre, to which the causes, that concern, first, the western Churches in particular, then the whole, are to resort, that they may find 166
issue and be decided by the consent and to the unity of all whom they concern.

[And excludes not the possibility either of change or of corruption.]

§ 15. It is also easily to be observed, that this eminence of the greatest Churches over their inferiors (which originally is no further defined and limited than the consequence of this ground in respect of the rest of Christendom required) might lawfully be defined and limited further, either by silent custom, or by express law of the Church consenting, at least in effect and practice (which is the only real positive law that rules all societies): whereby new rights and privileges might come to the Church of Rome, as well as to other Churches; which might also be for the good of the whole in maintaining the unity of the Church together with the common interest of Christianity. But I deny not, on the other side, that this power, the beginning whereof is so necessary and just, the

[x] See below, in c. xx.

intent so excellent, by the change of the world and the state of things in it may be so enhanced, that, though it do provide for the unity of the Church, yet it shall not provide for the interess of Christianity. But of this, and the consequence of it, in due time.

A summary of the evidence for it.

§ 16. For the present, the reason upon which my position, the effect and consequence whereof I have hitherto set forth, is grounded, is the effect of it in all proceedings of the Church, recorded first in the Scriptures, and afterwards in Church-writers, as they succeed: those, that I must here principally consider, being the very same that I considered in the first Book[a], to make evidence of the being of the Church in point of fact as a body; out of which now the right which held it together, as the soul, must appear; adding the consideration of such eminent passages in succeeding times, as may serve to the same purpose. I will not here repeat the marks of it, which I have produced out of the Scriptures in the Right of the Church, chap. ii.[b] For the dependence of Churches is part of this position; as an ingredient, without which the unity of the whole is not attainable.

[Of the opposition of Diotrephes to St. John.]

§ 17. I will only add here the consideration of that, which I alleged in the first Book[c] out of St. John's last Epistle, 5—10. Some[d] have thought it so strange, that Diotrephes and his faction should not acknowledge those that were recommended by St. John an apostle, that they have rather entitled the Epistle to a successor of his in the Church of Ephesus, whose tomb St. Jerome[e] saw there, besides St. John the apostle, whom Papias[f] called John the elder, as he is

[a] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ix., x.

[b] § 4—11.

[c] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 31.

[d] "Hanc epistolam et eam quæ sequitur" (1 and 2 John) "non esse Johannis apostoli multi jam olim crediderunt, a quibus non dissentiunt Eusebius atque Hieronymus. Et magna sunt in id argumenta. Nam duo fuisse Johannes Ephesi, apostolum et presbyterum ejus discipulum, semper constitit ex sepulchris alio hujus alio illius: quæ sepulchra vidit Hieronymus. Deinde hic scriptor non 'apostolum' se vocat sed 'presbyterum.' ... Præterea apud multas gentes hæ epistolæ non fuerant receptæ. .... Tum vero credibile non est quemquam, qui Christianus se dici vellet, ea fuisse audacia ut apostolo se opponeret." Grot., ad Epist. Johannis secund. v. 1.

[e] "Scripsit autem" (Joh. apostolus) "et *unam* epistolam. ... Reliquæ autem duæ ... Johannis presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulchrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; et nonnulli putant duas memorias ejusdem Johannis Evangelistæ esse." S. Hieron., Catal. Scriptor. Eccles., § ix. De Joh. Apostolo; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 105.

[f] "Ex quo apparet ex ipso catalogo nominum, alium esse Johannem, qui inter apostolos ponitur; et alium seni-

BOOK III.

called in the beginning of these two Epistles: Hieron., *Catal. in Johanne et Papia*[g]; Euseb., *Ecclesiast. Hist.* ii. 25[h]. But he, that considers what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians of his adversaries there, will not marvel, that St. John should find opposition at the hands of Diotrephes, aspiring to the bishopric by banding a faction against the Jewish Christians, whom it appears sufficiently that St. John cherished[i]. And therefore the mark here set upon Diotrephes is not for introducing episcopacy, as the Presbyterians would have it[j], but for disobeying the superior Church, whereof St. John was head, to the endangering of unity in the whole. For could Diotrephes hope to make himself bishop in his own Church, when nobody was bishop in any Church besides? Or might not Diotrephes hope to do it by heading a party, that disallowed compliance with Judaism at that time? If then the apostles provided not that the Church should continue always one, if this unity was not always maintained by the dependence of Churches; let this reproof have no effect in any succeeding time of the Church. But if the eminence of St. John's Church above the neighbour Churches in ensuing ages was a necessary ingredient to the unity of the whole; then be it acknowledged, that St. John's successors might lay the blame of Diotrephes his ambition upon any successor of his that should follow it.

[2 Cor. x., xi.]

orem Johannem, quem post Aristionem enumeravit (Papias). Hoc autem diximus propter superiorem opinionem, quam a plerisque retulimus traditam, duas posteriores epistolas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri." Id., ibid., § xviii. De Papia; ibid., p. 109.

[g] See last two notes.

[h] Euseb., Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 39. p. 111: alleging the existence of two Johns on the same evidence as S. Jerom, viz., Papias' list, and the different tombs; saying nothing of the authorship of the epistles ascribed to S. John; but assigning that of the book of Revelations *probably* to the latter (or presbyter) of the two. The reference in the text is a mistake, arising from the quotation made above in § 12, text to note u.

[i] "Diotrephes hic fuit aliquis ex presbyteris ejus ecclesiæ in qua erat Caius, ex Gentili factus Christianus, et episcopatum tunc vacantem ambiens. Is vero ex illo erat hominum genere, qui Judæos quanquam Christum professos, si Legis ritus observabant, .. ad suos cætus non admittebant. . . . Johannes autem apostolus multum solebat largiri Judæis conversis, ut ex Judaica per Asiam Paschatis observatione apparet. Et hunc imitabatur Johannes presbyter, Judæus et ipse ortu. Vide Irenæum ad Victorem, et Euseb. v. 22—24." Grot., ad 3 Joh. 9.—And see Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. v.

[j] So e.g. Henderson, First Paper in Answer to King Charles I. concerning Change in Ch. Gov., in 1646. And Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., sect. ii. § 1. p. 13. And one account of those given by Walo Messalinus, De Episc. et Presb., c. i. p. 24, of Diotrephes, is, that, "inter suos collegas presbyteros, hoc est, episcopos, φιλοπρωτεύοντα, idcirco noluisse admittere Johannem, quia eam ejus ambitionem .. castigasset."

CHAP. XVIII.

[The fathers who make St. Peter receive the keys of the Church in the person of the Church.]

§ 18. Before I go any further, I will here allege those fathers, which do teach, that our Lord gave St. Peter the keys of His Church in the person of the Church and as the figure of it: namely, St. Cyprian[k], Pacianus[l], St. Hierome[m], St. Augustin[n], and Optatus[o]; whose words I will not here write out, to inflame the bulk of this book, because you have them in the Archbishop of Spalato, *De Rep. Eccl.* I. vii. 17—29[p]; viii. 8, 9[q]: adding only to them St. Ambrose, *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*, cap. i.[r], affirming, that in St. Peter the
167 keys of the kingdom of heaven are given to all priests; and cap. ii.[s], speaking of the words of our Lord to St. Peter, "Feed My sheep;"—"*Quas oves, et quem gregem, non solum tunc beatus suscepit* [*apostolus*] *Petrus, sed et nobiscum eas suscepit, et cum illo eas nos suscepimus omnes*"—"Which sheep, and which flock, not only St. Peter then undertook, but also he with us, and with him we all, undertook them:" —and Venerable Bede[t], upon the words of our Lord, "Tell

[St. John xxi. 15—17.]

["eas accepit . . . accepimus"]

[St. Matt. xviii. 17.]

[k] S. Cyprian, De Unit. Eccles., Op., pp. 106—108: being the passage containing the well-known words, "Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur ut ecclesia una monstretur;" to which, after the word "Petrus," was added in older editions, "sed primatus Petro datur ut una ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur," since shewn to be spurious.—And Id., Epist. ad Jubaian., as quoted below in § 19.

[l] Pacian., Epist. iii. Ad Sympron. cont. Tract. Novatian.; ap. Bibl. PP. tom. iv. p. 241. B.

[m] "At dicis, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia: licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur; tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio." S. Hieron., Adv. Jovinian., lib. i.: Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 168.

[n] Enarr. in Ps. cviii. § 1; Op., tom. iv. p. 1215. E, F.—Tractat. l. in Joan. xii. § 12; ibid., tom. iii. p. 633. D, E. —Tract. cxxiv. in Joan. xxi., § 5; ibid., p. 822. C.—De Agon. Christ., c. xxx. § 32; ibid., tom. vi. p. 260. C. —De Dominis cites also the Retract., lib. i. c. 21. § 1 (retracting an assertion that the rock in S. Matt. xvi. was S. Peter, and alleging it to mean Christ Himself), Op., tom. i. p. 32. B, C: and a spurious sermon, olim xlv. ex l., now Serm. ci. in Append. ad S. Aug. Op. tom. v. p. 181. F.—See also Andrewes, Ad M. Torti Lib. Resp. p. 77. Oxf. 1851.

[o] "Bono unitatis beatus Petrus . . . et præferri apostolis omnibus meruit, et claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris solus accepit." Optat., Cont. Parmenian. de Schism. Donat., lib. vii. c. 3. pp. 101, 102. See also Id. ibid., lib. ii. c. 3. p. 31.

[p] De Rep. Eccl., lib. i. c. vii. § 17—29. tom. i. pp. 76—83: quoting at length the fathers cited above in notes k—o.

[q] Ibid., c. viii. § 8, 9. pp. 88—90: explaining at greater length the quotations from Optatus and S. Augustin.

[r] "Claves illas regni cœlorum, quas in beato Petro apostolo cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes." Gilbertus, or Gerbertus (see Cave), De Sacerd. Dignit., c. i.: in Append. ad Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. p. 358. A. The tract went formerly under S. Ambrose's name.

[s] Gilbertus, ibid., p. 359. C; quoted by De Dominis, as in note p, § 26. p. 82.

[t] There are statements precisely and fully to the effect of that in the text in Bede's Comment. on S. Matthew c. *xvi.* (Op., tom. v. p. 52. Colon. 1612), and in his Hom. Æstiv., lib. de Sanctis in die Sancto (ibid., tom. vii. p. 112),

BOOK III.

the Church;"—"*Hæc potestas sanctæ Ecclesiæ episcopis specialiter commissa est, generaliter vero omni Ecclesiæ data creditur; nam quod Dominus alibi hanc ligandi solvendique potestatem Petro tribuit, utique in Petro, qui typum gerebat Ecclesiæ, omnibus apostolis hoc concessisse non dubitatur*"—"The power of the keys is committed especially to the bishops of the holy Church, but is believed to be given generally to every Church; for whereas our Lord elsewhere gives unto St. Peter this power of binding and loosing, there is no doubt, that in Peter, bearing the form of the Church, He gave it to all the apostles:"—proceeding to allege St. Jerome[u], and St. Augustin[x] to the same purpose[y]:—and upon the words of our Lord, "Feed My sheep[z];"—"*Quod Petro dictum est, omnibus Christi discipulis dictum est; hoc namque fuerunt cæteri apostoli quod Petrus fuit, . . . pastores sunt omnes; [sed] grex unus ostenditur, qui et ab apostolis [omnibus] tunc unanimi consensu pascebatur, et deinceps a successoribus eorum communi cura pascitur*"—"That which is said to Peter, is said to all Christ's disciples: for what Peter was, that were the rest of the apostles; they are all shepherds, but the flock appears to be but one; which, as then it was fed by the apostles with unanimous consent, so is it since fed by their successors with common care." These fathers then, when they give this for the reason, why our Lord gives Peter only the keys of the Church with the charge of feeding His flock,—that He bore the person and form of the Church,—suppose the Church to be a body compacted of all Churches (ruled by the same form of government, for the preserving of unity in the whole); as the college of the apostles consisteth of so many persons endowed all with one and the

[St. John xxi. 15—17.]

["omnibus utique dictum"]

["consensione"]

where he refers to S. Matt. xviii. 17; besides the passage cited below in note z. But the precise words quoted above in the text have not been found in his works; nor do they occur in the only Homily or part of a homily, which he has (scil. Hom. in Feriam iii. post Oculi, Op., tom. vii. p. 255), upon the text of Scripture above referred to.

[u] See above in note m.

[x] See the references in note n above.

[y] A very large number of parallel passages both from the fathers and from later writers to the effect of the above quotations may be found in Andrewes, as quoted above in note n; and in Buckeridge, De Potestate Papæ, lib. ii. c. iii. pp. 191—195. The latter quotes the three passages here given from Bede, but mentions no others from him.

[z] Bed., Hom. Æstiv. de Sanctis, Hom. in Vigil. Petri et Pauli, in Joan. ultim.: Op., tom. vii. p. 109.—The words, "sed primatus Petro datur ut unitas ecclesiæ commendetur," before the word "pastores," are omitted in the text. They with the remainder of the passage as above quoted constitute the old reading of the passage of S. Cyprian. [a] Eccl., quoted above in note

same power, for whom one answers, to signify the unity of the whole. Whereby it appeareth, first, negatively, that the Church did not understand any sovereign power to be committed to St. Peter by these words: then, positively, that our Lord, speaking to him alone, signifies thereby the course which He hath established for preserving unity in the Church; to wit, that, all Churches being governed in the same form, the greater go before the less in ordering matters of common concernment.

[St. Cyprian hath cleared the intent of this doctrine.]

§ 19. St. Cyprian, from whom all the rest have this doctrine, hath cleared the intent of it, when he thus writeth, *Epist. ad Jubai.* lxxii[i][a]:—"*Manifestum est autem ubi et per quos remissa peccatorum datur, quæ in baptismo scilicet datur: nam Petro primum Dominus, super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit, potestatem istam dedit, ut id solveretur in cœlis quod ipse solvisset in terris; et post resurrectionem quoque ad apostolos loquitur dicens, 'Sicut misit Me Pater, et Ego mitto vos; hoc cum dixisset, inspiravit, et ait illis, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi, si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur:' unde intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesia præpositis et in evangelica lege* [*ac*] *dominica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare et remissam peccatorum dare*"—"Now it is manifest, where and by whom remission of sins is given, when it is given in baptism: for our Lord first gave to Peter (upon whom He built His Church, and in whom and from whom He instituted and declared the original of unity in it) this power, that it should be loosed in heaven, whatsoever he had loosed on earth; and after His resurrection also, speaking to the apostles, He saith, 'As My Father sent Me, so send I you; and having said this He breathed on them, saying, [Receive ye the Holy Ghost;] If ye remit any man's sins, they shall be remitted him; if ye retain any man's, they shall be retained:' whence we understand, that it is not lawful for any but those that are set over the Church, and grounded in the evangelical law and the ordinance of our Lord, to baptize and give remission of sins." Because Peter received the keys, therefore all and every Church,

["peccatorum *dari possit*, quæ"]

["quod *ille*"]

[a] S. Cypr., Epist. lxxiii. Ad Jubaianum, De bapt. hæreticor.; Epist. p. 201. ed. Fell: quoted also in Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr. c. ix. § 6.

BOOK III.

that is, those that are over it, and none else, can give remission of sins by admitting to baptism. Shall we think the consequence extravagant, having so clear a ground for it; to wit, the unity of the whole Church, settled upon two ingredients, the same form in all Churches, but with dependence of the less upon the greater Churches? If any man say, that all this is disputed by Cyprian, to prove that 168
baptism given by heretics is void, wherein he hath been disowned by the Church; and that therefore the reasons are not well grounded from whence it is inferred: the answer is easy, because he infers upon them that, which though true they do not enforce. That a man cannot lawfully baptize, is not so much, as that, if he do baptize, his baptism is void. St. Cyprian took both for one; and therefore his reason is good, though it conclude not his purpose. Why not void, being unlawful; I refer myself to what St. Augustin[b] since hath disputed, and the Church decreed and practised[c]. And here you have one ground for that distinction between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction, comparing one with another the bishops and priests of several Churches, according to the original constitution of the Church.

[St. Jerom.]

§ 20. I allow St. Hierome to say, that "wheresoever there is a bishop, whether at Rome or at Eugubium" (an obscure city near Rome), "he is of the same worth, as of the same priesthood;" *Epist.* lxxxv.[d] For, as to the inward court of the conscience, the office that is ministered by the bishop or priest of a less Church, is no less effectual, than by one of a greater Church. But, as to the outward court of the Church, supposing all Churches governed in the same form, but the Churches of less cities subordinate to the Churches of greater cities by the appointment of the apostles, the act of the less Church, of the bishop or a priest of it, cannot be of that consequence to the whole, as the act of the greater Church; and so, though the bishop or the priest of a little Church be of the same order with the bishop or priest of a great Church,

[b] E. g. De Baptism. cont. Donatist., libb. iii.—v., Op. tom. ix. pp. 107. E, sq.: which are almost entirely in answer to S. Cyprian's letter to Jubaianus.

[c] See Bingham, Schol. Hist. of Lay Baptism, P. I. c. i. § 20.

[d] "Ubiquumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii." S. Hieron., Epist. ci. (olim lxxxv.), Ad Evangelum; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 803.

yet the authority of the one extendeth without comparison further than the authority of the other can do. And you may perhaps dispute, whether this authority produce any such [thing[e]] as jurisdiction or not; but whether there be ground hereupon to distinguish between the order, which is the same in both, and the authority which it createth, in which there is so great difference, you cannot dispute. Certainly the office of a deacon [illegible] Church may be of more consequence to the [illegible] y bishops can bring to pass: as the assista[illegible] s in the office of a deacon to Alexander bis[illegible] at the council of Nicæa[f], was of more cons[illegible]taining of the decree of the council than th[illegible]ishops there.

CHAP[illegible]

OF THE PROCEEDINGS ABOUT MAR[illegible] AT ROME. THE BUSINESS OF POPE VICTOR ABOU[illegible]. PEREMPTORY INSTANCE. THE BUSINESS OF THE NOVATIANS EVIDENCETH THE SAME. OF THE BUSINESSES CONCERNING THE REBAPTIZING OF HERETICS, DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, PAULUS SAMOSATENUS, ST. CYPRIAN, AND OF THE DONATISTS UNDER CONSTANTINE.

Amongst the proceedings of the Church, I will first allege that of the Church of Rome in refusing Marcion her communion, because excommunicated by his own father the bishop of Sinope in Pontus, in bar to the pretence of sovereignty in the Church of Rome[g]. For if Marcion's father, bishop of Sinope in Pontus, if Synesius bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica[h], could oblige the Church of Rome, and all Churches, not to admit unto the communion of the Church those whom they had excluded, because the unity of the whole could not be preserved otherwise; then is not the infinite power of one Church, but the regular power of all, the mean which the apostles provided for the attaining of

Of the proceedings about Marcion at Rome [, and of the case of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais].

[e] Added from MS.

[f] Theodoret, H. E., lib. i. c. 26. p. 59. D.—Ruffinus, H. E., lib. x. c. 5. p. 220. B. Basil. 1528.

[g] See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. i. § 31. note h, ii. § 23. note y: and Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 7.

[h] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 65. note a: and Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 8.

BOOK III.

unity in the whole. Not as if the Church of Rome might not have admitted Marcion to communion with itself; had it appeared, that he had been excluded without such a cause as obliged any Church to excommunicate. For in doubtful causes, the concernment being general, it was very regular to have recourse to the chief Churches; by the authority whereof the consent of the rest might be obtained. But could it have appeared, that such a thing had been done without any cause; then would it have been regular for any Church, to have no regard to such a sentence. 16

And [about] Montanus.

§ 2. In the next place, the consideration of Montanus his business at Rome, there alleged, shall evidence some part of my intent[i]. Being condemned and refused by the bishops and Churches of Asia, he sends to Rome, to solicit a higher Church, and of more consequence to the whole, to own the spirit by which he pretended to speak, and to admit those stricter orders which he pretended to introduce. A pretence for those, that would have the pope sovereign[k]; but not so good as they imagine, unless they could make it appear, that he made the like address to no other Church but that of Rome. For my part, finding in other occasions frequent and plentiful remembrance of recourse had to other Churches as well as to Rome in matters of common concernment, I find it necessary to impute the silence of his other addresses to the scarcity of records left the Church; not doubting, that he, and the Churches of Phrygia engaged with him, would do their utmost to promote the credit of his prophecies, by persuading all Churches to admit the orders which he pretended to introduce. And how much greater the authority of the Church of Rome was than that of an ordinary Church, so much more had he prevailed by gaining it. That no man may imagine, that all lay in it; nor yet that the consent of it signified no more than the consent of every Church.

[The Church of Carthage and Tertullian.]

§ 3. For consider the Church of Carthage, and the choler of Tertullian, expressed in the beginning of his book *De Exhortatione Castitatis*[l], against Pope Zephyrine, for admitting

[i] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 9.

[k] So e. g. Baron., Annal., in an. 173, num. 4: Sanderus, De Visib. Mon. Eccles., lib. vii. p. 254: &c.

[l] The reference should be to the De Pudicitia, c. i.; Op., p. 555. A, B. And see above, c. ix. § 17. note p. That the pope intended was Zephyrinus, see Petav. ad Epiphan. Adv. Hær., Hær. 59. tom. ii. p. 228. Paris. 1622. Gieseler doubts it.

adulterers to penance. And, in consequence thereunto, consider what we have upon record of historical truth from St. Jerome, *Catal., in Tertull.*[m], and the authorities quoted afore[n]; that Tertullian, falling to the doctrine of Montanus upon affronts received from the clergy of Rome, set up a communion of his own at Carthage, which continued till St. Augustin's time, by whom his followers were reduced to the Catholic Church. Fo[illegible] had Tertullian to break from the Church of [illegible] of the affront received from the Church o[illegible]ng Montanus, had not the Church of Ca[illegible]the Church of Rome in it?

The business of Pope Victor about keeping Easter, a peremptory instance.

§ 4. The same is the co[illegible] which passed in that famous debate of V[illegible] breaking with the Churches of Asia; becau[illegible] Easter on the Lord's day, as most Church[illegible] the Jews, observing the passion upon the [illegible]ated the resurrection [on the[o]] third day [illegible] might not or ought not the Church of Ro[illegible]mmunicate with these Churches, had the cause been valuable? In case of heresy, in case of any demand destructive to the unity of the Church, you will say, that not only the Church of Rome but any Church whatsoever both might and ought to disclaim the Churches of Asia. But I have to say again, that in any such case there is a difference between that which is questioned for such, and that which is such, and ought to be taken for such; and that nothing can lightly be presumed to be such, that any Church seems to profess: but that, in reducing such unavoidable debates from questionable to be determined, the authority of the chief Churches is by the constitution of the Church requisite to go before, and make way towards obtaining the consent of the whole; and that it cannot be thought, that Victor would have undertook such a thing, had it not belonged to him in behalf of his Church to declare himself in the business, in case there had been cause. All this while I would not have any man imagine, that,

[m] "Invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ ad Montani dogma delapsus," &c. S. Hieron., Catal. Script. Eccles., c. liii.; Op., [illegible], iv. P. ii. p. 115.

[n] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 11.

[o] Misprinted "of," in folio edition.

[p] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 12, 13.

BOOK III.

Victor having withdrawn his communion from the Churches of Asia, the rest of Christendom were necessarily to think themselves obliged to do the same. It is true, there were two motives that might carry Victor to do it. For, seeing the council of Nicæa did afterwards decree the same[q], that he laboured to induce the Churches of Asia to, it is too late to dispute, whether side was in the right. For that which was for the advancement of Christianity at the time of that council, was certainly for the advancement thereof at the time of this dispute. And though in St. John's time it might be and was without doubt for the best, to comply with the Jews in matters of that indifference, for the gaining of opportunities to induce them to become Christians; yet, when the breach between the synagogue and the Church was once complete, that reason being taken away, the reason of uniformity in the Church, upon which the unity thereof so much dependeth, was to take place. And therefore a man may say with respect to those Churches, that the zeal of their predecessors' credit seduced them into that contentiousness, which human frailty engendereth. And those, that after the decree of the council persevered in the same practice, are not without cause listed among heretics[r], taking that name largely to comprehend also schismatics. So I allow, that Victor had just cause to insist upon his point. But it is also evident, that it would have been an increase of authority and credit to Victor, and to his Church, to seem to give law to those Churches by reducing them to his rule. For reputation and credit with the world necessarily follows those that prevail. And Victor, being a man, as I have granted his adversaries were, might be moved with this advantage, as much as with the right of his cause. But though I allow, that Victor had reason to insist upon his opinion; yet I do no way allow, that he had reason to interrupt the communion of the Church, because those of Asia did not yield to it: the matter itself not being of consequence to produce such an effect, nor uniformity in all things necessary, though conducing to the unity of the Church. And

[q] See Fleury, Hist. Eccl., xi. 14.

[r] As, e. g., by S. Augustin, Lib. de Hæres., c. xxix.; Op., tom. viii. p. 10. E: and Epiphanius, Adv. Hær., lib. ii. tom. i. Hær. 50; Op., tom. i. pp. 419. C, sq.

therefore I do no way allow, that other Churches could be obliged to follow the Church of Rome in this sentence; the unity of the Church, which is the end, being of nearer interest and concernment to them all, than the authority of Victor or of his Church, or than uniformity in this point, which is but the mean to obtain it. Which as it is true, so was it indeed the reason that Irenæus alleged to Victor to divert him from that resolu ; *Eccl. Hist.* v. 25, 26[s]; where you may see and the credit of the rest of those that l with both, prevailed to void those letters v issued to break off communion with the Ch And therefore I cannot wish to shew you th of the dependence of Churches, and the Church of Rome; and, also, that this gular (and not sovereign as that of a mon greatest of inferior Churches have recours t as the centre of their communion, and yet give up themselves to yield to the authori do to the sentence of the council of Nicæa, because it could not be reasonable for the Churches of Asia to stand out with it: whereby you see the difference between the authority of the pope, and the authority of a general council.

§ 5. The business of Novatianus[t] will not require many words, to evidence the same consequence by it. The Church of Rome itself was the seat of the business; and the calamity thereof, suffering a schism within her own bowels, the occasion of it. And I appeal to the experience of the world, whether intestine dissension do not discover the respect all men owe to their neighbours, by the need they have of them for the composing of it. But not to speak of occasion of advantage, but of terms of right; that Church having gotten two heads, Cornelius and Novatianus, who was then judge, which side ought to be accounted the Church of Rome, so that the other party should be obliged to submit and join with it? For had it been a law that obliged the whole Church, that those who had fallen away in time of perse-

The business of the Novatians evidenceth the same.

[s] The letter of S. Irenæus is in Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. 24; pp. 192. D—193. D.

[t] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 5; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 4; and Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. viii. § 9, ix. § 14.

BOOK III.

cution be not admitted to penance, and by consequence to the communion, any more (which was the motive and ground why Novatianus was made bishop against Cornelius): certainly the rest of the Church must have acknowledged Novatianus, who maintained it, not Cornelius, who waved it; notwithstanding that Cornelius was made by sixteen bishops of the then resort of that Church, Novatianus but by three. For though the canon of the apostles[u], requiring only three bishops or two at least to the ordaining of a bishop, may very well seem to be the ancienter custom in the Church, than the fourth canon of Nicæa[v], which provideth, that it be done by the consent of all the resort, either present, or under their hands referring themselves to three that are present; yet is it plain, that the act of three, or two at least, was accepted 171
upon presumption of the consent of the rest, and for dispatch of business, because ordinations would otherwise have been unreasonably troublesome. But this canonical advantage of Cornelius his cause could not have weighed against the Novatians' plea, had it been indeed a part of God's law to the whole Church, that apostates be not re-admitted to penance. For this, not only the Novatians stood upon, but afterwards, under the persecution of Diocletian, the Meletians fell away from the Church upon no other quarrel: as you may see by Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxviii.[x] In that case, therefore, the authority of the rest of the Church must have overswayed the authority of the resort of the Church of Rome, the greatest part whereof by much was for Cornelius. And because it was a point hitherto not decided, but taken for questionable in the Church, therefore it comes to the sentence of the Church. Now it is a question, not to be answered by those who make the pope in behalf of the Church of Rome monarch over the whole, how then the right of giving law to that Church should depend on other Churches; as here manifestly it doth. For the common interest of Christianity, whether in matter of faith, which is the ground of the dispute, or in the unity of the Church, which it calleth in ques-

[u] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 2. note i.

[v] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 2. note k; Gov. of Prim. Ch., c. xii. § 6; Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 8.

[x] S. Epiph., Adv. Hær., lib. ii. tom. ii. Hær. 68. Meletiani, § 2; Op. [illegible] i. pp. 717. C, sq. And see [illegible] Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x.

tion, is that which makes the Novatians, whether heretics or schismatics, not acknowledging Cornelius after that he was acknowledged by the rest of the Church. And for this cause it is, that the Church of Antiochia (that is, the synod whereof that Church was the head) challengeth a return from the Church of Rome for the favour they did it in settling Cornelius, which they made great difficulty to do a great while; as you may remember by that which I related in the first Book[y]. For supposing, that the Church of Antiochia did no more in the business than right required; yet, as the world goes, he that hath right done him, may well acknowledge himself obliged to him that doth him right. In the mean time St. Cyprian, and the Church of Carthage, with the dependencies of it, declare for Cornelius from the beginning: Dionysius, with his Church of Alexandria, and the dependences thereof, upon due information are won to their side: neither could Fabius and the Churches that resorted to Antiochia have stood out, without great mischief to the whole: and, therefore, what thanks soever they may deserve of the Church of Rome for doing their duty in such a distress of it, who can say, that the sovereign power of the Church of Rome obliged them to make it sovereign *de facto* (which, being divided, *de jure* it was not), when it is so evident, that the unity of the Church obliged them, each in their several ranks, to concur to that means which God had provided for the maintenance of it, by establishing the Church of Rome in the first place?

Of the businesses concerning the rebaptizing of heretics;

§ 6. In the business that fell out about rebaptizing heretics that returned to the Church[z], when we see the Church of Rome alone engaged against the Churches of Africk and of the East both (for you must remember what I observed afore[a], that those, who made the most difficulty in disowning Novatianus, were the same that stood for rebaptizing heretics with the African Churches on their side); we are bound to presume, that many and great Churches depended upon it, to weigh against so great a consent as opposed it. For in point of fact it is evident, that it was the consent of the greatest part, that obliged the rest to join with it: and in point of right the presumption is peremptory, that the greatest part could not agree to determine against God's law, but walked

[y] See ibid., § 15. [z] See ibid., § 18, 19. [a] Ibid., § 18.

BOOK III.

within those bounds which God had confined His Church with. We are not then to marvel so much at the heats which passed between Stephen, bishop of Rome, on one side, and St. Cyprian of[b] Carthage, and Firmilianus, chief bishop of Pontus, on the other side[c]. For it is evident, that they referred not themselves to Stephen's opinion concerning God's law, whose successors are now pretended infallible; and yet did refer themselves to the judgment of the whole Church, departing from their rigour in consideration of it. In the mean time, it must not be neglected, that Rome, having Dionysius of Alexandria[d] to side with it, was able to weigh against so great a consent; which giveth no leave to abate any thing of the regular pre-eminence of it above other 172
Churches. But when we see, that neither Rome prevailed, that no heretics should be rebaptized, nor the adverse party, that all: but an abatement is made by the council of Nicæa, in rebaptizing Samosatenians[e]; of Laodicea, in rebaptizing Montanists[f]; by the Churches of Africa (the practice whereof Optatus[g] relateth), in rebaptizing Sabellians (to say nothing of other rules mentioned in the first Book[h]): did they take, shall we say, the breast of the pope for the centre of infallibility in the Church; or[i] the voice of the whole Church for evidence of tradition from the apostles, and[k] the sentence thereof to be without appeal in matters not determined by it?

Dionysius of Alexandria;

§ 7. Neither will I pass by that little that we have upon record in the case of Dionysius of Alexandria[l], complained of to Dionysius of Rome, as inclining to that, which was afterwards the heresy of Arius, in things that he had written against Sabellius; without observing (not, as most do[m], that in so great a case recourse is had to the Church of Rome and

[b] Corrected from MS.; "for," in orig. text.
[c] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 18.
[d] Euseb., H. E., lib. vii. c. 9. pp. 254. D, 255. C.—S. Hieron., Catal. Script. Eccles., c. lxix.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 119. d.
[e] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 19. note g.
[f] Ibid., note k.
[g] Ibid., § 20.
[h] Ibid., § 19.
[i] Corrected from MS.; "and," in orig. text.
[k] Corrected from MS.; "or," in orig. text.
[l] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 23.
[m] So e. g. Card. du Perron, Replique a la Response du Roy de la G. Bretagne, liv. i. c. 25. p. 100: Sanderus, De Visib. Monarch. Eccles., lib. vii. p. 178: and Bellarmine, De Rom. Pont., lib. ii. c. 15; Controv., tom. i. p. 759. D.

to no Church besides it, but) that there is no remembrance left of any recourse had to other Churches, whenas there is remembrance of the recourse that was had to the Church of Rome, in it. For it appeareth by the course that was held in other cases, that the ordinary way was to communicate matters concerning the common interest with as many Churches as there was convenience to do; as expecting redress by their concurrence. And therefore I count it ridiculous to su tter of so great concernment was not refe the bishop of Rome, because it is not rec es it. For what reason or sense is there t when we are so scanted of records in the fi hurch, we should find in every particular busi ce of that which was always done? But w in . as in all other cases which I have touched, you re always had to the Church of Rome, but very little or no mention of other Churches (in the west especially), though concerned in the matter as much as it; shall we not take it for an argument, that they usually referred themselves to the Church of Rome, expecting satisfaction in their common interests from the trust which they reposed in it?

Paulus Samosatenus.

§ 8. In the matter of Samosatenus[n], there are two passages, expressly signifying the two chief points of my position. Read the letter of the synod, giving account of their proceedings to all Churches[o]; and tell me, who can have the confidence to maintain, that the force of their sentence depended only upon the pope's allowance. It is true, the letter is written on purpose to obtain the consent of other Churches by giving them account of their proceedings. For they did not presume of the justice of them upon any visible circumstance of the persons, place, manner, or form, in which they were assembled. This they expected from the matter and ground of their sentence, and the way of proceeding to it. But when the same account, that is given to Rome, is given to other Churches, every one as they were of consequence to the whole[p]; neither can the approbation of one be supposed

[n] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 21, 22.

[o] Ibid., § 21. note n.

[p] For the clause beginning "every one," is substituted in margin in MS., "not to the least Churches, but to the chief, as of most consequence to produce the consent of the whole."

BOOK III.

to oblige the whole, nor doth any thing hinder it to be held for the head or prime part of the whole, and of most consequence to sway the resolution of the whole; in which the presumption that the sentence is according to right becometh complete. But when the secular power is called upon to give execution to it by the force of this world, Aurelian the emperor suspendeth his proceeding upon the resolution of Rome and Italy[q]. Whereby he sheweth, that these were held to be of most regard and consequence in matters that concerned the whole. For seeing Aurelian, at that time having a good opinion of Christians (whom a while after he persecuted), determined to do them a favour in quieting their differences by way of right; it cannot be imagined, that he would take a course which they should refuse, but such as the order of the Church established before did require. And therefore the allowance of the bishops of Rome and Italy is expressed for a just presumption, that an act done by such a synod, and afterwards acknowledged by them, could not be disowned by the rest of the Church. In the mean time, when he names the bishops of Rome and Italy, I must not omit an opinion that hath been published many years since[r], because it seems 173
considerable: the ground whereof is this; that Sextus Aurelius Victor (*Epit., in Adriano*[s]) reports, that the government of the Roman empire, which was afterwards established by Constantine, was first moulded and framed in the most material points of it by Adrian; whereupon it becomes probable, that, when Aurelian refers himself to the judgment of the bishops[t] of Rome and Italy, the meaning is, to the bishops of Rome and Milan, and the rest of those Churches that resorted unto Rome and Milan, as the chief Churches upon which they depended. For that after Constantine Milan was the head of all the rest of those provinces of Italy that re-

[q] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 22. note o, § 26. note u: from Euseb., H. E., lib. vii. c. 30.

[r] Scil. by Jac. Gothofred, Conjectura de Suburbic. Region., Diss. ii. c. 3. p. 53. Francof. 1618.—Baronius, and others, e. g. Fleury, press the instance into the cause of the Papal supremacy, ignoring the Italian bishops (who are mentioned *before* the bishop of Rome) altogether. But see also Hein. on Euseb. H. E. vii. 30, in vol. iv. pp. 628, 629. of Burton's edition, interpreting the phrase of the bishop of Milan, as well as of Rome.

[s] "Officia sane publica, et palatina, necnon militiæ, in eam formam statuit, quæ paucis per Constantium immutatis hodie perseverat." Sext. Aurel. Vict., Epitome, p. 204. ed. Delph.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "bishop," in orig. text.

sorted not to the Church of Rome[u], it is so manifest, that I will not trouble the reader with proving it here again. CHAP. XIX.

§ 9. There are, besides, some cases mentioned in St. Cyprian's Epistles, of great force to clear the terms upon which the unity of the Church subsisted, as well as the being and constitution of it; which some of them have been already alleged to evidence[x]. [Cases mentioned by] St. Cyprian [in his Epistles].

§ 10. Basilides, bishop of [illegible] in, convicted of apostasy in persecution to t[illegible] ls, was deposed by the bishops of those qua[illegible] r settled in his stead. He repairs to Steph[illegible] ae, to obtain by false information and favou[illegible] o restore or to confirm him. St. Cyprian [illegible] s circumvented, blaming him that did it, but [illegible] Rome, or seeking to be restored by that m[illegible] truth, he must have blamed the contrary p[illegible] ecourse to Carthage, seeking to maintain [illegible] one by the sentence of the Church of Ca[illegible] at sixty-eighth Epistle[y] carries, as well fo[illegible] p (it seems) of Emerita in Spain, as Basilides, whom for the like crime he judges unworthy to hold his bishopric. [1. Basilides.]

§ 11. Again, Marcianus, bishop of Arles, adhered to Novatianus; as St. Cyprian was informed by the bishop of Lyons. Hereupon he writes to Stephen at Rome, to write into Gaul for the deposing of Marcianus, and the settling of another in his stead; *Epist.* lxvii.[z] [2. Marcianus.]

§ 12. Again, Felicissimus and Fortunatus, presbyters of the Church of Carthage under St. Cyprian, with others to the number of five, having made a party to restore those that were fallen away in persecution, contrary to the resolution of the Church, which had referred it to a council (as we learn by St. Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxviii.[a] and xl.[b]), with Fortunatus, a bishop of this party, betaking themselves to Rome, are first refused by Cornelius; but, upon appearance of a party in his Church for them, put him to a stand. In this case St. Cy- [3. Felicissimus and Fortunatus.]

[u] See Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. vii. c. 1. pp. 335, sq.

[x] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 19.

[y] See ibid., note y.

[z] See ibid., note x.

[a] S. Cyprian, Epist. xli. (Pamel. xxxviii.) Caldonio et aliis; Epist. pp. 79, 80.

[b] Id., Epist. xliii. (Pamel. xl.), Plebi Univ.; Epist. pp. 81, sq.

BOOK III.

prian, writing his fifty-fifth Epistle[c], acknowledges the Church of Rome the seat of St. Peter and the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood was sprung: but maintains, that every bishop hath a portion of Christ's flock assigned him to govern, upon his account to Christ; and, therefore, that causes are to be ended where they rise, and the good intelligence between bishops ought not to be interrupted by carrying causes abroad to be judged again.

[They evidence, that causes concerning the whole Church had recourse to the Church of Rome (among others) as the principal Church in it, but not as having a single sovereignty over it.]

§ 13. Is not all this true, supposing the case? For who can choose but blame a schismatical attempt? But could any man hinder Basilides and Martialis from seeking the Church of Rome, had their cause been good, seeing their adverse party did and might seek to foreign Churches? Was it not necessary to seek both to Carthage and to Rome for the freeing of the Church of Arles under Marcianus from communion with the Novatians? Here I conceive lies the truth. Some causes of necessity have recourse to the Church of Rome; to wit, such as necessarily concern the whole Church, either in the faith, or in the unity of it. Such was the cause of Marcianus, which could not be ended but by the same consent which cast the Novatians out of the Church. Was the cause of Basilides and Martialis of the same weight? Was it not merely personal, and concerning matter of fact, whether they had indeed sacrificed to idols or not; no question remaining in point of right, that such could not be bishops? Yet could not the bishops of Spain overrule the bishop of Rome, not to receive information from the aggrieved. Their way was, to have recourse to other Churches; the consent whereof might outweigh the Church of Rome, together with the goodness of the cause. And the Church of Carthage

[c] "Post ista . . navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis litteras ferre, nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, . . ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum. Quæ autem causa veniendi et pseudo-episcopum contra episcopos factum nunciandi? . . Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus; oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint; nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt," &c. Id., Epist. lix. (Pamel. lv.), Cornelio; Epist., pp. 135—137.

must have done the same, had Felicissimus and Fortunatus
174 found reception at Rome, and credit to balance their cause against St. Cyprian and the African Church. So that, causes of faith necessarily concerning the whole Church whensoever they render the peace thereof questionable, those, that for their weight do not concern the whole, will concern it, when they render the peace thereof questionable. And so long as law provideth not bounds t[illegible]t causes shall be ended at home in the part[illegible]e, what cause is there that may not be pre[illegible]a the whole, and by consequence the Church[illegible] being the principal Church, what cause co[illegible]ole can end without it? He, that admits [illegible]ion, consisting in the regular pre-eminence, [illegible]imited power, of the Church of Rome over [illegible]will never give a reason, why recourse is alw[illegible]hurch of Rome; and yet, if the cause requi[illegible]rches, to balance it. The unity of the Churc[illegible]on with it, is the thing that is sought. The consent [illegible]greatest Churches (that of Rome in the first place) is the means to obtain it.

The Donatists under Constantine.

§ 14. This business therefore is much of kin to that of the Donatists' trial under Constantine[d]: when they petitioned the secular power, that they might be heard by the bishops of Gaul, intimating the reason, why they declined the bishops of Italy, to be, because they might be tainted with falling away or shuffling in the persecution of Diocletian, which they charged their adverse party in Africk with; because they express this for the ground of their petition (in Optatus i.[e]), that under Constantius there had been no persecution in Gaul. Here I must pass by the consideration of any thing that may concern the dispute between secular and ecclesiastical power, as not concerning this place. But when Constantine by his answer assigns them for judges the bishops of Rome and Milan with such and such of their suffragans, joining with

[d] See Tillemont, Mém. Eccles., tom. vi. art. Donatistes, cc. xi., sq.

[e] "Rogamus te, Constantine optime imperator, quoniam de genere justo es, cujus pater inter cæteros imperatores persecutionem non exercuit, et ab hoc facinore" (scil. traditionis) "immunis est Gallia. Nam in Africa inter nos et cæteros episcopos contentiones sunt. Petimus, ut de Gallia nobis judices dari præcipiat pietas tua." Litteræ Episc. partis Donati ad Constant. imperatorem, ap. Optat., De Schism. Donat., lib. i. c. 22. p. 22.

BOOK III.

them the bishops of Collen, Autun, and Arles in Gaul, to satisfy them[f]: it is plain, that he refuses them to transgress that respect, which the constitution of the Church challenged for the Churches of Rome and Milan; that such causes as concerned the unity of the Church in the western parts of the empire should be determined (not by the pope alone, nor the Church of Rome alone, but) by the Churches of Rome and Milan, as the chief Churches of that part of the empire; the Church of Rome always in the first place. On the other side, when the Donatists, not satisfied with their sentence, petition the emperor again, that it may be reviewed, and the emperor adjourns them for a second trial to a council at Arles[g]: it is plain, that he allows them not an appeal from the former sentence, because many of those, that were judges in the former synod, did vote in the latter synod; but it is as plain, that the parties then held not the pope's judgment (either alone or in council) unquestionable, unless all were mad, in pretending to give either check or strength to that sentence which was originally unquestionable. If, therefore, a sentence given by the pope in a council of Italy, [with[h]] some Gaulish bishops joined thereunto, might be revised in a fuller council of Gaulish bishops, with the concurrence of many others, as well Italian and Spanish (to say nothing of three from Britain[i], the first unquestionable record of the British Churches[j]): is it not manifest, that Euclid's axiom—that the whole is greater than any part of it—takes place in the Church; as well as the words of St. Jerome[k], "*Orbis major est urbe,*" that "the world is greater than the city of Rome?" Surely, if St. Augustine (*Epist.* clxii.[l]) say well, that the Donatists might have appealed to a general council, had they been justly grieved by the sentence at Rome; his say-

[f] "Dati sunt judices, Maternus ex Agrippina civitate, Reticius ab Augustuduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis. Ad urbem Romam ventum est ab his tribus Gallis, et ab aliis quindecim Italis.... Cum consedissent Miltiades" (i. e. Melchiades) "episcopus urbis Romæ, et Reticius et Maternus et Marinus episcopi Gallicani, et Merocles a Mediolano, Florianus a Sinna," &c. &c. Optat., ibid., c. 23. pp. 22, 23.

[g] A.D. 314: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. pp. 1421. C, sq.

[h] Misprinted "which," in folio edition.

[i] Act. Conc. Arelat. A.D. 314: ap. Labb., ibid. p. 1430. B, C.

[j] See however Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccles., Works, vol. v.: and Stillingfleet's Orig. Britann., c. ii.

[k] Epist. ci. Ad Evang.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 803.

[l] S. Aug., Epist. xliii. (edd. bef. Bened. clxii.), Ad Glorium, Eleusium, &c., c. 8; Op., tom. ii. p. 92. B—D.

ing will hold, if they had been grieved by the council of Arles, though concluding the western Church: but it will hold also of the council of Arles, that it had been madness to call it, had not the generality thereof extended to conclude the western Church further than the former at Rome, though the cause came not to it by appeal.

CHAP. XIX.

175 CHAI

OF THE CONSTITUTION AND AUTHOR HE GROUND OF THE
PRE-EMINENCES OF CHURCHES IN THE SIXTH CANON
OF THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA. T J THE CHURCH OF
ROME, AND THAT OF CONSTANTI NCES AGAINST THE
SUPERIORITY OF BISHOPS OUT OF E CHURCH. WHAT
OFFICES EVERY ORDER, BY GOD'S LAW, MINISTERETH.

Of the constitution of councils [: that they consist of bishops representing their respective Churches]

HERE, the next consideration for time being that of the council of Nicæa, the sixth canon whereof first limited by written law the pre-eminences of Churches in the empire[m], having taken place by custom before, I will not repeat that ground for councils and for their authority, which I have laid in the first Book[n]; nor bound the right of civil and ecclesiastical power in giving force to the acts of them, which I reserve for the end of this third Book[o]: but, to evidence the constitution of them, from whence their authority in the Church must proceed, I maintain here from the premisses, that the original constitution of the Church determineth the person of the bishop to represent his respective Church in council; and that the constitution of councils, consisting of bishops representing their respective Churches, evidenceth the authority of bishops in the same; which produceth the effect of obliging, either the whole Church, or that part which the council representeth, by the consent of [their[p]] votes.

[m] See below, § 11.
[n] Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 10—16.
[o] c. xxxii.
[p] Added from MS.

BOOK III.

[No lay-elders in the council of Jerusalem.]

§ 2. The act of the council of Jerusalem under the apostles, Act. xv., was respective to the Churches of Jerusalem and Antiochia, with those which were planted from thence by Paul and Barnabas; but made by an authority sufficient to oblige the whole Church. The elders which concurred to the vote with the apostles, those, that will be so ridiculous, may take for lay-elders or[q] presbyters; but will never tell us, how the votes of lay-elders should oblige the Church of Antiochia and the plantations of it. They were the elders, who, joined with the apostles (from whom they could not be disjoined), were able to oblige the whole Church[r]. And indeed there is no mention of them in the acts of choosing Matthias, and the seven deacons, Acts i., vi.; which acts concerned the whole Church. And therefore there is appearance, that the authority, which they always had in respect of the Church to be constituted, was by that time known to be limited by the allowance and consent of the apostles. But when I granted[s], that St. Paul seems to allow both the Romans and the Corinthians to eat things sacrificed to idols, as God's creatures: I did not grant, that his authority could derogate from the act of the apostles; but that the act of the apostles was only[t] intended for the Churches represented at the doing of it. As that which was done Acts xxi., how great soever the authority might be that did it, seems to extend no further than the occasion in hand. That which remains, then, in the Scriptures, agreeth perfectly well with the original practice of the whole Church.

[Acts xxi. 18—25.]

[How it happened, that presbyters occasionally sat and voted in councils.]

§ 3. It cannot be denied, that there are here and there in the records of the Church instances evidencing the sitting of presbyters in council[u]; which I deny not must needs import the privilege of voting. But the reason of their appearing there appears so often to be particular, by commission from their bishops, and to supply their absence; that there is no means in the world to darken this evidence for the supe-

[q] Corrected from MS.; misprinted "of" in folio edition.

[r] "Is there any reason to doubt, but the elders, who joined with the apostles Acts xv., were the bishops of Jerusalem and Judæa?" Added in MS. at the top of the page. See above, c. xvii. § 4. note l.

[s] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiv. § 18—21.

[t] Corrected from MS.; "not," in orig. text.

[u] See Bilson, Perp. Gov. of Christ's Church, c. xvi. pp. 391, 392. Lond. 1610:—Field, Of the Church, bk. v. c. 30. pp. 513, 514. Oxf. 1628:—Bingham, II. xix. 13.

CHAP. XX.

riority of bishops. For can it possibly be imagined, that the bishop should always represent his Church in all councils, without choice or other act to depute him, were he no more than the first of the presbyters? Is it not evident, that the whole Church always took him for the person, without whom nothing could be done in the Church; which, whether in council or out of council, never dealt with his Church but by him, always with his Church by his means?

[Of the] authority [of councils: that it depends upon the importance of the Churches represented, as well as upon the number of the votes].

§ 4. Now, for the authority of councils thus constituted: though, for peace' sake, and because an end must be had, the resolution of all councils must come from number of votes, which sways the determinations of all assemblies; yet there is thereupon a respect to be had to the provinces or parts of
176 the Church, which those that vote do represent; unless we will impute it to blame to those that suffer wrong, if they submit not themselves to the determinations of those, whom themselves have more right to oblige. This consideration resolves into the grounds of the dependence of less Churches upon greater Churches, all standing in the likelihood of propagating Christianity out of greater cities into the less, and of governing the Church in unity by submitting less residences to greater, rather than on the contrary: which is such a principle, that all men of capacity will acknowledge; but all would not stand convict of, had not the Church admitted it into[x] effect from their founders, before they were convict of the effect of it by human foresight. Upon this supposition, the Church cannot properly be obliged by the plurality of bishops, who all have right to vote in council; but by the greatness and weight of the Churches for whom they serve, concurring to a vote[y]. And hereof there be many traces in the histories of the Church; when they mention the deputation of some few bishops, representing numerous provinces, which for distance of place or other peremptory hindrances could not be present so[z] frequent as others. For can this be a reasonable cause, why they should be obliged by the votes of those who were present in greater number?

[Why decrees of councils fall short of being definitive sentences.]

§ 5. [This is] the true reason, why the decrees of councils have not always had, nor ought always to have, the force and

[x] Corrected from MS.; "in," in orig. text.

[y] See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 7.

[z] Corrected from MS.; "to," in orig. text.

BOOK III.

effect of definitive sentences, but of strong prejudices, to sway the consent of the whole:—because there was never any council so truly general, that all parts concerned were represented by number of votes proportionable to the interesse of the Churches for whom they serve; for certainly greater is the interest of greater Churches. Which case whensoever it comes to pass, those, that are not content, have reason to allege, that they are not to be tied by the vote of others but by their own consent. And therefore the unity of the Church requireth, that there be just presumption, upon the matter of decrees, that they will be admitted by those who concur not to them, as no less for their good than for the good of the rest of the Church.

[The pope's infinite power inconsistent with the very pretence of calling a council.]

§ 6. In the mean time, the pretence of the pope's infinite power remains inconsistent with the very pretence of calling a council. For why so much trouble, to obtain a vote that shall signify nothing without his consent, his single sentence obliging no less?

[The original government of the Church an aristocracy.]

§ 7. These are the grounds of that aristocracy, in which the Church was originally governed by the constitution of the apostles (unless we will think, that a constant order, visible in all the proceedings thereof, could have come from the voluntary consent of Christendom, not prevented by any obligation, and drawing every part of it towards their several interests): which makes the obligation of councils, and their decrees, harder to be obtained, but, when once obtained, more firm and sure; as not tending to destroy the original way of maintaining unity by the free correspondence and consent of those who are concerned, but to shorten the trouble of obtaining it. And if this were understood by the name of the hierarchy, why should not the simplicity of apostolical Christianity own it?

The ground of the pre-eminence of Churches in the Roman empire.

§ 8. Now because the greatness of Churches depended, by the ground laid, upon the greatness of the cities; which was in some sort ambulatory, till it was settled by the rule of the empire, begun by Adrian and completed by Constantine[a]: my meaning will neither be clear nor evident, unless I limit the greatness of Churches by such degrees, as took place afterwards, when Constantine, having put the civil govern-

[a] See above in c. xix. § 8. note s.

ment of the empire under four[b] *præfectis prætorio* (whom we may call in English, "masters of his palace"), appointed every one of them several lieutenants in their several quarters: as him of Gaul (to speak of the west, which concerns us most), one in Britain, one in Gaul, and one in Spain; him of Italy, one at Rome, one at Milan, and one at Carthage in Africk, which was laid to that government; him of the east, one at Alexandria for Egypt, one at Antiochia for that quarter which was properly called the east of the empire, one at Cæsarea for Pontus, one at Ephesus for Asia, and one at Constantinople for Thrace; and him of Illyricum, one for the east of it at Thessalonica, one for the west of it
177 at Sirmium[c]. For every one of these lieutenants having under his disposition a certain mass or number of provinces, and every one of these provinces a certain chief city (the seat of the civil government as well as the chief Church of the province), and the residences of the lieutenants themselves being the resorts of the appeals out of the provinces, the rule of the Church remains settled by the subject of it; the Churches of the head cities of every diocese (so they called that mass of provinces which was allotted to each lieutenant) challenging a regular pre-eminence over the Churches of the chief cities of other provinces, as they over the Churches of ordinary cities within the same province[d]. But as it would be ridiculous to attribute these pre-eminences to the secular power, because it createth the civil pre-eminences of the cities, and not to the Church, which, presupposing the act of civil power, cast itself into the like form (for the same rule was in force, when the empire, enemy to the Church, did nothing in it); so I shall challenge all men, that "have their senses exercised to discern" of such matters, to judge, whether all Christians could have agreed of their own heads to yield these pre-eminences, had they not found the rule delivered them by the apostles

[Heb. v. 14.]

[b] Corrected from MS.; misprinted "some," in orig. text.

[c] See Zosimus, lib. ii. cc. 32, 33: and, from him and the Notitia Imperii, Gibbon, c. xvii., and Bingham, IX. i. 3—6. And for a fuller detail, Berterius, Pithanôn Diatribæ Duæ, Diatr. i. Tolos. 1608: and Jacob. Gothofred., in Cod. Theodos., lib. xiii. leg. xi. De Medicis et Professoribus (tom. v. pp. 39, sq.), and in the Topograph. Cod. Theod., subjoined by Gothofred. to his edition of the code itself.

[d] See Berterius, Diatr. ii.: and Brerewood, Patriarch. Gov. of Anc. Ch., pp. 100—102. Oxf. 1641: and Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. ii. § 4.

BOOK III.

to require it. For it is manifest, that from the beginning, afore Constantine, there was respect had to the pre-eminence of Churches proportionably to the greatness of their cities in the government of the empire; the instances of Rome, Alexandria, Antiochia, Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, Cæsarea, Carthage, Milan, Lyons, and others, as others come to be mentioned in the records of the Church, not admitting any visible exception to a rule so originally, so generally, so evidently received.

[The Romanist plea of St. Peter's headship by Divine right, extending through Alexandria and Antioch to Rome, a contradiction to common reason.]

§ 9. Therefore, as for that plea, which the Church of Rome advanceth so far beyond reason and measure, of St. Peter's headship by divine right, of his sitting last at Rome, before at Antiochia, and by his deputy St. Mark at Alexandria, as if all the Churches of Asia, Africk, and Europe, were by this means of his lot[e]: if we take it as it sounds, it will appear a contradiction to the light of common reason, that the Church of Rome should have that pre-eminence by being the seat of the first apostle, to which other Churches have nothing proportionable by having been the seats of other apostles. For had there not been more in the case, that which Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxx.[f], saith,—that, had the controversy about keeping Easter risen before the removing of the Church of Jerusalem to Pella, at the beginning, under the apostles, it must have resorted thither,—must have taken place always; that is, the Church of Jerusalem, which was at the first the seat of all the apostles, must have been for ever the chief Church. But if we suppose, that the apostles' order was, the greatest Churches to be those of the greatest cities; we give a reason of the greatness of the Church of Rome, from the privilege, not of St. Peter alone, but of St. Peter as the chief apostle, and [of[g]] St. Paul as him that laboured most, when they upon that agreement made choice

[e] So e. g. Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perp. Cons., lib. i. c. 2. pp. 9, sq. Col. Agrip. 1648: and Morinus, Exercit. Eccles., lib. i. Exerc. 1. pp. 9, sq. Paris. 1626. And see also Cardinal Perron, Replique a la Response du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, liv. i. c. 30. pp. 171, sq. Paris. 1620.

[f] "Καὶ ἐχρῆν τότε τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐκ περιτομῆς ὄντων ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατασταθέντων τὸν πάντα κόσμον τούτοις συνέπεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν." S. Epiph., Adv. Hær., lib. iii. tom. i. Hær. lxx. Audiani, § 10; Op., tom. i. p. 822. C, D: speaking of the Paschal controversy.

[g] Corrected from MS.; "as," in orig. text.—Compare Arnauld's scheme, founding the papal supremacy upon St. Peter and St. Paul both; for which see Gieseler, Eccl. Hist., Period II. Div. i. c. iii. § 94. vol. i. p. 443. Davidson's transl.

of Rome for their seat and the exercise of their apostleship. But that the Church of Alexandria (the privileges whereof never extended beyond the diocese of the governor of Egypt, lieutenant in that quarter[h]) should have right over all the Churches of Africk, that the Church of Antiochia (the privileges whereof were never visible beyond the diocese of the east[i]) should have right over all the Churches of Asia, by St. Peter's headship (and yet Alexandria, where he never sat but in and by St. Mark, before Antiochia, where he sat in person seven years);—is such a device, as nothing but prejudice and faction can make probable.

[In whom lies the right of summoning and of ordering councils.]

§ 10. For the right, then, of summoning and ordering councils: if we speak of provincial councils, it is manifestly in the bishop of the mother city, which succession hath called the archbishop; if of a greater resort, in the first bishop of a diocese, called since the primate; if it were gathered out of several dioceses (whereof we have an instance in that of Antiochia against Samosatenus, out of Pontus and Asia as well as the east[k]), it is to be ascribed to the authority of the greatest and next bishops[l] concurring to quench the fire in their neighbour Church, as Firmilianus of Cæsarea and Macarius of Jerusalem were presidents in that of Antiochia. For though the privileges of the Church were
178 settled upon the form of the empire, yet it seemeth there was always an exception for that of Jerusalem (as having been the mother Church before the rule was to take place), not only by the canon of Nicæa[m], which now I come to, but by the act of Chalcedon[n], which made it absolute within certain quarters, utterly exempted from Antiochia by a concordat confirmed in council.

The sixth canon of the council of Nicæa.

§ 11. The canon of Nicæa, which I spoke of, is thought to

[h] Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. iv. § 5; Bingham, IX. i. 6, and ii. 6: and so even Sirmond, in his tracts quoted below § 12. note v.

[i] Cave, ibid., § 6: Bingham, IX. i. 6; ii. 9, sq.

[k] Euseb., H. E., lib. vii. c. 28. p. 278. A.

[l] Corrected from MS.; "bishop," in orig. text.

[m] See below, § 11. note o.

[n] The council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), can. xxviii. (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. p. 769. A—C.), "*πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἑπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀνάγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ρν. θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες*" (scil. the sixth canon of the Nicene council), passed an enactment "*περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ῥώμης· καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα*:" proceeding to enact an equality between the two sees, and to assign the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian dioceses as the patriarchate of Constantinople.

BOOK III.

have been made upon occasion of the schism of Meletius in Egypt, which had withdrawn the Churches there from their obedience to Alexandria; for it orders[o], that the ancient rights thereof be maintained, as also those of Antiochia (with an exception for Jerusalem, saving the respect due to the mother see of Cæsarea), because the Church of Rome also hath the like privilege over those[p] Churches, which Ruffinus[q] in his histories of the Church translates "*suburbicarias.*"

[What is intended by *ecclesiæ suburbicariæ.*]

§ 12. This translation hath occasioned many books, to shew, what were these[r] "*ecclesiæ suburbicariæ*[s];" whereof it seems there are but three meanings possible. There was then a governor of the city of Rome, to whom resorted all appeals from the magistrates of the city and within a hundred miles; all which country being comprised in one title of "*regiones suburbicariæ,*" there is an opinion[t], that the Churches of that precinct, by the name of "*ecclesiæ suburbicariæ,*" were then of the pope's jurisdiction, and they alone. Another conceit[u] may be, that "*urbs*" in the derivative "*sub-*

[o] "Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις." Conc. Nicæn. I. (A.D. 325) can. vi.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 32. C.—"Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος." Id., can. vii. ibid. E.

[p] Mispriuted "these," in folio edition.

[q] Ruffinus in his translation of Eusebius, H. E., lib. x. c. 6, abridges the sixth canon of the Nicene council thus —"Ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti vel hic *suburbicariarum ecclesiarum* solicitudinem gerat."

[r] Altered in MS. into "those," the alteration being apparently intended for the word a few lines back.

[s] See notes t—v below. Of writers later than Thorndike, Launoy published a tract on the subject in 1662, answered by H. Valesius, Observ. Eccles. in Socratem et Sozomenum, lib. iii., in 1668, and defended by Launoy in another tract in 1671. For others still later, e. g. Cave, Dupin, &c., see Bingham, IX. i. 9.

[t] So Jacobus Gothofredus, De Suburbicariis Regionibus et Ecclesiis, seu de Præfecturæ et Episcopi Urbis Romæ Diœcesi, Conjectura; 4to. Francof. 1618: defended by Salmasius against Sirmond in his Epistola ad Amicum de Suburbicariis Regionibus et Ecclesiis, and in various tracts entitled Vindiciæ, Eucharisticon, &c., 1619—21: answered also by M. A. Cappellus, Disput. Duæ, Disp. ii. cc. 3—6. Col. Agrip. 1621. And in the main to the same purpose, Leschasserius, De Eccl. Suburb. Observatio, Francof. 1618.

[u] Morinus, Exercit. Eccles., lib. i. Exerc. 30. pp. 237—254, maintains something like this: viz., that "suburbicariæ" means whatever is subject to "urbs," *the* city, i. e. Rome; and, therefore, between Augustus and Constantine was equivalent to the whole world, but after Constantine, and the division of the empire into East and West, and so in the time of Ruffinus, was only equivalent to *half* this extent, viz., the Western empire.—So also Sirmond, as below in note v.—Cardinal Perron (Replique a la Response &c., liv. i. c. 33. pp. 232, sq.) prefers an explanation equivalent to that of Morinus.—See also Baronius, Annal. in an. 325. [25] —Bellarmine, De Rom [26] Controv.,

urbicariæ" is opposed to "*orbis*," and all Churches in the world subjected by the canon to the Church of Rome, as all cities were to Rome. Which is for nothing. For what jurisdiction had any civil magistrate that governed Rome over other cities without the precinct of it? And yet shall we be so ridiculous, the canon describing the privileges of the Church of Rome by those of Alexandria, which extended as far as the government of Egypt, to confine those of the prime Church of the empire within the hundred miles? I suppose, therefore, they have far the best cause, who suppose those to be called "*regiones suburbicariæ*," which were under the lieutenant of Rome; in opposition to the lieutenant of Italy, resident at Milan, having under him seven of those provinces, into which that government was then divided: in which regard the other ten provinces, which were under the lieutenant of the city resident at Rome, are properly called "*suburbicariæ*," though part of them were the isles of Sicilia, Sardinia, and Corsica, &c.[v]

[How far this canon limiteth the right and title of the Church of Rome.]

§ 13. And here lies the greatest question, nothing else bearing water in my judgment. For by this canon all the right and title of the Church of Rome is to be measured by the right of any one of those Churches, which were the heads of dioceses (taking dioceses for the residences of lieutenants); all which are to be supposed equal in power, granting only Rome the precedence, which all order requires. For what right can the Church of Rome challenge, which this canon acknowledges not? Is it right or wrong, which the decree of the whole Church alloweth not? Strongly argued, I confess; which notwithstanding I am not satisfied with. For the intent of the canon being to settle the rights of Alexandria, is satisfied by rehearsing the like rights in the Churches of Rome and Antiochia; which

tom. i. p. 749. A.), gets rid of the question by declaring Ruffinus in error.

[v] So, among others, Berterius, Pithan., Diatr. i. c. 3. p. 25; c. 5. p. 48.—Sirmond also in his various tracts in reply to Gothofred and Salmasius (in tom. iv. pp. 1, sq., of his collected Works, Paris 1696), maintains this interpretation of the *Regiones* suburbicariæ, but denies that the ecclesiastical corresponded with the civil provinces: and interprets Ruffinus, much as Morinus does, to mean by the phrase the whole Western Church, as constituting the pope's *Patriarchate*; in distinction from his episcopal, metropolitan, primatial, authority, on the one side, and on the other his papal supremacy over the *whole* Church. His first concession however appears really to cut away the foundation of his whole argument. See also Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., cc. iii. v.: Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, P. i. liv. vii. c. iv. § 4, sq. tom. i. pp. 351, sq.: and Bingham, IX. i. 9—12.

BOOK III.

by supposing as in force of old, it settleth for the future. But is this to declare and limit the title thereof in regard of the rest, especially for the western Church, which the council had no occasion to meddle with? Judge, first, by that which appears. In the greatest concernments of the Church, concerning Montanus, concerning the keeping of Easter, concerning the cause of the Novatians, of re-baptizing heretics, of Paulus Samosatenus, of the Donatists, of Dionysius Alexandrinus; in fine, concerning those which I mentioned out of St. Cyprian's Epistles[x]: what one Church can there be named, to the concurrence whereof the like respect hath been had in things concerning the faith and unity of the whole, as that of Rome? For that which follows, I think there remains no dispute; the privileges thereof still increasing, as well by the acts of councils as by custom and use. And of that I must demand a reason, how they should come to be cast upon one, had there not been from the beginning a stock of title, exclusive to any other of the greatest Churches (acknowledging the order of the apostles to have provided no further, than that the Churches of the 179
chief cities should be the chief Churches, leaving the rest to the Church upon consideration of the state of the world to determine).

The pre-eminence of the Church of Rome.

§ 14. One particular I must insist upon for the eminence of it. I have already mentioned the general councils; whereof how many can be counted general by number of present votes? The authority of them, then, must arise from the admitting of them by the western Churches. And this admission, what can it be ascribed to, but the authority of the Church of Rome, eminently involved above all the Churches of the west in the summoning and holding of them, and by consequence in their decrees?

[How far the Western Churches referred themselves to that Church.]

§ 15. And, indeed, in the troubles that passed between the east and the west from the council of Nicæa, though the western Churches have acted by their representatives upon eminent occasions in great councils (as the Churches of Britain had their bishops at the first council of Arles[y], at the councils of Sardica[z], and of Arimiuum[a]), in other occasions

[x] Above, c. xix. § 1—14.
[y] See above, c. xix. § 14. notes i, j.
[z] A.D. 347: see Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq., c. viii., Works, vol. v. p. 237; on the authority of SS. Athanasius and Hilary. And so also Selden and others:

they may justly seem to refer themselves to that Church, as resolving to regulate themselves by the acts of it: so that St. Jerome might very well name Rome and the west as the same party in his seventy-seventh Epistle[b];—"*Hæreticum me cum occidente, hæreticum cum Egypto, hoc est, cum Damaso Petroque condemnent*"—"Let them condemn me for a heretic with the west and with Egypt; that is, with Damasus," bishop of Rome, "a … of Alexandria. And against Vigilantius[c], he … a Churches the Churches of the apostolic s… calls the bishop of Rome "δυτικῶν κορυφαῖ… of the west;" *Epist.* x.[d] And St. Augustin … i. 2.[e]): "*Puto tibi eam partem orbis suffice… primum apostolorum suorum voluit Domi… tyrio coronare*; ["glorissimo"] *cui ecclesiæ præsidentem bea… si audire voluisses*," &c.—"I conceive tha… ld should serve your turn, in which it please… with a glorious martyrdom the first of His … sident of which Church, blessed Innocent, … ve heard," &c. He supposes Innocent, being over the Church of Rome, to be over the western Church. In the council of Ephesus, St. Cyril threatens John of Jerusalem, that those, who will have communion with the west, must submit to the sentence of the synod at Rome against Nestorius; Part i. cap. xxi.[f] The letter of Pope Agatho to the emperor in the sixth general council, *Act.* iv.[g], supposes the synods of the Lom-

but see Cave, art. Conc. Sardicense; and Bramhall, Schism Guarded, sect. 4. P. i. Disc. i. Works, vol. ii. p. 532.

[a] A.D. 359: see Ussher, ibid., p. 238; on the authority of S. Athanasius in Theodoret and Nicephorus, and others.

[b] S. Hieron., Epist. xv. (olim lxxvii.), Ad Marcum; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 21.

[c] "Quid facient Orientis ecclesiæ; quid Ægypti, et *sedis Apostolicæ?*" &c. Id., Adv. Vigilantium; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 281.

[d] "Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς . . ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν" (scil. Occidentalium) "ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ." S. Basil. M., Epist. ccxxxix. (olim x.), Eusebio Episc. Samosatorum, § 2; Op., tom. iii. p. 368. E.

[e] S. Aug., Cont. Julian. Pelagian., lib. i. c. 4 (2 in the text is a mistake), § 13; Op., tom. x. p. 503. F.

[f] "Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τετύπωκε, καὶ δὴ γεγράφηκε πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν, οἷς καὶ ἀνάγκη πείθεσθαι τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν δύσιν κοινωνίας." Cyril. Alex., ad Joan. Antioch. Epist.; in Act. Conc. Ephes. A.D. 431, P. i. c. 21: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iii. p. 380. B.

[g] Epist. Agathonis et Romanæ Synodi, . . quæ fuit velut instructio legatorum qui missi sunt ad synodum sextam celebrandam: in Act. Conc. Constantin. III. (A.D. 680), act. iv.: ap. Labb., Concil., tom. vi. p. 685. C, D. The letter is addressed to the emperor Constantine, and apologizes for delay on the ground of the necessity of consulting brethren scattered among the nations named above in the text, naming

BOOK III.

bards, Slaves, Franks, Goths, and Britons, to belong to the synod of Rome; and that the council was to expect account of them from it. No otherwise than to the letter of the synod of Rome to the second general council ninety bishops of Italy and Gaul concurred; according to Theodoret[h]. And Cornelius, in St. Hierome's Catalogue[i], writ to Flavianus, bishop of Antiochia, from the synods of Rome, Gaul, and Africk. Whereby it may appear, how the western Churches always went along with that of Rome.

[Which argueth the Church of Rome to be the seat of the chief patriarch of the west, but nothing further.]

§ 16. Which though it give not the Church of Rome that privilege over the Churches of eight dioceses, which the canons of Nicæa[k] do confirm to the bishops of Alexandria over the diocese of Egypt, and the Church of Antiochia over the eastern dioceses, yet necessarily argueth a singular preeminence in it over them all: in regard whereof he is styled patriarch of the west during the regular government of the Church[l]; and, being so acknowledged by King James of excellent memory in his letter to the Cardinal of Perron[m], may justly charge them to be the cause of dividing the Church, that had rather stand divided than own him in that quality. But granting the Church of Rome to be regularly the seat of the chief patriarch (for so he is styled in the council of Chalcedon *Act.* iii.[n], so the emperor Justin calls Hormisdas[o],

especially archbishop Theodore of Canterbury.

[h] The letter intended is one addressed by pope Damasus and ninety bishops from Italy and Gaul to the bishops of Illyricum about A.D. 369; not to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. See it in Theodoret, H. E., lib. ii. c. 22. pp. 102. D, sq.

[i] "Cornelius Romanæ urbis episcopus . . scripsit epistolam ad Fabium" (Erasmus reads Flavianum) "Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopum, de synodo Romana, Italica, Africana." S. Hieron., Catal. Script. Eccl., c. lxvi.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 119. c.

[k] See above, § 11. note o.

[l] So e. g. Balsamon and Zonaras, in Can. Conc. Nic. I., can. vi.; ap. Beveregii Synodicon, tom. i. pp. 66. C, 67. B. And see Beveridge's note, ibid., tom. ii. pp. 56, sq.: and De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. i. cc. 3, sq.

[m] "Meo libens suffragio primum locum episcopo Romano deferrem. Ego occidentalis Rex occidentali Patriarchæ adhærerem." Pref. to the Apologia pro Juram. Fidel., addressed "Omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus;" Op. Jacobi Regis, p. 305. Lond. 1619.

[n] The letters inserted in the Act. iii. Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451), ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 395. A, &c., address the pope as "ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ" (or "ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ καὶ πατριάρχῃ) τῆς Ῥώμης," but certainly do not style him absolutely "the chief patriarch," although he is throughout placed first.—See however Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. vi. § 4, for the degree of assent to papal pretensions shewn by the council of Chalcedon.

[o] "Justinus," &c., "Hormisdæ sanctissimo ac beatissimo archiepiscopo et patriarchæ." Epist. Justin. ad Hormisdam [illegible], tom. iv. p. 1491

so Justinian calls the bishop of Rome *Nov.* cix.[p]; and the sixth council, *Act.* xviii.[q], counts five seats of patriarchs; and if Gregory, *Epist.* xi. 54[r], acknowledge Spain to have no patriarch, and Innocent III., *c. grave De Præb. et Dignit.*[s], *c. antiqua De Privil.*[t], count but four, it is because they would make the pope more than a patriarch): it will nevertheless be questionable, how far it enjoys the same rights throughout the west; or rather unque e did not con-
secrate all the bishops of t Alexandria did
180 all the bishops of Egypt, an all those of the
eastern diocese. On the c be unquestion-
able, that all causes that c Church, are to
resort to it. And if Innoc but those, when
he says, that they are exc anon of Nicæa,
that forbids appeals, *Epist.* *othom.*[u]; he says
nothing but that which th the Church jus-
tifies. But the cases prod of St. Cyprian[v]
shew, that there was muc n to determine.
Nay, rules of discipline, w ion the good of
the whole Church then required that they should be common to all the west, are of this rank; nor could any of them ever oblige the west without the bishop of Rome. But that he

[p] "Πάντες ὁμοφώνως οἱ ἁγιώτατοι πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης πατριάρχαι, ὅ τε τῆς ἑσπερίας Ῥώμης καὶ ὁ ταύτης τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως" (sc. Constantinople) "καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Θεουπόλεως" (sc. Antioch) "καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων." Justinian, Auth. Coll. viii. tit. x. Novell. cix. in præfat.; p. 147.

[q] Conc. Constantinop. III. (A.D. 480) Act. xviii.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. pp. 1013. C, D, 1028. D, E, 1056. E, 1057. A, B, 1072. C, D: viz., the same as are named above in note p.

[r] "Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patriarcham, dicendum est, quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat." S. Greg. M., Capitulare ii. in Epist. ad Joh. Defensorem, Epist. lib. xiii. Indict. vi. Ep. xlvi. (olim lib. xi. Ep. liv.); Op., tom. ii. p. 1254. B: speaking of a Spanish bishop.

[s] "Hujusmodi suspensionis sententia præter Romani pontificis auctori-[illegible]atem, aut proprii patriarchæ, minime [illegible]etur, ut in hoc quoque quatuor [illegible]hales sedes specialiter honorentur." Innoc. III., ap. Greg. IX. Decretal., lib. iii. tit. v. De Præbendis et Dignitatibus, c. 29. Grave.

[t] "Antiqua patriarchalium sedium privilegia renovantes . . . sancimus, ut post Romanam Ecclesiam (quæ disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariæ potestatis obtinet principatum . .) Constantinopolitana primum, Alexandrina secundum, Antiochena tertium, Hierosolymitana quartum locum obtineat," &c. Innoc. III.; ibid., lib. v. tit. xxxiii. De Privilegiis et Excessibus Privilegiatorum, c. 23. Antiqua.

[u] "Si quæ autem causæ vel contentiones inter clericos . . fuerint exortæ, ut secundum synodum Nicænam congregatis ejusdem provinciæ episcopis jurgium terminetur. Nec alicui liceat, sine præjudicio tamen Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri, . . ad alias convolare provincias." Innoc. I., Epist. ad Victric., § 3 (circ. A.D. 402); ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1250. C, D. The epistle is considered spurious; see Cave.

[v] See above, c. xix. § 9—13.

BOOK III.

alone should give rules to tie all the west, may have had a regular beginning from voluntary references; of Himerius bishop of Tarracona in Spain to Syricius[x], of Exuperius bishop of Toulouse and Victricius of Rouen to Innocentius[y]: but argues not, that it is the original right of that Church; but that it hath increased by custom to that height, as to help to make up a claim for that infinite power, which I deny, instead of that regular power, which I acknowledge.

[The precedence of the Church of Rome seemeth to come from the apostles.]

§ 17. Judge now by reason, supposing the obligation upon all of holding unity in the Church, and the dependance of Churches the mean to compass it. For this will oblige us to part here with the parallel of the empire; which, having a sovereign upon earth, will require the ministers thereof, immediate or subordinate, to be of equal power in equal rights, præfects, lieutenants, and governors: but, the Head of the Church being in heaven, and His Body on earth being to be maintained in unity by an aristocracy of superiors and inferiors, whether was it according to the intent of those, who ordered the pre-eminence of greater Churches, that the Church of the greatest city should be equal in power to the head Churches of other dioceses: or that the general reason should take place between them all, an eminence of power following their precedence in rank; so that, whensoever it become requisite to limit this generality by positive constitutions, the pre-eminence of right to fall upon one, exclusively to others? Surely, though we suppose that all Christendom of their free consent agreed in this order, yet must we needs argue from the uniformity of it, that it must needs come from the ground settled by the apostles. For [as] it is manifest, that the rights of the head Churches of provinces had a beginning beyond the memory of all records of the Church; which testify the being of them at the time of all business which they relate: [and] that the head Churches of dioceses were not advanced in a moment by the act of the empire, but moulded afore, as it were, and prepared to receive that impression of regular eminence over inferior Churches, which the act of the state should stamp the cities

[x] Epist. Siricii Papæ ad Himerium Tarracon., ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 1017. B, sq.

[y] Epist. Innoc. I. ad Exuperium, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 1254. A, sq.: ad Victricium, ibid., pp. 1249. A, sq.

with over inferior cities: [so it[z]] cannot be maintained, that the greatest respect was and is by the apostles' act to be given to the greatest Churches (that is, the Churches of greatest cities); and yet that the privileges, necessarily accruing by positive constitution, might as justly have been placed upon the head Church of any diocese as upon that of Rome. I know I have no thanks for this of the Romanists;—for, as St. Paul says, how shall I serve God and please men both in such a difference as this?—but, seeing the canon of Nicæa doth necessarily confine the Church of Rome to a regular power, is it not a great sign of truth, that those things, which appear in the proceedings of the Church, do concur to evidence a ground for the rule of it; inferring that pre-eminence, which the Churches of Alexandria and Antiochia cannot have, but the beginning of the canon establishing ancient custom settleth? Let us see some of those proceedings.

[Gal. i. 10.]

§ 18. After the council of Nicæa, the Arians (having Eusebius of Nicomedia for their head) desire to be heard at Rome by Pope Julius in council concerning their proceedings against Athanasius[a]. Here, shall I believe, as some learned men conjecture[b], that Pope Julius is merely an arbitrator named by one party, whom the other could not refuse; and that any bishop, or at least any primate, might have been named, and must have been admitted, as well as he? Truly I cannot: considering, that, their hope being to win themselves credit by his sentence, I must needs think, 181 that they address themselves to him, by whose sentence they might hope to draw the greatest prejudice on their own side. It cannot be denied indeed, that, whereas in a case of that moment the last resort is necessarily to the whole Church, whether in council or by reference, by referring themselves, they brought upon their cause that prejudice, which necessarily lights upon all those, that renounce the award of the arbitrators whom they have referred themselves to, in case they stand not to the sentence. But though they had not been chargeable with this, had they not referred themselves; yet must they needs have been judged by the bishop of

[The Arians' appeal to pope Julius after the council of Nicæa.]

[z] Corrected from MS.; "yet," in orig. text.

[a] See Tillemont, Mém. Eccles., tom. vii. St. Jule Pape, artt. iii.—v.

[b] So e. g. Blondel, De la Primauté en l'Eglise, pp. 72, sq.

BOOK III.

Rome, among the rest of the Church, and in the first place; and his sentence must needs weigh more towards the sentence of the whole Church, than the sentence of any other arbitrator could have done. For let me ask in the mean time, is this an appeal to Pope Julius, or to him and his council? Let the sequel judge. For he that condemns the Arians for not appearing at the council which they had occasioned[c],—he that condemns the council of Antiochia (at the dedication of the golden church, presently after, where they were present[d]) for reversing the creed of Nicæa and condemning St. Athanasius, notwithstanding the sentence of Julius and his council,—necessarily shews us, that they were not quite out of their wits, to bestow so much pains for procuring a decree at the council of Antiochia, that must have been void *ipso facto*, because the matter had been sentenced at Rome, that is, in the last resort, afore. Therefore I conceive Julius had a right to complain, that they took upon them to regulate the Churches without him[e]; nor can I much blame Socrates[f] or Sozomenus[g] in justifying his complaint: because Athanasius his cause, as well as the creed of Nicæa, concerned the whole Church; and for them to condemn him, whom Julius and his council held at the instance of the Arians had justified, was to make a breach in the Church; though at present we say nothing of the faith. Neither had they reason to allege the good they had done the Church of Rome by their compliance in the cause of Novatianus[h], or to expect the like from Julius in a cause of the like moment; because of the sentence of the Nicene council already past in the main ground of the cause, and because of the sentence of the synod of Rome past in the cause.

[c] See Tillemont, tom. vii. St. Jule Pape, art. iv.: and tom. vi. Ariens, art. xxx.

[d] A.D. 341.—Socrates, H. E., lib. ii. c. 8. p. 84. C, D: Sozom., H. E., lib. iii. c. 5. pp. 501. C, sq.: Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 559, sq.—And see Cave.

[e] "Ὁ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συναχθεῖσιν ἀντιγράφων ἐπεμέμψατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπαχθὲς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς· ἔπειτα παρὰ κανόνας ποιοῦντας, διότι εἰς τὴν σύνοδον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν, τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελεύοντος, μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας," κ.τ.λ. Socrat., H. E., lib. ii. c. 17. pp. 94. D, 95. A.—Or as Sozomen (H. E., lib. iii. c. 10. p. 510. B) words it,—"ὡς . . . παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον οὐ κεκλήκασιν· εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ἱερατικὸν, ἄκυρα ἀποφαίνειν τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πραττόμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου."

[f] Socrates, H. E., lib. ii. c. 8. pp. 84. D, 85. A: and c. 15. p. 91. C.

[g] Sozomen, H. E., lib. iii. c. 6. p. 504. D; and c. 8. p. 507. D.

[h] So the letter of the Eastern bishops to pope Julius, ap. Sozom., H. E., lib. iii. c. 8. p. 508. C.

CHAP. XX.

§ 19. Now, when this difference comes afterwards to be tried by a general council at Sardica[i], shall this trial infer the infinite power of the pope, or the regular power of a general council? For surely the council of Sardica was intended for a general council (as the emperor Justinian[j] reckons it); being summoned by both emperors, Constantius and Constans, out of the whole empire[k]. When the breach fell out, and the eastern bishops withdrew themselves to Philippopolis[l]; the whole power, in point of right, ought I conceive to remain on that side, which was not the cause of the breach. But the success sufficiently sheweth, that it did not so prevail. For many a council might then have been spared. The sovereign regard of peace in the Church suffered not those that were in the right to insist upon the acts of it, as I suppose.

[The council of Sardica.]

§ 20. In the mean time, the canons thereof, whereby appeals to the pope in the causes of bishops are settled[m] (whether for the west, which it represented, or for the whole, which it had right to conclude, not having caused the breach), shall I conceive to be forged, because they are so aspersed[n]; having been acknowledged by Justinian[o],

[The canons of that council respecting appeals to the pope, not forged.]

[i] A.D. 347: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 623, sq.—That this council was a general one, is denied: see e. g. Balsamon and Zonaras, in Can. Conc. Constantin. I., can. v.; ap. Bevereg., Synod., tom. i. p. 92 B—E; and Beveridge's Annot. in can. iv. of the council of Sardica, ibid., tom. ii. pp. 199, 200. See also below, § 22; and Richer., Hist. Conc. Gen., c. iii. § 6. tom. i. pp. 62, sq.; and Bramhall, Schism Guarded, P. i. Disc. iv. sect. 4. Works, vol. ii. p. 533: and in defence of it, Baronius, Annal., in an. 347. numm. 8, sq., tom. iii. pp. 561, sq.; and Card. du Perron, Replique, &c., liv. i. c. liii. pp. 489, sq.

[j] Scil. in his Decretum adv. Tria Capitula, in fin. Conc. Constantin. II., A.D. 553: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. v. p. 718. D.

[k] So Socrates, H. E., lib. ii. c. 20. p. 101. C, D: and Sozomen, H. E., lib. iii. c. 11. p. 511. D.

[l] Socrates, ibid., p. 102. B.

[m] "Quod si aliquis episcoporum judicatus fuerit in aliqua causa, et putat se bonam causam habere, ut iterum concilium renovetur; si vol sancti Petri apostoli re remus, ut scribatur ab his qui causam examinarunt, Julio Romano episcopo: et si judicaverit renovandum esse judicium, renovetur, et det judices. Si autem probaverit talem causam esse, ut non refricentur ea quæ acta sunt; quæ decreverit, confirmata erunt." Conc. Sardic. can. iii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 645. B: interprete Dion. Exiguo.

[n] So Blondel, De la Primautè en l'Eglise, pp. 102, sq.: and see also Nicolaus de Cusa, De Concordantia Catholica, lib. ii. c. 25 (Op., tom. ii. p. 757. Basil. 1565), quoted by bishop Jewel; "Quare satis posset dubitari, an Sardicensis Concilii constitutio existat." And that there are various difficulties as to Greek and Latin copies, variety of numbering, &c., see Richer., as above in note i.—Michael Geddes also, Essay on Canons of Counc. of Sardica, Miscell. Essays, vol. iii. in fin. 8vo. Lond. 1714, alleges, that the canons in question are forged. —For the question raised between pope Z... ...hurch, see

BOOK III.

translated by Dionysius Exiguus[p], added by the eastern Church to their canon law[q]? Or shall I not ask, what pretence there could be to settle appeals from other parts to Rome, rather than from Rome to other parts, had not a pre-eminence of power, and not only a precedence of rank, been acknowledged originally in the Church of Rome?

[Yet did not take effect by the act of it.]

§ 21. But though I think myself bound to acknowledge, that such canons were made by the council at Sardica; yet not that they took effect by the act of it. The canons of councils had not effect, as I said afore, till received. The troubles, that succeeded, might well hinder the admitting of them into practice. And that this exception is not for nothing, I appeal to all that shall but consider, that the canons of the council of Antiochia, which the eastern bishops at Sardica stood for[r], made part of the code of the whole Church, which the council of Chalcedon owned[s]; the canons of Sardica being no part of it till after times.

[The dispute between the popes and the African Churches about the Sardican canons respecting appeals.]

§ 22. And this is the point, upon which the dispute between the pope and the Churches of Africk about appeals most depends. The case, that brought it to issue, was the case of Apiarius, a priest only, that appealed to Rome[t]. The pope's legates pretended, that appeals to Rome were settled by the council of Nicæa. The Churches of Africk, finding no such canon of Nicæa in their records, desire, that recourse might be had to Alexandria and Constantinople for the true copies. The true copies import no such thing. But it is alleged, and it is reason it should be alleged, that the appeals of bishops are settled by the canons of the council of Sardica; the very terms whereof are couched in

[p] See Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 643. C, sq.: and below in note s.

[q] See Voellus and Justellus, Biblioth. Juris Canon. Vet., Præfat. p. 17: and Richer., as in note i, § 5. pp. 48—52: and below in note s.

[r] The eastern bishops refused to join in the council unless S. Athanasius and his friends were excluded; alleging that sentence had already been passed upon them, scil. by the council held by themselves just before at Antioch. See the Epist. Pseudo-Synod. Sardic., ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. pp. 699. E, sq.: and Fleury, xii. 34.

[s] Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451), can. i.: ap. Labb., Conc. tom. iv. p. 755. B. The Antiochene canons are in the Cod. Can. Eccles. Univ. a Conc. Chalced. et Justiniano Imp. confirmatus, publ. by Voellus and Justellus at the beginning of their Biblioth. Juris Can. Vet., tom. i. pp. 43—49, from which the canons of Sardica are omitted. The latter are added in the Cod. Can. Eccl. of Dionysius Exiguus, ibid. pp. 137, sq., but out of their chronological order, and as an appendix to the others.—See also De Marca, De Veter. Collect. Canonum, cc. i., ii.; Op., tom. iv. pp. 344, sq. Bamberg. 1789: Tillemont, Mém. Eccl., tom. vi. Ariens, art. xxxiv.: and Fleury, x. 12, sq.

[t] See Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. v. § 6: and Gieseler, Eccl. Hist., Second Period, Div. i. c. iii. § 94. vol. i. pp. 449, 450.

the instructions to the council of Africk[x]. The council of Sardica was not the council of Nicæa, but the acts of it were done by those who pretended to maintain it. Whether it were justly done, or imported an intent of imposture, to challenge the authority of the canons of Nicæa for the canons of it[y]; I dispute not. But had the case in question been the case of a bishop, as it was only the case of a priest; what could the Churches of Africk have alleged, why they should not be tied by the canons of Sardica, who acknowledged themselves tied by the canons of Nicæa? For there was only the bishop of Carthage present at the council of Nicæa, but there [were[z]] six and thirty African bishops at the council of Sardica[a]; enow to represent all the diocese of Africk, and to tie those whom they represented. What could they allege, but the inexecution of the council of Sardica? Or what greater evidence could they allege for the inexecution of it, than that there was no copy of any such canon in the records of all their Churches? Or how could the pope desire a fairer pretence for the execution of it for the future, than the concurrence of the African Churches by so many bishops? For though the council of Sardica is quoted in that which is called the sixth council of Carthage[b], yet the whole issue of the business was only, whether they were Nicene canons that were alleged or not: and when it ap-

[x] See the "Epistola ab omni Concilio Africano ad Bonifacium urbis Romanæ Episcopum, per Faustinum episcopum, Philippum et Asellum presbyteros, legatos Ecclesiæ Romanæ, directa:"—ap. Biblioth. Juris Can., tom. i. pp. 400, sq.; in fin. Cod. Can. Eccles. Africanæ.

[y] So (to name but one) Calvin, Instit., IV. vii. 9.—The defence in Labbè (Conc. tom. ii. p. 626. B.) for the conduct of popes Innocent and Zosimus, is simply this—that "licet hæc synodus altera fuerit a Nicæna, tamen quia non novas suscepit fidei vel ecclesiæ causas sed Nicænæ tantum fidei tutelam ac patrocinium; . . . et quia ipsorum Sardicensium et Nicænorum patrum una fuit sententia, una mens, unus spiritus: idcirco Sardicense concilium Nicæni nomine a multis comprehenditur; quemadmodum urbs ac urbis propugnaculum una res censeri solet ac nominari."—So also M. A. Cappellus, De Appell. Eccles. Afric. ad Rom. Sedem, Paris. 1622: and Card. du Perron, Replique &c., liv. i. cc. lii., liii., pp. 456, sq.—But see Hussey, On Papal Supremacy, pp. 41—51.

[z] Misprinted "was" in folio edition.

[a] "Cæcilius Carthaginensis" is the only signature for the province of Africa at the council of Nice (Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 54. C). At the council of Sardica the number of bishops present appears to be uncertain (Labb., ibid., p. 659. C, D), but the names of thirty-six from Africa are given in Labb., ibid., p. 679. A, B.

[b] Conc. Carthag. vi. (Cave, xv.) A.D. 419, can. 6; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1591. E. In can. 7. (ibid., p. 1592. A, B) the council declare, that they will keep the Sardican canon, "salva diligentiore inquisitione concilii Nicæni;" that "omnia, quæ in Nicæno concilio statuta sunt, nobis omnibus placeant;" and, "quod constitutum est in Nicæno concilio, violari a quoquam nullatenus potest."

BOOK III.

peared that they were not, the dispute was at an end; and the African synod, by the letter extant in the African code[c], desires the pope to stand to terms of the Nicene canons. Therefore it is clearly a fault in the copy, that the council of Sardica is named[d]; which could not be pleaded, because all knew that it was not in force, as the council of Nicæa was, in the Churches of Africk. So that the act of the council of Sardica necessarily presupposeth, that the Church of Rome was effectually acknowledged the prime Church of the west (and by consequence of all Churches); because it settleth the right of appeals upon it before other Churches in certain causes: though it appear not what effect it took, unless you allow the conjecture which I have to propose.

[Those canons appear to have taken effect in Illyricum.]

§ 23. Within a few years after this contest, there appears a standing commission of the popes to the bishops of Thessalonica to be their standing lieutenants in Illyricum; mentioned in the letter of Pope Leo to Anastasius of Thessalonica, as derived from their predecessors[e]. Had the bishop of Rome been no more than the bishop of Thessalonica, how came this to be his lieutenant rather than on the contrary? And, truly, where those privileges of the Church of Rome over the Churches of Illyricum began, whereby the popes had made the bishops of Thessalonica their standing legates, appears not by the records of the Church; so that it is as free for me to conjecture, that they come from the

[c] As quoted above in note x.

[d] So De Dominis, De Rep. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 8. § 34; tom. i. p. 658. D.

[e] "Et quia per omnes ecclesias cura nostra distenditur, exigente hoc a nobis Domino, Qui apostolicæ dignitatis beatissimo apostolo Petro primatum fidei suæ remuneratione commisit, universalem Ecclesiam in fundamenti ipsius soliditate constituens, necessitatem sollicitudinis, quam habemus, cum his, qui nobis collegii caritate juncti sunt, sociamus. Vicem itaque nostram fratri et co-episcopo nostro Anastasio, secuti eorum exemplum quorum nobis recordatio est veneranda, commisimus; et ut sit in speculis, ne quid illicitum a quoquam præsumatur, injunximus: cui in his quæ ad ecclesiasticam pertinent disciplinam, ut dilectio vestra pareat, admonemus. Non enim tam illi obtemperabitur quam nobis, qui hoc illi pro nostra sollicitudine per illas provincias cognoscimur commisisse." Leon. M., Epist. v., Ad Episcopos Metrop. per Illyricum constitutos, c. ii.: Op., tom. i. pp. 617, 618.—See also Id., Epist. xiv., Ad Anastasium Thessalonicensem Episc., c. i.; ibid., p. 683: beginning thus—"Quoniam sicut præcessores mei præcessoribus tuis, ita etiam ego dilectioni tuæ, priorum secutus exemplum, vices mei moderaminis delegavi:" &c.—Pope Damasus, circ. A.D. 380, *is said* to have appointed Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica his vicar in Illyricum (see l'Art de Verifier les Dates, art. Damase, tom. i. p. 372. Paris. 1818). And Innocent I., circ. A.D. 400, is said to have appointed Rufus, also bishop of Thessalonica, to the same office (Epist. Innoc. I. Papæ ad Rufum, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. p. 1701. in Act. Conc. Rom. A. D. 531).—See the case at length in De Marca, De Conc. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. v. cc. 22—29.

council of Sardica, as for others to conjecture otherwise[f]; for it is not unreasonable to think, that it might take effect upon the place where it was made, with fuller consent of the bishops of that diocese, present in greater numbers than strangers, though scarce known in Africk after some seventy years.

[Pre-eminence of Rome evident from hence.]

§ 24. But at such time as Rome disputed with Africk about appeals, and enjoyed regular privileges in Illyricum; can the Church of Milan, or any Church of Spain or Gaul or Britain, be thought parallel to it?

[Argument for the same from papal rescripts to the Churches of Gaul and Spain.]

§ 25. From this time, the rescripts of the popes are extant, unforged, and directed to divers prime Churches of Gaul and Spain[g]. And the heads of them were added by Dionysius Exiguus, about [A.D.] 530, unto that collection
183 of canons[h]; which what force it had in the western Church, appears, in that Cresconius, abridging the canons which the African Church used, refers them to the heads which he follows, both beginning at Syricius, Cresconius ending at Gelasius[i]. And the copies of Dionysius his collection, that now are extant in the libraries of France[k], have at the beginning a letter, whereby Pope Adrian I. directs it to Charles the Great: as you may see in Sirmondus his Councils, tomo ii. *ad annum* 787[l]. This subordination, being nothing but the limiting of the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome in the common concernments of the western Church, suffers not any terms of equality betwixt them; unless we

[f] See below, § 27, 32.—*St. Paul* subjected the Illyrian Churches to Rome, according to Le Quien; Or. Christ., De Diœc. Illyr. Orient., § vi.; tom. ii. pp. 5. E, 6. A.

[g] In Dionys. Exiguus, or Cresconius, as below, notes g, h: addressed to the bishops of Rouen, Toulouse, Narbonne, Vienne, Tarragona, and the "episcopi Galliarum" generally.

[h] Entitled by Voellus and Justellus (Biblioth. Juris Can. Vet., tom. i. pp. 97, sq.), "Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Dion. Exigui; scil. Cod. Can. Vetus Eccles. Romanæ, ab Hadriano Papa I. Carolo Magno Romæ quondam oblatus; . . cui accesserunt antiquiora Pontificum Romanorum Decreta, ab eodem Dionysio collecta."

[i] "Crisconii (sic) Episcopi Africani Breviarium containing a "Concordia Canonum Conciliorum infra scriptorum" (viz. the same as are given in Dion. Exiguus), "et Præsulum Romanorum" from Syricius to Gelasius (i. e. A.D. 385—496), was first published by Pithœus in 1588. It is in the Biblioth. Jur. Can., as above pp. 456, sq. See also the preface of Voellus and Justellus, p. 21; and Cave, art. Cresconius Afer, A.D. 690.—Dionysius Exiguus includes also the next pope to Gelasius, viz., Anastasius II., A.D. 496—8.

[k] See the preface to the Codex of Dion. Exiguus in the Biblioth. Juris Can., p. 95: from Sirmond as cited below in note l.

[l] Biblioth. Jur. Can., pp. 95, 96. —Conc. Antiqua Galliæ, op. et studio Jac. Sirmondi, tom. ii. pp. 117, 118. Paris. 1629.

BOOK III.

could think, that they who received such instructions from Rome did send the like to Rome in the like case: nor yet to attribute the inequality to the rescript of Valentinian the Third in favour of Pope Leo against the bishop of Arles[m]; though that might be (and was without doubt) a goodly pretence for the popes to enhance their privileges while the empire stood, and when it was fallen, to maintain them upon the title of ancient custom.

[How far Rome was the mother-church of the West.]

§ 26. Besides the greatness of the city Rome, in comparison of any city of Gaul or Spain or Britain; besides the pre-eminence of St. Peter: it is to be considered, that Innocent I. pope affirmeth all the Churches of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africk, Sicily, and the isles that lie between, to have been founded by those who were ordained by St. Peter and his successors; and, therefore, that they ought to follow the order of the Church of Rome: *Epist. ad Decentium*[n]. For with him agreeth herein[o], as for Africk, Tertullian, *De Præscript.* cap. xxxvi.[p]; and St. Gregory, [*Epist.*,] lib. vii. Indict. i. Epist. xxxii.[q] Nor do I think, that Cyprian[r] meant any thing else, when he describes the Church of Rome to be the Church, "*unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*"—"from

[m] "Hoc perenni sanctione decernimus, ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis, quam aliarum provinciarum, contra consuetudinem veterem liceat sine viri venerabilis papæ urbis æternæ auctoritate tentare. Sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit, quidquid sanxit vel sanxerit apostolicæ sedis auctoritas, ita ut quisquis episcoporum ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per moderatorem ejusdem provinciæ adesse cogatur." Leg. Novell. Theodos. A., tit. xxiv.; in Supplem. Cod. Theodos., p. 12. ed. Gothofred. Lugd. 1665. The decree is specially directed against Hilary of Arles, and in favour of pope Leo the Great.

[n] "Præsertim, cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, atque Siciliam, insulasque interjacentes, nullum instituisse Ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes. Aut legant, si in iis provinciis alius apostolorum invenitur aut legitur docuisse. Qui si non legunt, quia nusquam inveniunt, oportet eos hoc sequi, quod Ecclesia Romana custodit, a qua eos principium accepisse non dubium est." Innoc. I., Epist. ad Decentium, Epist. i.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1245. D.

[o] "With Innocent the First affirming Africk planted from Rome." Added in margin in MS.

[p] Tertullian merely says, that Rome is the nearest apostolic Church to Africa. "Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam; unde nobis quoque authoritas præsto est." De Præscript. Hæreticor., c. xxxvi.; Op., p. 215. A. And again (ibid., B.): "Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit" (sc. Ecclesia Romana), "cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit." But see Dupin's Hist. Donatist., p. 1, prefixed to his edition of Optatus; and De Dominis, De Rep. Eccl., lib. i. c. ii. § 21. tom. i. p. 397.

[q] "Scientes præterea unde in Africanis partibus sumserit ordinatio sacerdotalis exordium, laudabiliter agitis quod Sedem Apostolicam diligendo, ad officii vestri originem prudenti recordatione recurritis," &c. S. Greg. M., Epist. lib. viii. Indict. i. Epist. xxxiii. (olim lib. vii. Indict. i. Epist. xxxii.), Ad Dominicum Episcopum Carthaginensem: Op., tom. ii. p. 921. B, C.

[r] S. Cypr., Epist. lix. Ad Cornelium; Epist

whence the unity of the priesthood had the rise;" to wit, in Africk. Of Gaul and Spain I perceive no question is made[s]. And he, that will free the beginning of Christianity in Britain from fables, must acknowledge, that, as it is agreed among men of learning that it was first planted from Gaul, so from thence also it must have received Christianity[t].

[When and why Illyricum came to belong to the Western Church.]

§ 27. Of Illyricum the same cannot be said[u]. Nor do I find any title for the jurisdiction of Rome over it more ancient, than the division of the empire among the sons of Constantine. For, the council of Sardica being assembled upon this account by both emperors, and parted in two, the eastern bishops of it plead, that it was a novelty, which the ancient custom of the Church abhors, that the east should be judged by the west[x]; and Constantius writes to the western bishops in the council of Arimìnum, that no reason would endure them to decree any thing of the eastern bishops[y]: both in the fragments of St. Hilary[z]. Which as it constitutes the regular but destroys the infinite power of the pope (because it concludes no man without the synod to which he belongs); so it shews no ancient custom, by which Illyricum should belong to the west. And Palladius, an Arian bishop, in the Council of Aquileia under St. Ambrose, excepting, that he was not to be sentenced without the

[s] Blondel, De la Primautè en l'Eglise, p. 48, commenting on pope Innocent's words, admits the fact at length of Gaul and Spain; denying only that it infers subjection to Rome. He allows also (p. 624), that "la Gaule a servi de matrice a l'Espagne, et la mesme chose est fort probable de la Bretagne." Launoy maintains, that Gaul was Christianized by missionaries from Rome. For the other opinions on the subject, see the summary of the case in the notes to Mosheim's Hist. of the Church, Bk. i. Cent. ii. Pt. i. c. i. § 5. in Soames's edition.

[t] This is Mosheim's conclusion: De Reb. Christian. ante Constant., pp. 213—216. The case is summed up in Soames's Mosheim, as in last note. For the "fables" see Ussher and Stillingfleet.

[u] "Addunt viri clarissimi post allegata illa Innocentii verba, quæ supra allata sunt: 'Solæ desunt calculo nostro Illyricanæ diœceseos Ecclesiæ, quarum hoc loco non meminit Innocentius.' Sane nullam facit mentionem Illyrici ecclesiarum inter eas quas vult a Petro apostolorum principe in occidente esse constitutas... Eam ecclesiam non a Petro sed a Paulo fuisse institutam, inter omnes convenit." Salmasius, De Prim. Papæ, c. xxi. p. 396. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1645: answering De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. i. c. 5. § 3.

[x] "Novam legem introducere putaverunt, ut orientales episcopi ab occidentalibus judicarentur.... Hoc itaque nefas quoniam nunquam recepit ecclesiastica disciplina," &c. Epist. Pseudo-Synod. Sardic., § 12: ap. S. Hilarii Pictav. Op. Hist., Fragment. iii.; Op., tom. ii. p. 655. B. ed. Bened.: et Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 704. B.

[y] "Non enim de orientalibus episcopis in concilio vestro patitur ratio aliquid definiri." Epist. Constantii Imp. ad Episcopos Italiæ qui in Ariminensi Concilio convenerant; § 2: ap. S. Hilar. ibid. Fragm. vii. ibid. p. 684. A; et Labb., ibid., p. 794. A.

[s] See notes x, y.

BOOK III.

eastern bishops, who had been writ to to come; St. Ambrose answers, that, knowing the custom, that the synod of the east should be held in the east, of the west in the west, they were not come[a]: intimating, that Palladius in the mean time must look to be judged by the synod of the west, leaving those of the east to take their course in a cause of common concernment. Here is then a reason, why Illyricum should belong to the western Church.

[Perhaps also through the council of Sardica being held there.]

§ 28. Whether or no the holding of the council of Sardica in Illyricum might occasion the canons thereof to take place in Illyricum, which came not to effect in Africk; let those who have the skill judge. I see[b], the act of pope Hormisda, making the bishops of Tarracona and Sevile his lieutenants, *Epist.* xxiv. and xxvi.[c], is attributed to the canon of Sardica; which I have shewed was not known in Africk about a hundred years afore. Therefore, let those that have skill judge. I am willing to allow a better reason for the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome over Illyricum, when I shall see it rendered. In the mean time, the rescripts of the popes are extant[d], evidencing the resort from Illyricum to Rome, no otherwise than from Gaul or from Spain or from Africk.

[Britain not subject to the pope.]

§ 29. What shall we say of Britain? For all this while I shew, that the Church of Rome cannot be reduced to the rank of the head-churches of dioceses, though the patri- 184

[a] "Palladius dixit, ... Absentibus sacerdotibus nostris, nos respondere non possumus. Ambrosius episcopus dixit, Qui sunt consortes vestri? Palladius dixit, Orientales episcopi. Ambrosius episcopus dixit, Interim quia superioribus temporibus concilium sic factum est, ut orientales in orientis partibus constituti haberent concilium, occidentales in occidente: nos in occidentis partibus constituti convenimus ad Aquileiensium civitatem juxta imperatoris præceptum. Denique etiam præfectus Italiæ literas dedit, ut, si vellent convenire, in potestate haberent. Sed quia scierunt consuetudinem hujusmodi, ut in oriente orientalium esset concilium, intra occidentem occidentalium; ideo putaverunt non esse veniendum." Gesta Conc. Aquil. temp. Damasi Papæ (A.D. 381); ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 980. B, C.

[b] Blondel, De la Primautè en l'Eglise, p. 1093, attributes the jurisdiction of pope Gregory (see above, § 16. note r) over Spain to "1. le recours d'Estienne" (the Spanish bishop) "selon le Concile de Sardique," and 2. the act of Hormisda himself.

[c] Hormisda, Epist. xxiv. Ad Joannem Tarraconensem Episcopum; in which "ei vices suas committit:" ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 1465. C, 1466. B: dated circ. A.D. 517.—Id., Epist. xxvi. Ad Salustium Spalensem (i. e. of course *His*palensem) Episcopum, in which "Salustius apostolicæ sedis vicarius constituitur per Bæticam et Lusitaniam:" ibid., pp. 1468. E, 1469. D.

[d] E. g. Innocent I. to the bishops of Macedonia (Biblioth. Jur. Can., tom. i. pp. 202, 203): to the bishop of Berœa (ibid., p. 206): to the bishop of Naissus, in Dacia (ibid., p. 207): Leo to the bishop of Thessalonica (ibid., p. 231): &c. And several letters of popes to Illyrian bishops are quoted by Giesseler as below in § 32. note a.

archs of Alexandria and Antiochia were only heads of one diocese. [How could the British bishops answer Augustin the monk, that they knew not the pope[e]?] They knew pope Cælestine, when he joined with the synod of Gaul[f] to send Germanus and Lupus to deliver them from Pelagianism: as well as Ireland, a British isle, knew him, when he sent first Palladius, and then St. Patrick, with effect to convert it[g]; St. Hilary of Tours having sent St. Keby afore to no great purpose[h]. They knew the pope, when they admitted that order for keeping of Easter, which afterwards they would not part with, when St. Augustin demanded it for a mark of subjection at their hands[i]. For it appears by my lord primate's Antiquities[k], that the rule which they held was the same which the Church of Rome had first embraced. Only, whereas in process of time a fault of two days was discovered in it, which Severus Sulpitius in Gaul is said to have mended; they, having received it with this amendment, would not part with it, when Augustin demanded it of them for a mark of subjection to his bishopric. This you may see in those Collections, pp. 925, &c.[l] They knew him, when St. David sent the synods, which he had held against the Pelagians, to Rome for the approbation of the pope[m]: when St. Kentigern went to Rome, to purge the irregularity which he was under by being ordained bishop of Glasgow by one bishop[n]. In fine, they knew him in all the correspondence, which they had with their fellow British Churches in France, who exercised daily communion with Rome.

[e] Added in MS.—See below, note o.

[f] Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq., c. xi.; Works, vol. v. pp. 371, sq.

[g] Id., ibid., cc. xvi. ibid. vol. vi. pp. 353, sq., xvii. pp. 372, sq.

[h] Id., ibid., c. xvi.; ibid., pp. 339, 340.

[i] Id., ibid., as below in note k: and Bede, Hist. Eccl. Angl., lib. ii. c. 2. p. 79. ed. Smith.

[k] "Jam vero Britonum et Pictorum et Hybernorum cyclus paschalis, in hoc quidem cum Romana supputatione congruebat, quod octoginta quatuor is esset annorum: in hoc vero discrepabat, quod non [illegible] *ad vicesimum*

'Non enim Paschæ diem Dominicum suo tempore sed a decima quarta usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant; quæ computatio octoginta quatuor annorum circulo continetur.' . . . Britonum vero illum canonem paschalem a Sulpitio Severo acceptum fuisse, qui octoginta quatuor annorum cursum descripsit, ex Aldhelmi ad Geruntium Britannicum regem epistola jam ante notavimus." Ussher, ibid., c. xvii. pp. 496, 497. And see also ibid., c. xi. vol. v. p. 368: and Smith, Append. ad Bed. Hist. Eccl., num. ix. a. pp. 694, sq.

[l] Scil. in the original edit. of 1639: the passage quoted in note k.

[m] Ussher, ibid., c. xiii. vol. v. p. 542.

[n] Id., ibid., c. xv. vol. vi. pp. 225, 226.

BOOK III.

And therefore, when they say, they "knew him not[o];" we are to understand by a figure of speech, that they "knew him not" to the purpose that was demanded, so as to be subject to the new bishop of Britain: which the canon of the apostles[p], providing that every nation should have their own bishop, enabled them to refuse. And the just jealousy they had, that the admitting of him might be a snare to their civil freedom, obliged them to refuse. For when they say they are ready to acknowledge the pope as brotherly love requires, they may well be thought to acknowledge him with that canonical respect which ancient custom required; without which brotherly love subsisteth not among Christians.

[The pre-eminence of the Church] of Constantinople [, resting on

§ 30. But I must come to the privileges of Constantinople, begun by the canon of the second general council[q]; established by the fourth in the last canon[r], which the popes to this day acknowledge not[s], though the effect of it

[o] The answer of Dinoth to S. Augustin was, in short, that "aliam obedientiam quam hanc" (sc. that resulting from the duty of mutual charity) "*non scio* debitam ei quem vos nominatis Papam," &c. See Smith, Append. ad Bed., H. E., num. x. p. 716: and Spelman, Concil. Angl., tom. i. pp. 108, 109.—See also Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. v. § 9.

[p] "Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης. ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· οὕτως γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται," κ. τ. λ. Can. Apost., can. xxxiii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 32. D.

[q] "Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην." Conc. Constantinop. I. (A.D. 381), can. iii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 947. C.—Constantinople was finished and became the capital of the eastern empire A.D. 330, or 334: see Tillemont, Hist. des Emp., art. Constantin, note lx.; tom. iv. pp. 653, sq.

[r] "Πανταχοῦ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἑπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ρν. θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρίζομεν καὶ ψηφιζόμεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ῥώμης· καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ρν. θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνην, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν· καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ τῆς Θρᾳκικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων, χειροτονεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας." Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451), can. xxviii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. p. 770. A—C.

[s] See Leon. M., Epist. cv. § 3. (Op., tom. i. p. 1157), and Epist. cvi. § 3—5 (ibid., pp. 1163—1165); addressed respectively to the empress Pulcheria and to Anatolius bishop of Constantinople: (besides other letters of his:) and Bellarmine, De Rom. Pontif., lib. ii. c. 17; Controv., tom. i. p. 791. D.—This canon is omitted by Dionysius Exiguus, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. p. 778. E; and Isidore Mercator, [illegible] p. 786. B. But

hath suffered no interruption by their disowning of it. I know not how I should give a clearer evidence of the ground I propose for the pre-eminence of Churches, than the alteration which succeeded upon the erecting of Constantinople into the second head of the empire. For within fifty years the council of the east being held there makes it the second Church, and head-church of Thrace-diocese; which the Chalcedon council extends to the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, exalting it so far above Alexandria and Antiochia, as might seem afar off to call for a kind of subjection at their hands. If this be rightfully done, what shall hinder the whole Church to dispose of the superiority of Churches, when the greatness of their cities makes it appear, that the dependence of the Churches of less cities upon them is for the unity of the whole in the exercise of true Christianity? And what can be said, why it should not be right for the east to advance Constantinople to the next [place] to Rome; the same reason being visible in it, for which Rome had the first place from the beginning?

[the second and fourth general councils].

§ 31. It is true, whereas Rome was content to take no notice of the canon of Constantinople[t], the legates of pope Leo, present at Chalcedon, and enforced either to admit or disclaim it, protested against it[u]. But upon what ground can he, who by being part of the council concludes himself by the vote of it, refuse his concurrence to that which he alone likes not? Or to what effect is that disowned, which takes place without him who protests against it? Unless it be to set up a monument of half the Church disowning the infinite power of the pope, the other half not pleading it, but only canonical pre-eminences by the council of Nicæa.

[The protest of Rome against the council of Chalcedon availeth nothing.]

§ 32. I suppose, indeed, the pope had something else to fear. For, Illyricum being so much nearer Constantinople than Rome, there was always pretence of reason to subject

[The pope feared, lest Illyricum should be transferred from the western

181 *bis*[x].

see ample authorities for it in Beveridge, Synodic., Annot. in can. xxviii. Conc. Chalced., p. 124: and Richer., Hist. Conc. Gen., c. viii. § 43, 44. tom. i. pp. 236—252.

[t] It is reckoned as a general council wholly approved, by Bellarmine, De Conc. et Eccles., lib. i. c. 5; Controv., tom. i. p. 1100. A—C. And see Richer., Hist. Conc. Gen., c. v. § 9. tom. i. pp. 102, 103.

[u] Act. Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451), Actio xv.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 795. A—797. A. And see Richer., Hist. Conc. Gen., c. viii. § 38. tom. i. pp. 227, sq.; and Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. vi. § 4, 5. And for Leo's opposition after the council, Richer., ibid., § 43, sq., pp. 236, sq.; and Leo's own letters cited above, § 30. note s.

[x] pp. 181—184 (both inclusive) are repeated by mistake in the folio edition.

BOOK III. Church to the eastern.]

it, as Asia and Pontus, to Constantinople, to the prejudice of those pre-eminences which Rome enjoyed there[y]: especially since Illyricum was surrendered by Valentinian III. upon the marriage of his sister to Theodosius the younger (as that learned gentleman John Marsham[z] hath observed), and thenceforth become part of the eastern empire; for hereupon followed the law "*Omni innovatione cessante*[a]," still extant in the code, requiring the bishops of Illyricum to give account to Constantinople of all matters that should pass. Besides, had the empire continued in force in Italy, why might not Constantinople in time have pretended to the first place, Rome being no more the prime city, and yet still of the empire? And therefore pope Leo (as wise for the privileges of his Church as stout for the faith) did his own business, when he pleaded the canon of Nicæa, and the second place for Alexandria[b]. And whatsoever contests passed afterwards between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, the privileges of Rome in Illyricum continued, till the time that Gregory the Second withdrew his city from the obedience of the empire, pretending his sovereign to be a heretic for destroying of images[c]. I said afore in the first

[y] See Thomassin, Vet. et Nova Eccl. Discipl., P. i. lib. i. c. 18. § 6, sq.; on the Roman side: and, on the other, Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, P. i. liv. vii. c. 6. § 9. vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

[z] Προτυλαῖον Joh. Marshami, signature A. 4, prefixed to Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, first publ. Lond. 1655.—Illyricum belonged in the original partition wholly to the western empire. *Gratian* surrendered the eastern province of it to Theodosius *the Great*, A.D. 380 (according to Pagi, In Annal. Baron., in an. 380, numm. iv.—vi. Sæc. iv. pp. 234—237). Baluzius, ap. De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. v. c. 19. § 3—5, and De Marca himself, Dissert. de Primatu Lugdunensi, numm. xxxiii.—xxxvi., date the division of Illyricum into east and west, and the consequent cession of the eastern part, at the death of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395. And the *western* Illyricum also was surrendered by Valentinian III. to the younger Theodosius, upon *his own* marriage with Eudoxia *daughter of Theodosius II.*: De Marca, Dissert. de Primat. Lugd., num. xxxviii.; and so Marsham himself (dating the surrender A.D. 437), as above quoted: and see Du Buat, Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. pp. 292—300. Paris 1772; quoted by Gibbon.

[a] "Omni innovatione cessante, vetustatem et canones pristinos ecclesiasticos, qui nunc usque tenuerunt, per omnes Illyrici provincias servari præcipimus. Tum, si quid dubietatis emerserit, id oporteat non absque scientia viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis antistitis urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur, conventui sacerdotali sanctoque judicio reservari." Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 45. tom. vi. p. 89. Also in Cod. Justinian., lib. i. tit. ii. leg. 6. The law was passed A.D. 421 (therefore *before* the transfer of the civil jurisdiction), and is addressed Philippo Pf. P. Illyrici. It was shortly repealed. See Gieseler, Second Period, Div. i. c. iii. § 94. vol. i. p. 446: and De Marca, De Concord. Sac. et Imp., lib. iv. c. 2. § 1, with the Addit. of Baluzius.

[b] Scil. in his letter to Anatolius, referred to above, § 30. note a.

[c] See Thomassin, as quoted in note y, § 9: and authorities in Gieseler,

Book [d], that others relate this otherwise [e]. And Anastasius, in the lives of Gregory II.[f] and III.[g], owns no more but that they excommunicated the emperors; which, notwithstanding, occasioned the Italians to fall from the empire. But hereupon the emperor commands not only Illyricum, but Sicily, and that part of Italy which continued subject to the empire, to resort to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople [h]; and, as in case of such jealousy, was necessarily to be obeyed. Hereupon Pope Adrian, in his Apology for Images to Charles the Great [i], complains, that they deprived the Church of Rome of the diocese together with the patrimony which it held in it, when they put down images; and "had given no answer from that time." And Nicolas I., *Epist.* i.[k], revives the claim. Which, with the rescripts of the popes between concerning Illyricum [l] as well as the rest of the west (see also the life of Adrian II. in Anastasius [m]), and much more

Period III. Div. i. Pt. ii. c. ii. § 5. note 2. How far the popes really rebelled, see Gieseler: and Buckeridge, De Potestate Papæ, lib. ii. c. xli. pp. 944, sq.

[d] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi. § 30.

[e] The Greeks affirmed, that the popes rebelled outright: the Latins denied their so doing. See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi. § 30. note t: and below, note f; and Gieseler as quoted in note c.

[f] Anastasius (in Vita Greg. II. ap. Labb., tom. vi. p. 1436. A.) says no more, than that Gregory, having "deposed" the bishop of Constantinople as an Iconoclast, "imperatori quoque *suadens salutaria*, ut a tali execrabili miseria declinaret scriptis commonuit." On which however Binius says (ibid., p. 1437. C), on the authority of Theophanes, Cedrenus, and Zonaras, that Leo Isauricus not obeying "a pontifice excommunicatur et deponitur."

[g] Id. in Vita Greg. III. (Labb., ibid., p. 1464. C.) merely records the sending to the emperor Leo "adhortatorias litteras."

[h] See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, De Patriarchat. Constantinop., c. xiv. § 2, sq.; tom. i. pp. 96, sq.: who collects the authorities for the statement in the text. And see also Gibbon, c. xlix. vol. iv. pp. 495, 496. ed. Milman.

[i] "Sed de diœcesi sanctæ nostræ Romanæ ecclesiæ tam archiepiscoporum quam episcoporum seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si noluerint ea sanctæ nostræ Romanæ ecclesiæ restituere, hæreticum eum . . . decernemus." Hadrian I. Epist. ad Carolum Regem, de Imaginibus, qua confutantur illi qui synodum Nicænam secundam oppugnant; in fin.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vii. p. 963. A. And a little before (ibid., p. 962. D, E): "De diœcesi tam archiepiscoporum quam et episcoporum, &c. . . . quæ tunc cum patrimoniis nostris abstulerunt, quando sacras imagines deposuerunt, et nec responsum quodlibet exinde dederunt."

[k] Nicolaus I., Epist. ii. Ad Michael. Imperatorem; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. viii. p. 275. D:—"Oportet enim vestrum imperiale decus, quod in omnibus," &c., "ut antiquum morem, quem nostra ecclesia habuit, vestris temporibus restaurare dignemini, quatenus vicem, quam nostra sedes per episcopos vestris in partibus constitutos habuit, videlicet Thessalonicensem, qui Romanæ sedis vicem per Epirum," &c. &c.

[l] See De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. iv. c. 2, and lib. v. c. 19. § 3, and c. 20: and above, § 23. note d.

[m] Anastas. in Vita Hadrian II. (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. viii. p. 893. C, D), relating the dispute between Rome and Constantinople respecting the Bulgarians, to which part they were to belong, east or west. Rome claimed them as part of the old province of Illyricum.

BOOK III.

that might be added, shews, that this was the state of the Church till that time.

[Competition between Milan and Ravenna, and Rome.]

§ 33. During the time that Rome, on one side, stood upon these terms with [n] Constantinople; on the other side, was continually harassed by the Lombards (who had no reason to confide in it, we see, because they were not long after destroyed by it [o]): there is no marvel, if Milan, head of the Lombards [p], and Ravenna, head of the exarchate [q] (that is, of the dominion that was governed by the emperor's lieutenant there resident), did, by the secular power of their cities, set up themselves to contest with the pope about several privileges of their Churches. For, alas! what can this signify of competition for the primacy with Rome, if we compare the respect of Milan or Ravenna with that which Rome hath found among other Churches in the concernments of the whole?

[The schism between Rome and the east respecting Acacius.]

§ 34. Therefore I will mention here only one action more, carried through in so high a tune by Gelasius and other active popes, that it is much insisted upon by those [r], who would plead for the pope's infinite power if they durst, because they would not have it regular: which is the same; for what bounds can that power have, that acknowledges no rule to limit it? It is that troublesome business, that fell out in Egypt about the council of Chalcedon: when John of Alexandria, having fallen under the jealousy of the emperor and Acacius of Constantinople, goes to Rome with letters from Antiochia, to complain of the intruding of Petrus Mongus into his see; who, being an enemy to the council of Chalcedon, but pretending fair to promote those means, by which the emperor Zeno and Acacius pretended to re-unite Egypt to the Church, having never received that council,

[n] Corrected from MS.; "which," in folio edition.

[o] Conquered by Charlemagne in alliance with Pope Adrian I., A.D. 774.

[p] See Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, P. i. liv. vii. c. i. § 3, sq. pp. 337, sq.: De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. v. c. 55. § 5, lib. vi. c. 4. § 7: Cave, Anc. Church Gov., c. v. § 2.

[q] See Cave, ibid., § 4: and Marsham, Προκυλαῖον, signatur

[r] "Neque ad hæc ulla responsio dari potest," says Bellarmine, De Pontif. Rom., lib. ii. c. 14. Controv. tom. i. p. 756, C; speaking of Gelasius's letters claiming absolute supremacy for the pope over the whole Church. And see among others, Leo Allat., De Eccles. Occid. et Orient. Perp. Cons., lib. i. c. 26. § 1. pp. 439, sq.: and Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles., lib. iv. folio 189. D, sq.: &c.

was thereupon received into communion by Acacius; the rule of the Church being undispensable—whosoever communicated with heretics, to stand for a heretic to the Church, whatsoever he believe otherwise[s]. This cause having bred a world of trouble for many years, the popes never condescended to be re-united in communion to the east, till it was granted, that all the bishops of Constantinople since Acacius, though they had professed the true faith, and some of them suffered for it, should be condemned as heretics, by razing [their[t]] names out of that list, in which the godly bishops were remembered at celebrating the eucharist[u]: though the
bis. reason why they had continued communion with heretics, was only for fear of making the breaches of the Church wider and more incurable.

[It argueth no absolute power in the pope.]

§ 35. Here it may seem to have been the power of the pope, that brought even the second person of the Church to the justice of the canon; so much more evident, by how much there was less reason to insist upon the rigour of the canon, in comparison to the end to which it was subordinate, the unity of the whole. Yet to him, that reasons aright, it will easily appear, that it was no duty, that either the emperors or the bishops of Constantinople owed the popes, that made them submit to the canon; but the obligation they had to the unity of the Church, for the maintenance whereof the canon was provided: and that Zeno, taking the course that Constantius had done in the matter of Arius, to reconcile Egypt to the Church by waving the council of Chalcedon[x] for an expedient of his own (for Constantius sought no more than to reconcile all by waving of the council of Nicæa[y]), and Acacius, by communicating with heretics, did necessarily, as all offenders do, make them their superiors,

[s] The authorities for all this are mainly the letters of popes Simplicius, Felix III., Gelasius (A.D. 467—495), and of Acacius himself and others; in Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 1068, sq.:—the lives of these popes by Anastasius, ap. Labb., ibid., pp. 1065, sq.:—Evagrius, H. E., lib. iii. cc. 11, sq. And see the summary of the case, with the authorities, in Gieseler, Period II. Div. ii. c. ii. § 110: and Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov., c. vi. § 6, 7.

[t] Added from MS.

[u] See authorities for the razing of the names of Acacius and Peter Fullo from the diptychs, in Mosheim, Bk. II. Cent. v. Pt. ii. c. v. § 21. vol. i. p. 486. note 3. ed. Soames.

[x] Scil. by maintaining Peter Mongus, on no other condition than that he should accept the Ἑνωτικόν: Evagrius, H. E., lib. iii. c. 13, p. 345. ed. Reading. See Gieseler, as in note s.

[y] Sozom., H. E., lib. iv. c. 8; &c. And see Gieseler, Period II. Div. i. c. ii. § 83.

BOOK III.

who maintain the laws for the good of the whole: in fine, that whatsoever the popes did by virtue of the canon, can be no ground for any irregular power in themselves, the canon as justly maintaining the poor Britons[z] against the pope, as the pope against Zeno and Acacius.

[The fifth general council conclusive against his possessing such power.]

§ 36. But the fifth general council[a] makes full recompence for all the Church of Rome may pretend to have gained by the business of Acacius. Pope Vigilius being in Constantinople, and refusing at the summons of the emperor and council to sit, it proceeds, and condemns three articles which he had declared for[b]: and so prevails, that he himself thought best at length to concur to the act[c]; and, all this being done, is disowned by the bishops of Africk (Facundus[d] by name, whom he had set on work to write for the three articles) and Istria[e], till all was reconciled.

[The condemnation of Honorius.]

§ 37. I question not the point of heresy, either in this case, or that of Honorius; whose constitution, whereby he thought to silence the dispute concerning the two wills in our Lord Christ, made him to be condemned for a heretic in the sixth general council[f]. Only I count it a pitiful excuse

[z] See above, § 29.

[a] Conc. Constantin. II. (A.D. 553, the fifth general council): ap. Labb., Conc., tom. v. pp. 411, sq.—See Richer., Hist. Conc. Gen., c. ix. tom. i. pp. 255, sq.

[b] Conc. Constant. II. Collat. i. and ii.; ap. Labb., ibid., pp. 428, 430.—And see Collat. viii.; ibid., p. 562. D, E: "Et quia contingit Vigilium religiosissimum, in hac regia urbe degentem, omnibus interesse," &c.—The Constitutum of Vigilius defending the Tria Capitula, and sent to the emperor Justinian after the council had commenced its sittings, is in Labb., ibid., pp. 337. D, sq.

[c] The letter of Vigilius confirming the decrees of the council, is in Labb., ibid., pp. 595. D, sq. The defences of Romanist controversialists may be seen collected in the Prolegomena to Gallandius, Biblioth. PP. tom. xi. c. xiii. § 3, sq.

[d] Facundus Episc. Hermianensis Provinc. Africanæ, Pro Defensione III. Capitulorum libb. xii. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1629; and again in Biblioth. PP. Gallandii, tom. xi.: and Cont. Mocianum Scholast., ad calc. Defens. III. Capit. ed. Sirmond. The former treatise was written at the pope's request (Præfat. p. 665. ap. Galland.). The latter was written subsequently to the council, and adheres to the three Capitula, although now condemned by both pope and council.

[e] The bishops of Istria and Liguria (with many from Illyricum) still maintained the three Capitula even after the decision of the council: see Dupin's history of the whole business, Eccles. Hist., vol. v. pp. 139—145. Engl. tr.: and the "Epist. Pelagii Papæ II. ad Istriæ Episcopos schismaticos, qui damnationi trium Capitulorum non consentiebant;" ap. Labb., Conc., tom. v. pp. 615. B, sq.

[f] "Τοὺς τὸ εὐθὲς τῆς ἀληθείας δόγμα παραχαράξαντας, καὶ ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἐκδιδάξαντας τῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας ψήφῳ καταδικάσασα" (scil. ἡ πίστις τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, which the council had just affirmed), "φαμὲν... Ὀνώριον τὸν Ῥώμης, Σέργιον, Πύρρον," κ.τ.λ. Conc. Constantin. III. (A.D. 680, the sixth general council), can. i.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 1140. A. The letter of Honorius to Sergius (ap. Act. ejusd. Conc. Act. xii., Labb., ibid., pp. 928. B, sq.) is the document condemned.

to imagine, that the synod is falsified in this point[g]; the seventh synod in the last session bidding anathema to Honorius[h], and so many records testifying the same[i]. And where it is said[k], that the synod might err in point of fact—that Honorius held heresy, though not in point of right—in condemning that for heresy which is not (as the Jansenists at this day, admitting the condemnation of five propositions by the late pope, admit not, that they are contained in Jansenius his book[l]): not to dispute of that, it will appear, that the pope may be judged by the Church in other cases besides that of heresy, if Honorius, being no heretic, is by the council condemned for a heretic. Indeed there is no cause that concerns the whole Church but the whole Church

[g] So Baronius, Annal., in an. 681; tom. viii. pp. 551, sq.: whose account is, that Theodorus throughout the acts of the council erased his own name and inserted that of Honorius instead. And see the Admonitio ad Lectorem, prefixed to the canons of this council in Labbè, ibid., p. 1123. And for the various evasions adopted by Pighius, Bellarmine, and others, with the replies, the authorities quoted in Gieseler, Period II. Div. iii. c. ii. § 128. vol. ii. p. 177: and below in note i.

[h] "Ἀποκηρύξασα Σέργιον, Ὀνώριον," κ.τ.λ. Conc. Nicæn. II. (A.D. 787, reckoned as the seventh general council) Act. vii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vii. p. 555. B.

[i] E. g. Conc. Constantin. III. (A.D. 680), Act. xiii. (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. pp. 968. B, sq.), ordering the books of Honorius to be burned: and Act. xvi. (ibid., p. 1010. B), "Ὀνωρίῳ αἱρετικῷ ἀνάθεμα:" and Act. xviii. (ibid., p. 1023. B), declaring his opinion heretical. And of records distinct from the council itself, Leo II. Epist. ad Constant. Imp., confirming the council, ap. Labb., ibid., p. 1017. C, anathematizing Honorius: and Epist. ad Episcopos Hispaniæ, ibid., p. 1247. B., "Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis, non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit:" and Epist. ad Ervig. Regem Hispaniæ, ibid., p. 1252. B, "Honorius Romanus, qui immaculatam apostolicæ traditionis regulam . . . maculari consensit." Also in the Allocutio Tertia of Pope Adrian II. in Act. Conc. Constantin. IV. being the eighth general council); ap. Labb., Conc., tom. viii. p. 1091. A. Also "in the confession of faith subscribed by the following popes at their accession (Liber Diurnus, c. ii. tit. 9. professio 2), the anathema was pronounced against auctores novi hæretici dogmatis Sergii, &c. una cum Honorio, qui pravis eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit:" Gieseler as quoted in note g. And see especially Dupin, Eccl. Hist., vol. vi. pp. 72—74: and Richer, Hist. Conc. Gener., c. x. § 25. tom. i. pp. 316, sq.: quoted by Gieseler. See also Cave, Hist. Lit.: Bellarm., De Pontif. Rom., lib. iv. c. 11; Controv., tom. i. p. 988. D: and Basnage, Hist. de l'Église, P. i. liv. vii. c. 10. tom. i. pp. 391—400.

[k] "Quod si aliquis adhuc non possit adduci, ut credat corruptam esse sextam synodum; is accipiat alteram solutionem, quæ est Joannis a Turre-Cremata, lib. ii. De Ecclesia, cap. 93; qui docet, patres sextæ synodi damnasse quidem Honorium, sed ex falsa informatione, ac proinde in eo judicio errasse. Quamvis enim generale concilium legitimum non possit errare, ut neque erravit hoc sextum, in dogmatibus fidei definiendis; tamen errare potest in quæstionibus de facto." Bellarmine, as in last note, pp. 994. D, 995. E.

[l] The five propositions were condemned by Innocent X. in a bull dated May 31, 1653 (Bullar. Rom., tom. vi. P. iii. pp. 248. b, 249. a. Rom. 1760). For the history, see authorities in the notes to Mosheim, Bk. IV. Cent. xvii. sect. ii. Pt. i. c. 1. § 42—44.

BOOK III.

may judge it. Nor can any cause lightly concern a pope that concerns not the whole Church. The reason why popes have been so seldom judged, is not for want of right; but for fear of division in the Church, which makes it not expedient to use that right.

[Of other particulars alleged for the pope's power.]

§ 38. There are many particulars of less consequence pleaded for the pope's power, which I will not examine admitting a regular pre-eminence for him above all other bishops (which is seen in the recourse had to him before others in matters concerning the whole Church), but denying that infinite power, which nothing can be alleged to prove.

[The pope's pre-eminence might be enlarged or restrained by canon or custom.]

§ 39. I acknowledge indeed, that this regular pre-eminence not only might, but, supposing the Church to continue in unity, must needs be further and further determined by canon or by custom, whether enlarging or restraining it as by the canons of Sardica, allowing appeals to him in the causes of bishops[m]. For the causes of bishops do not all necessarily concern the whole Church, unless the subject of them be matter of faith; or, otherwise, that which calleth in question the unity of the Church: and then laymen's causes are no less. So an appeal to Rome, so constituted, is properly an appeal there to be sentenced in the last resort. But when recourse is had to the pope in the first place, that is no appeal, but a course to bring the cause to the sentence of the whole Church; whereof his sentence is the first part and a great prejudice to that which follows, because of the respect which all that depend upon that Church owe to his sentence.

[Schismatical to disobey it if so enlarged;]

§ 40. And this increase of the pope's power, I do think to be always a just cause of excluding from the unity of the Church for refusing obedience to it. For the unity of the Church being of God's law, and so enabling to limit the terms upon which the power of the Church is held and exercised by canonical right; it cannot be in the power of any part to cast off those laws, by which it is bounded within the compass of God's law, at pleasure: because they are the conditions, upon which the unity of the whole stands; which no part can say they will renounce, unless they may hold it upon such terms as they please.

[m] See above, § 20. note m.

CHAP. XX.

§ 41. But whether these limitations may not be so excessively abusive to the liberty of the whole, so prejudicial to the service of God in the truth of Christianity, for which they and the whole Church stands, that parts of the Church may and ought to provide for themselves and their Christianity against the oppression of them; that I refer to the last consideration[n], when I shall have shewed, how matters in difference are to be valued by the principles that are settled.

[Unless upon just and sufficient cause of abusive enlargement.]

§ 42. In the meantime I must observe, that from the time that the pope was re-imbursed of his loss of jurisdiction and possessions in those provinces, which upon his rebellion the emperor withdrew from his obedience, by the liberality of Pepin and Charlemagne, bestowing upon him the exarchate[o], which with the kingdom of the Lombards they had taken from the Greekish empire: though I cannot say, that from that time regular proceedings were laid aside in the western Churches; yet I must say, that from thence the popes had a ground to reduce the regular proceedings of councils to their own will and interest, and to introduce their own rescripts instead of all canons for law to the western Church. And this, though I must not prove here[p], yet here I may allege, why I go no further here in this dispute.

[Such abusive enlargement of it dates from the gifts of Pepin and Charlemagne.]

§ 43. It remains, that I gather up some fragments of instances, that have been produced[q] to shew, that episcopacy is not of Divine right, because from the beginning either all or some Churches have had none.

Some instances against the superiority of bishops from the records of the Church.

§ 44. Of the authors whereof I must first demand, whether the unity of the Church be of Divine right or not. For unless they will put the whole cause upon a new issue—that there is no law of God, that the Church should be one; I demand of them, how this unity could have been preserved by the equality of all presbyters, which by the hierarchy I have shewed[r] was maintained. Till they shew me this, I think myself secure of all their little objections. For if the

[Episcopacy needful to preserve the unity of the Church.]

[n] Below, at the end of c. xxxiii.

[o] Anastasius, in Vita Adrian I.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 1738. A—C. And see Gieseler, Period III. Div. i. Pt. ii. c. 2. § 5.

[p] at the end of c. xxxiii.

[q] Scil. by Blondel, Walo Messalinus (or Salmasius), &c. See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 53, sq.

[r] See Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x.

BOOK III.

hierarchy cannot be imputed to chance, or to the voluntary agreement of all Christians, as uncertain as chance; certainly episcopacy, the first ingredient of it, can be imputed to nothing but the provision of the apostles.

[What it is that a bishop can do but a priest cannot.]

§ 45. And therefore I must here renew my answer to the question that is made[s]:—supposing the superiority of bishops to consist in the power of doing some act which a priest cannot do, what act is it, that a bishop by his order can do, a priest cannot. For all priests have by their order the power of the keys: and, by virtue of the same, of baptizing, and giving the eucharist to those, whom the laws of the Church, not their private judgment, admits; unless it be in cases which their private judgment stands charged with. And that, which they shall do upon such terms, is to as good effect towards God in the inward court of conscience, as if a bishop had done it. But because there be cases that concern the unity and good estate of that particular Church whereof each man is a member; others, that may concern the whole; others, some part of the whole Church: the constitution of the Church necessarily requires in every Church a power, without which nothing of moment to the state thereof shall be of force in the outward court, as to the body of the Church. This, the chief power of the apostles; this, St. Paul's instructions to Timothy and Titus; this, the epistle[s] to the seven Churches; this, the practice of all Churches before the Reformation: settles upon the bishop. And therefore I should think, that I shewed you a peculiar act, which bishops can do and priests cannot; if I could only shew you, that according to this rule nothing is to be done without the bishop's consent. For whatsoever either law or unreprovable custom may enable a priest to do, that he doth by the consent of his bishop, involved in passing that law or admitting that custom. And hereof the bishop's peculiar right of sitting in council is full evidence; which, if the practice of the Church could justify nothing else, would be an act peculiar to the order of bishops, according to the premisses. 18

[Ancient authorities for the su-

§ 46. It was an ancient rule in the Church, that a priest should not baptize in the presence of a bishop, nor give a

[s] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., a

bishop the eucharist[t]; to shew, that it is by his leave that he acts: as Tertullian saith of the right of baptizing, *De Bapt.* cap. xvii.[u] So the canons, which allow not a priest to restore him to the communion that had done public penance in the face of the Church[x], require the consent of the bishop to acts that concern the body of it. That ancient author that writ *De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiæ*[y], among St. Jerome's works[z], reckons divers particulars; some whereof he complains, that the bishops where he lived did not suffer the priests to do[a]. Doth he therefore make bishops and priests all one? Certainly he speaks my sense and my terms, when he says, "The bishop is the priest's law[b]:" that bishops in council give law to the clergy as well as the people; out of council, that which is not otherwise determined, nothing but his order can determine.

[Superiority of bishops over priests.]

§ 47. And this is the ground of the difference between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction; comparing the bishop and presbyters of one and the same Church one with another. For the order of priesthood importing the power of the keys in baptizing, in binding and loosing in the inward court, in giving the eucharist; it is plain there is a power of order common to both. But the use of it without limiting any due bounds at the discretion of every priest, would be destructive to the unity of the Church, which I suppose. That power therefore, which provideth those limi-

[Difference between the powers of order and jurisdiction.]

[t] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 1—3; Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 2, 3; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 52. note b; Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 19, 20: and Van Espen, Jus Eccles., tom. vi. p. 185. Venet. 1781, from the canons of Neo-Cæsarea. The tract De Septem Ordinibus, as quoted below in note z, p. 103, severely condemns bishops who think "se accipere non debere eucharistiam quam presbyter benedixit:" but adding, "Nec ego dico præsentibus episcopis atque astantibus altari presbyteros posse sacramenta conficere" (ibid., p. 104).

[u] Quoted above, c. xvi. § 17. note a.

[x] See above, c. x. § 36.

[y] Judged spurious by the Benedictine editors, but not assigned by them to any other writer. Inscribed in some copies, "Ad Damasum;" in others, "Ad Rusticum Narbonensem episcopum."

[z] Op. S. Hieron., tom. v. pp. 99, sq. ed. Bened.

[a] "Nemo tunc episcoporum invidia diabolicæ tentationis inflatus irascatur in templo, si presbyteri interdum exhortentur plebem, si in ecclesiis prædicent, si plebibus, ut scriptum est, benedicant. . . . Jubentibus vobis injustissime sacerdotibus, non recte presbyter Dei benedictionis perdit officium, amittit linguæ opus, non habet confidentiam prædicandi," &c. Ibid., p. 104. in art. de Sexto Gradu Ecclesiæ qui sacerdotum ordo est. The tract begins with the minor orders.

[b] "Nec legem a me opponendam esse ei" (sc. the bishop), "qui lex est presbyteri." Id., ibid.—The article on the order of bishops, which follows in the same tract (ibid., pp. 105, sq.), certainly leaves nothing to be desired in affirming their superiority.

tations according to which the common power of the keys is lawfully exercised, whether it be properly called jurisdiction or not, is necessary to the being of every Church; even by the common power of the keys, upon which the foundation of the Church standeth.

[That some offices are common to both bishops and priests, no argument that both are one.]

§ 48. I can therefore allow the said author to complain, that priests in his parts were not suffered to do those acts, which in the east, in Illyricum, in Africk, they did do[c]. For all those parts were governed by synods of bishops. But I allow not his argument:—because a priest can celebrate the eucharist, which is more[d]. It is more to the salvation of those, that receive; toward which the eucharist immediately worketh, no less if a priest than if a bishop give it. But it is not so much to the body of the Church, as to excommunicate, or to restore him that is excommunicate. That, therefore, some offices may be done by both; and that, according to the order of the ancient Church: is no argument that both are one, but that it is no prejudice to the chief power of the bishop, that they are done by a priest.

[Confirmation, how far confined to bishops.]

§ 49. Let confirmation be the instance, for our author instances in it[e]. Certainly there was never so great necessity for it, as since all are baptized infants. For it expressly reneweth the covenant of baptism, not only in the conscience, between God and the soul, but as to the body of the Church; implying an acknowledgment of the obligation then contracted, and of the Church, to which this acknowledgment is tendered. For he, that desires baptism of the Church at years of discretion, desireth it upon those terms which the Church tendereth. And therefore he, who is baptized an in-

[c] "Prædicare eos (presbyteros) decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare, convenit reddere communionem, necesse est visitare infirmos, orare pro invalidis, atque omnia Dei sacramenta complere; præsertim cum in oriente eam consuetudinem, et in Illyrico, et in Italia, atque in Africa omnibus in locis, temporibus apostolorum fuisse manifestum est." Id., ibid.

[d] "Si presbyter Christum consecrat, cum in altario Dei sacramenta benedicit; benedicere populo non debet, qui Christum etiam meruit consecrare?" Id., ibid.—"Quæ" (sc. Corpus et Sanguinem Christi) "cum offerre licet, etiam reliqua quæ in eo sunt consecrare, quia in Christo omnis plenitudo Divinitatis corporaliter habitat. Presbyteri ergo, si necesse est, possunt chrisma conficere, quia in Corpore Ejus chrisma est. Siquidem hæc regula etiam nunc servatur a plurimis, atque in Ecclesiis multis sic ista faciunt. Tamen meæ hoc scito esse sententiæ, nulli episcopo super hoc injuriam esse faciendam, nec legem a me opponendam esse," &c., as in § 46. note b above. Id., ibid.

[e] d.

ity, and that within the unity of the Church
ts nothing necessary to the common salvation
s. But how effectual a means the solemnity of
on might be, to oblige a man to his Christianit
unity of the Church, let reason judge. Now
e[f] saith most truly, that this office is reserve
op for the preserving of unity in the Church b
ing him in his prerogative. But is that an ar
his prerogative is not original but usurped? T
ot; who acknowledge the eucharist of a priest a
to the inward man as that of a bishop, the differe
n them standing in reference to the visible body
rch. Our author acknowledgeth the same[g] that S
e (*Advers. Luciferianos*[h]) teacheth: demanding onl
ay be lawful for priests to consecrate the chrism
confirmed with, in case of necessity, which h
done in many Churches[i]; and protesting not to i
on the bishop, who, saith he, "is law to the pr
supposed St. Ambrose says, that in Egypt pries
m in the bishop's absence[l]. It is no news
ry the Great alloweth priests to confirm in Sa
iii. 26[m]: for Durandus hath made him a heretic
[*Sent.*] *Dist.* vii. *Quæst.* 4[n]; and Adrian, himself

Luciferianos: quoted above,
17. note z.
ote d.
ote f.
ote d.
bove, § 46. note b.

lib. iv. Ep. 26. (olim lib. iii.
Ad Januarium Episc. Caral
Op., tom. ii. p. 705. A. In a
letter to the same bishop (ibid
9. p. 689. A, B), he had enact
" presbyteri baptizand

BOOK III.

wards pope, *Quæst. de Confirm. in* IV. [*Sent.*], *art. ult.*[o], yields thereupon, that a pope may err in determining matter of faith. And the Instruction of the Armenians by Eugenius IV. in the council of Florence[p], acknowledges it had been done by priests, the chrism being consecrated by the bishop afore. The limitations of necessity, of the bishop's absence, of chrism consecrated by the bishop, import his allowance; and that, his prerogative: though, as the case is now that all are baptized infants, the recognizance of our Christianity then received cannot be made to so good purpose as limiting the solemnity thereof to the bishop's own hands.

[Ordination always confined to bishops.]

§ 50. I could say the same of ordination; and would say the same, if I did find any irreprovable custom for priests to ordain. The canon of Ancyra I have expounded otherwise[q]; and Eutychius his relation hath been rejected for a fable elsewhere[r].

[Such as were otherwise void, sometimes made good by the consent of the Church.]

§ 51. I find by unanswerable arguments, that the consent of the Church made ordinations good, which for the act of those, by whom they were solemnized, were utterly void. The case of Ischyras and the Meletians[s] is famous. Pretending to have been made priest by Coluthus, a schismatic bishop under Meletius; by the council which Hosius was at,

autem non est ita, sed solus episcopus est minister, nescio cur non possit dici, quod Gregorius, cum fuerit homo et non Deus, potuerit errare." Durand. de S. Portiano, In Sentent., lib. iv. Dist. vii. Qu. 4. fol. 350. E. Paris. 1508.

[o] "De facto Gregorii dico, primo quod si per ecclesiam Romani intelligant caput ejus, puta pontifex, certum est, quod possit errare, et in iis quæ tangunt fidem, hæresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo; . . non tamen dico Gregorium hic errasse; sed evacuare intendo impossibilitatem errandi quam alii asserunt." Hadrian VI. Papa, Quæst. de Sacramentis in Quartum Sentent. Librum, De Sacram. Confirm. in fin., folio 26. b. Rom. 1522.

[p] "Cum ceteras unctiones simplex sacerdos valeat exhibere, hanc non nisi episcopus debet conferre. . . . Legitur tamen aliquando per apostolicæ sedis dispensationem ex rationabili et urgente admodum causa simplicem sacerdotem chrismate per episcopum confecto hoc administrasse confirmationis sacramentum." Decret. Eugenii Papæ IV. ad Armenos in Conc. Florentino; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiii. p. 536. B, C.

[q] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 54, 60.

[r] Ibid., § 54, 57, sq.: and see Pearson's Vindic. Ignatianæ, P. i. c. xi. § ii. vol. i. pp. 282, sq. Oxf. 1852.

[s] "Ἰσχύρα, ὃν ἤγαγον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, λέγοντος ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτερον, ὃς οὐκ ἐστι πρεσβύτερος. Ὑπὸ γὰρ Κολλούθου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπὴν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου Ὁσίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων κελευσθέντος πρεσβυτέρου εἶναι, καθὸ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, κατεστάθη· καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν πάντες οἱ ὑπὸ Κολλούθου κατασταθέντες ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰσχύρας λαϊκὸς ὤφθη." S. Athanas., Apol. cont. Arianos, § 76: Op., tom. i. p. 193. A, B.—See Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., Sect. iii. P. ii. § De Ordinationibus, pp. 167—169; and P. iii. ibid., pp. 350, 351.

he is made a layman with the rest of the Meletians[t]. And upon this account Athanasius (*Apolog.* ii.[u]) insists, that there could be no sacrilege committed in breaking his chalice, because there is neither consecration nor Church among schismatics. Yet were these ordinations admitted for good by the council of Nicæa, provided they stood to the order of it[x]. Therefore Athanasius excepts further, that Meletius did not give up Ischyras his name in the list of his clergy[y]. The same had been the case of the Donatists, had they been admitted by the Church, every one in his order; as I said Melchiades pope was content they should be[z]. The same is the case, which Leo I. resolves Rusticus bishop of Narbonne in, *Epist.* xcii. cap. ii.[a]; allowing those ordinations to stand good upon certain terms, which of themselves were void. If it could appear, that the Church did at the first accept for bishops of Alexandria, whomsoever twelve presbyters of his Church should instal[b]; I would conclude him no less bishop by the consent of his suffragans, whom the priests, advancing to the higher throne, had set over themselves, than had three of them consecrated him by imposition of hands. But, finding that a fable[c], and no other instances alleged upon any good ground, I conclude St. Jerome[d] and St. Chry-

[t] S. Athanas., ibid.

[u] "Οὔτε γὰρ πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὔτε ἐκκλησίαν ἔχει, οὔτε ποτὲ ποτήριον ἐκλάσθη, ἀλλὰ πάντα ψεύδεται καὶ πλάττεται." Id., ibid., C. But it would seem from the earlier part of the chapter, and from § 64. p. 181. F, as if *the fact* of the chalice having been broken at all or of his having had a "Church," was also denied by S. Athanasius.

[x] See in Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 41. note m: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 62. note l: and above, c. x. § 32. note o.

[y] "Τούτους Μελίτιος καὶ παρόντας παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Ἰσχύρα οὔτ' ἐμνημόνευσεν, οὔτε ὅλως ἐν τῷ Μαρεώτῃ ἐσχηκέναι πώποτε ὡμολόγησε." S. Athan., Apol. c. Arian., § 72; Op., tom. i. p. 188. B, C.

[z] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 62. note m: and above, c. x. § 32. note p.

[a] "Si qui autem clerici ab istis pseudo-episcopis in eis ecclesiis ordinati sunt, quæ ad proprios episcopos pertinebant, et ordinatio eorum cum consensu et judicio præsidentium facta est, potest rata haberi," &c. S. Leo M., Epist. clxvii. (olim xcii.), Ad Rustic. Episc. Narbon., Respons. ad Inquis. 1; Op., tom. i. p. 1420: cited by Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., Sect. iii. P. ii. § De Ordinationibus, pp. 166, 167.—Bingham, II. iii. 7, argues, that the "pseudo-episcopi" were merely bishops "who had no legal or canonical right to their places."

[b] "Decrevit item, ut, vacante patriarchatu, eligerent sive ex quacumque regione sive ex duodecim illis presbyteris sive aliis, ut res ferebat, virum aliquem eximium, eumque patriarcham crearent," &c. &c. Eutychii Origen.; ap. Seldeu, Op., tom. ii. p. 422.—See Pearson's Vindic. Ignatianæ, P. i. c. xi. § ii. vol. i. pp. 269, sq.

[c] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 58—60.

[d] "Quid enim facit excepta ordi-

BOOK III.

sostom's[e] credit unquestionable; witnessing no more than they might see, and affirming the power of ordaining to be the bishop's peculiar, as indeed most concerning the state of his Church.

[Alleged instances of ordinations by priests.]

§ 52. It is said, that Novatus, presbyter of the Church of Carthage, made Felicissimus deacon of that Church (St. Cyprian, *Epist.* xlix.[f]); but it is said also, that he made Novatianus bishop of Rome[g]: both by the hands of his faction, whose names you have there, *Epist.* lv.[h] It is said, that, Eustathius being removed from the see of Antiochia in the year 328, Paulinus, who was not made bishop there till 362, governed the Church there with his fellow presbyters; as also, when Meletius was set aside a while after, did Flavianus and Diodorus: Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 21[i], ii. 28[k], iv. 12[l], 14[m]. Surely, having Catholic bishops on all sides, they might govern the widowhood of the Church without meddling with the bishop's peculiar. It is said, that Apollinaris was made bishop of Laodicea by a part of the clergy and people; and by him Vitalis, bishop of the party which he had gained at Antiochia (Theodoret, v. 3[n]): that the Novatians

natione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" S. Hieron., Epist. ci. Ad Evang.; Op., tom. iv. P. ii. p. 803.

[e] "Ἃ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἁρμόττει· τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους." S. Chrys., Hom. xi. in 1 Tim. iii. 8, § 1: Op., tom. xi. p. 604. D.

[f] "Ipse est qui Felicissimum satellitem suum diaconum, nec permittente me nec sciente, sua factione et ambitione constituit. Et cum sua tempestate Romam quoque ad evertendam Ecclesiam navigans similia illic et paria molitus est.... Qui istic adversus Ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit." S. Cyprian., Epist. lii. (Pamel. xlix.), Ad Cornelium; Epist. p. 97.—See Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron, Sect. iii. P. iii. § De Ordinationibus, p. 350.

[g] See last note, and Fell ad loc.

[h] S. Cypr., Epist. lix. (Pamel. lv.), Ad Cornel.; Epist. pp. 132, 133.

[i] Theodoret, H. E., lib. i. c. 21. p. 53. A: mentioning the banishment of Eustathius. For Paulinus' consecration to the see of Antioch, see Id., ibid., lib. iii. c. 5. p. 128. B, C.—See Blondel, as in note f, p. 352.

[k] Id., ibid., lib. ii. c. 28. p. 114. C, speaks of the expulsion of some bishops from their sees for not joining in the condemnation of Aetius: but says nothing of either the case of Eustathius or that of Meletius. Thorndike was misled by Blondel (as in last note); the passage cited by the latter with a wrong reference, being really from lib. ii. c. 31. p. 121. A, B:—"Τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἔτη μετά γε τὰς κατ' Εὐσταθίου τοῦ πανευφήμου γεγεννημένας ἐπιβουλὰς, διετέλεσαν τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς ἀνεχόμενοι βδελυρίας."

[l] Id., ibid., lib. iv. c. 13. (12 appears to be a mistake, from Blondel, p. 353) p. 165. D. relates the expulsion of Meletius. That Flavianus and Diodorus governed the Church of Antioch during his absence, see Id., ibid., c. 25. pp. 187. D—188. D.—See Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., Sect. iii. P. ii. § De Ordinationibus, p. 183.

[m] Id., ibid., lib. iv. c. 14. p. 166. C, D. treats of Eusebius of Samosata, expelled at the same time with Meletius. —See Blondel as in last note.

[n] Id., ibid., lib. v. c. 3. pp. 200. B, sq.: and see also c. 4. p. 202. C.—See Blondel as in note l, P. iii. pp. 356, 357.

had their churches in Constantinople and the adjacent provinces, yet never were headed by any bishop that fell from the Church, and therefore made themselves all ministers [o]. As if Apollinaris could not as well find bishops to ordain him, bearing up the party that chose him; as Audius, in Epiphanius *Hær.* lxx. [p], found a bishop as ready as himself to fall from the Church, and to make him a bishop. As if the Novatians, being in likelihood planted from Rome, could not
186 have their bishops ordained by their party there. Certainly it is a desperate attempt to persuade us [q], that in the time of Gregory of Tours any priest should ordain, as bishop of Clermont in Auvergne; because he reporteth (*Hist.* v. 5 [r]), that one of them, being chosen by a party of the clergy and people, kept possession for above twenty years. For, pretending that the neighbour bishops did him wrong in not consecrating him, he might by favour at court hold the possession which he had got, not meddling with imposition of hands.

§ 53. But the Christianity of Scotland [s] makes a great noise; even during those times, when it cannot be made to appear, that any Scots dwelt in Scotland [t]. Which makes me marvel, that this objection should be found in the Preface to the X English Histories [u]. For that the relations

[Twysden's mistakes about the Culdees.]

[o] So Blondel, as in note l, p. 357: affirming, that "Consimilis Novatianorum per Thracias, Bithyniam, Phrygiam, aliasque Orientalis imperii provincias sparsorum conditio fuisse videtur: cum enim nulla se immiti factioni Ecclesia addixerit, nullus ei cum adjuncto clero Episcopus nomen (quod sciamus) dederit, sola ubique in partes cleri plebisque ab unitate desciscentia segmenta, quæ postea sibimet Episcopos constituerint, transiisse necesse est: quorum postea longius deducta successio ad posteros dimanaverit." He carefully restricts his statement to the *eastern* Church.—The Novatians certainly *had* a bishop (so called) at Constantinople; as appears (among other numberless authorities) from Sozomen, H. E., lib. vi. c. 24. p. 670. B; and Socrates, lib. ii. c. 33. and lib. v. c. 21. pp. 142. B, 280. C. And the only hint of their wanting bishops seems an inference in Tillemont (Mém. Eccl., tom. iii. art. Novatiens, note ii. pp. 747, 748) from an interpretation put by Morinus upon an expression of Pacian's.

[p] "Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου (Αὐδίου) τελευτὴν γεγόνασι σὺν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, Οὐρανιός τις τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γοτθίας δὲ ἔσχε τινάς." S. Epiph., Adv. Hær., lib. iii. tom. i. Hær. lxx. Audiani, § 15: Op., tom. i. p. 827. D.

[q] So Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., Sect. iii. P. iii. § De Ordinationibus, pp. 358, sq.

[r] Greg. Turonens., Hist. Francor., lib. iv. (v. in the text is a mistake) cc. 5, sq., pp. 145, sq., ed. Ruinart.

[s] Blondel, as in note q, pp. 367, sq.: and Presbyterian controversialists generally.

[t] See Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. xv.; Works, vol. vi. p. 105, and pp. 148—151: and Stillingfleet's Orig. Britann., c. v. pp. 277, sq.

[u] Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X, .. ex vetustis MSS. nunc primum in lucem editi, fol. Londin. 1652. Sir Roger Twysden was the author of the preface.

BOOK III.

of Hector Boise[x] or John Maire[y] or Buchanan[z] (as ignorant as his predecessors, though in better Latin) should be swallowed by those that could not judge, though it had been against their interest, it had not been strange. But that a man of such skill in all antiquities should repeat an ungrounded relation of certain priests called Culdei, that made their own bishops, without any mark of historical truth upon it[a]; is an argument of more will than skill to do mischief in the Church. But after Christianity was planted as well among the Picts as the Scots in Scotland by St. Columb, it is argued[b], that the bishops of Duresme and others in England, that sprung from that plantation, were made by priests only, of St. Columb's monastery in his island. Which men of learning would not do, if common sense could persuade them not to employ their learning to make men believe that it is not light at noon. St. Columb himself is condemned by the bishops of Ireland of St. Patrick's plantation to penance, for having a hand in blood; as you may see by the Collections already quoted[c]. A bishop's see is planted in the island where he builds his monastery. Shall we imagine St. Columb made him a bishop, who lived and died a priest and an abbot; or the bishops that sent St. Columb upon this worthy employment for an abatement or commutation of his penance? It was the time when St. Kentigern, his good friend, went to Rome to clear himself that he was made but by one bishop; as his life relateth[d]. Is there any age, in which it can be said that there was Christianity among the Scots and not bishops, unless it be the time of Buchanan's fables? And therefore, though (as Bede saith[e]) that monastery ruled even the bishops, for the reverence of their learning and holiness; yet, for the authority of ecclesiastical proceedings, there is no doubt to be made, that such things

[x] Hect. Boethius, Boece, or Boeis, Hist. Scot., lib. vi. p. 99. Paris. 1574.

[y] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 53. note f.

[z] Buchan., Rer. Scot., lib. iv. Reg. 35; Works, tom. i. p. 69. ed. Ruddiman: quoted by Twysden, Pref. in X. Script. p. vi.: as is also Boethius. Major (or Mair) is cited by Blondel.

[a] Twysden, Pref. in X. Script., pp. vi., sq.

[b] Id., ibid., pp. viii., sq.

[c] Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. xvii. Works, vol. vi. pp. 467, 468.

[d] See above, § 29. note a.

[e] "Habere autem solet ipsa insula (de Hii) rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus jur[is] [illegible] omnis provincia, et ipsi [illegible] inusitato, debeant [illegible] H. E. Angl., [illegible] Smith.

CHAP. XX.

must come from the bishops: though there is no mention of them, because neither Bede nor any soul could think there would ever be any man so extravagant as to question it.

[His Preface to the *Decem Scriptores* strangely astray on this subject.]

§ 54. Yet that learned Preface argueth, that certainly the Culdei in Scotland had the power of making their bishop or bishops from this beginning[f]; and that they held it till Turgot was made bishop of St. Andrews 1108[g]: that Ninianus bishop of Galloway was no otherwise made, because Plecthelm was ordained upon a new account afterwards, which certainly can be imputed to no other reason than this[h]: that Wine, bishop of Winchester, in Bede iii. 28[i], was the only regularly ordained bishop of his time[k]; which cannot be true otherwise. A thing to be wondered at, that so knowing a man should look so far for a reason evidently false, having a true one in the text of Bede before his eyes. For what is more evident, than that the English bishops of Augustin's plantation had their ordination from him, not from any priests[l]? But if from him, then from one bishop: which was not regular; the Nicene canon requiring the representatives of the province[m], the apostles' canon two at least if not three[n]. Whether St. Gregory and his successors intended, that their power, giving Augustin his commission, should supply the formality of the canon; or supposed, that the Welsh bishops should join with him[o] (which afterwards, upon the difference that fell out between them, either they would not grant, or he would not desire): the consecration of the bishops of that plantation must needs be irregular, because it came from Augustin alone. Nor need

[f] Twysden, Pref. in X. Script., pp. vi., sq.

[g] Id., ibid., pp. vii., xiv., &c.

[h] Id., ibid., pp. xi., xii.

[i] "Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo *Vine*, in tota Britannia canonice ordinatus episcopus." Bede, H. E. Angl., lib. iii. c. 28. pp. 137, 138.

[k] Twysd., Pref. in X. Script., p. x.

[l] See S. Greg. M., Epist. ad Augustinum, Epist. lib. xi. Indict. iv. Ep. lxiv., Respons. ad Interrog. viii.; Op., tom. ii. pp. 1155. D, 1156. A, giving him leave to consecrate bishops by himself, if other bishops were not to be had.

[m] "Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, . . ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων γενομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι. Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γενομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ." Conc. Nicæn. I. (A.D. 323), can. iv.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 29. D, E.

[n] "Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν." Can. Apost., can. i.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 25. A.

[o] He seems to have expected the bishops of *Gaul* to join with S. Augustin in consecrating: see his letter as quoted in note l.

BOOK III.

we any other reason, why Wilfrid went for his consecration into France; as the same Bede relateth [p]. For that there was the same irregularity also among the Welsh bishops, appears by St. Kentigern; who went to Rome to purge it, as his life relateth [q]. And therefore, though Wine, having been regularly ordained in France (as Malmesbury saith, *De Gestis Pontif.* ii.[r]), joined with him two Welsh bishops, to consecrate regularly; yet the irregularity, which might be in the consecrating of the said bishops, might also move Wilfrid rather to go into France, than to rest content with the same. But that Ninian, being a Welsh bishop, at such time as the Welsh had other bishops, should be ordained by priests; because a written copy (*Hist. Dunelm. in Biblioth. Cotton.*) says, after his time, that Galloway had yet no bishop [s]: is a conjecture too slight for a man of that knowledge. For there is appearance enough, that under the Welsh the see was translated to Glasgow, for Kentigern, after Ninian [t]; and that Plecthelm was first bishop of Galloway under the Saxons, after that the kingdom of Cumberland was become English [u]. 187

[The Culdei no other than canons.]

§ 55. Of the Culdei in Scotland, whatsoever is said before the plantation of St. Columb, I challenge for a mere fable [x]. After it, though Bede [y] saith, that his monastery "after an unusual way" ruled even the bishops: yet, where there were bishops, no reason can presume that their authority did not ordain; though they thought fit, that the knowledge of the monastery whence they came should direct whom. And therefore, whatsoever the rights of these Culdei in Scotland might afterwards be, it cannot weigh a straw towards the cause of episcopacy, because never extant in the Church of Scotland but under it. They, that shall peruse what the late

[p] Bed., H. E. Angl., lib. iii. c. 28. p. 137.

[q] See above, § 29. note n.

[r] "Homine Anglo, sed apud Gallos ordinato." Gul. Malmesb., De Gestis Pontif. Anglor., lib. ii. p. 241; inter Rer. Anglic. Script. post Bedam, Francof. 1601. For the statement about the Welsh bishops, see Bede as in note i above.

[s] "Expressim Historia Dunelmensis (ex. MS. in Biblioth. Cotton.) refert annum 664, id est diu post Nyniam, 'Candida Casa necdum episcopum habuerat.'" Twysd., Præfat. in X. Script., p. xii.

[t] See Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. xiv. Works, vol. vi. pp. 84, 85; c. xv. ibid., pp. 225, sq.

[u] See Ussher, ibid., c. xv. Works, vol. vi. pp. 202—206, 254; c. xvii. p. 516.

[x] Scil. the stories alleged by Twysden, Blondel, &c.

[y] See above, § 53. note e.

lord primate hath written in his Antiquities of the British Churches[z], and from his information Sir H. Spelman in his Glossary[a], will not allow them to be any other than canons, that were to attend upon the service of God in the Church. Which whether or no (before the division of dioceses in Scotland) they might have that right in advancing of bishops to all sees, which the clergy of every Church had in respect to their own Church; I leave to their antiquaries to determine.

[The Goths according to Philostorgius.]

§ 56. The extracts of Philostorgius[b] I give more credit to, than to any thing that hath been said of the Scottish Culdei. And they I admit relate (ii. 5[c]), that the Goths, who dwelt on the north of the Black Sea, had Christianity some seventy years before Ulphilas was made their bishop. For, having carried some of the clergy captives in an inroad, they were by them taught Christianity; saith Philostorgius. But they might have priests ordained by the next bishops, all having that power in that case; or they might have other bishops before Theophilus, whom the ecclesiastical histories reckon at the council of Nicæa before Ulphilas[d]. The want of records will not evidence, that those clergy did all acts of ecclesiastical power before; or made themselves bishops to do what themselves could not do, that is, give them the power which they had not themselves.

[Chorepiscopi.]

§ 57. I am secure of all that can be said from the state of rural bishops, called Chorepiscopi[e] in the ancient Church; not doubting, that any bishop may communicate any part of his power within his own Church, the rule and custom of the whole Church enabling him to do it. Socrates[f] and Sozo-

[z] Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. xv. pp. 183, 184; and pp. 239, sq.

[a] "Auditum est hoc nomen etiam extra Albaniam, ut me admonuit vir sagacissimus D. Jacobus Ussher Episc. Mediens.; utpote in *Entili* sive *Berdseya* insula ubi monachis, et in Hibernia ubi presbyteris secularibus, est attributum. . . . Hic (in Hibernia) in majoribus Ultoniensium Ecclesiis (ut in Ardmachana, et Ecclesia de Clunish sive Cluain ynish, Clochorensis diœceseos) presbyteros qui choro inservientes Divina celebrabant officia *Colideos* eorumque præsidem *Priorem Colideorum* appellatum esse novimus." Sir H. Spelman, Glossar. Archæologicum, sub voce Culdei, p. 156. Lond. 1687; first edition, fol. Lond. 1626: proceeding to quote authorities for the statement.—Du Cange, Glossar. sub voce Colidei seu Culdei, &c., draws the same conclusion.

[b] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 53.

[c] Quoted before in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid., note d.

[d] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid., note i.

[e] See ibid., § 54—61.

[f] Socrates does not mention this in the parallel chapter to that of Sozomen

BOOK III.

menus[g] testify, that, whereas generally there were no bishops but in cities, in Cyprus they were settled in boroughs. I have elsewhere[h] observed the same in Africk and Ireland. Either cities were something else there, than in other countries; or else the number of cities could not be so great as the number of Churches in the numerous African synods, and when St. Patrick founded as many Churches in Ireland as there are days in the year[i]. Was this any breach upon St. Paul's rule or practice, settling Churches in cities[j]? Divide a province or sovereignty into more or fewer Churches, it weighs the same to the whole Church; not according to the number of those, that vote in their own synods: unless the council of Trent could oblige Christendom by a plurality of them that voted there. One diocese of Lincoln will better allow half a dozen rural bishops to be cut out of it, than many cities in some parts can have bishops. In a word, the rule of the Church supposeth the act of some state, which it cannot regulate. And is it then strange, supposing the superiority of bishops, so much differing in jurisdiction though for order the same, as I have said[k], that some of them should have a bishop under him (that is, answerable to him immediately, and to the synod of the province by him, though according to the canons of the same), with power to ordain priests, according as the said synods should allow or withdraw it? 188

[Schismatical to reject episcopacy, whether an apostolical ordinance or not, as being the mean to the unity of the Church.]

§ 58. I will say further, that, supposing all that I have said[l] (of the hierarchy to be an ordinance of the apostles, because received by all) to be a mere imagination of mine own, but granting the unity of the Church to be of God's law, and the means of maintaining itself to be the consent of the Church, and this consent executed by the establishment of episcopacy through the whole Church, I can by no means excuse those that go about to put it down from being schis-

referred to in note g below, viz. lib. v. c. 22. pp. 282. D, sq. Nor does Le Quien, Or. Christ., De Diœc. Antioch. et Prov. Ins. Cypri, tom. ii. p. 1043, making the same statement with that above in the text, quote any other authority for it but Sozomen. Le Quien (ibid., and p. 1011) alleges a similar custom of the Arabian and the Isaurian Christians.

[g] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 18. note o.

[h] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 18.

[i] See Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. xvii. Works, vol. vi. p. 518: and above, Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 18.

[j] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 15, sq.

[k] Above, § 47.

[l] Above, c. xvi. § 7, sq.

matics: whether, upon an erroneous conscience, they imagine that to be a transgression of God's law, which the whole Church for so many ages embracing maketh evident to be according to God's law; or whether, God having commanded the unity of His Church, and His Church having introduced it for a mean to preserve that unity, they think it lawful for themselves to refuse it, not believing it to be against God's law, and therefore within the power of the Church to appoint it. For whatsoever can be said of the several customs which several Churches allowed, cannot take place in that, which is supposed to be settled and received in all Churches. Nor is it possible, that the Church should continue one, as a visible society and body in the visible communion of the same offices of Christianity; if it be free for the parts of it to withdraw themselves from the laws, which have been received by the whole, to limit the circumstances of their communion though not the conditions of it.

What offices every order, by God's law, or by canon law, ministereth.

§ 59. I have but one point more to mention, before I leave this subject; concerning what offices every degree is, by God's law, or by canon law, able to minister in the Church: necessary here to be mentioned, where I have shewed, what persons are enabled to give law to the Church, and to do by consequence those acts wherein the execution of law consisteth. For by the premisses, the truth of that, which I have proposed in the Right of the Church[m], more clearly appears than it could appear there;—that the offices of Christianity, which several degrees are enabled to minister, do argue the interest of those respective degrees in the government of the Church.

[Ordinations and excommunications reserved to the bishop.]

§ 60. Ordinations therefore [are] wholly reserved to the bishop, as not to be made without his consent; saving such ordinations of inferior ministers, as, not much concerning the state of his Church, he may by way of delegation refer to his presbyters, or rural bishops[n]. Excommunications like-

[m] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 13, sq.

[n] "Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ." Conc. Ancyran. (A.D. 314), can. xiii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 1461. A.—"Τοὺς . . . χωρεπισκόπους . . . ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, . . καθιστᾷν δὲ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ ἐφορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγώγῃ· μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾷν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου." Conc.

BOOK III.

wise, as concerning the being of every Christian as a member of the Church [o].

[How far presbyters concur to the ordaining of presbyters and deacons.]

§ 61. As for the assistance, concurrence, and consent of the presbyters of each cathedral Church, in and to the ordination of presbyters and deacons, I refer myself to that which I have said elsewhere [p]; seeing it were a thing ridiculous to require, that all the presbyters of each diocese should concur to all such ordinations [q].

[The right of synod, clergy, and people, respectively, in the ordination of bishops.]

§ 62. As for the ordaining of bishops, the rule is plain;—that, being a part of the provincial synod, no mere bishop is to be ordained without the consent of the synod, the bishop of the mother city always concurring; though, all reason requiring that he who is to govern be taken out of the bosom of those whom he is to govern, there is a right and privilege of nomination due to the clergy, and of approbation or suffrage to the people of the Church [r]. For it is a thing most certain, that the interest of the people in the elections of bishops in the ancient Church (which is still more clear in the election of presbyters) was grounded only upon the knowledge, which they must needs have, of persons proposed, either to approve them (which was called their suffrage) or otherwise [s]; not that they had any right to go before their leaders, the clergy, in nomination, or to oblige the consent of the synod of the province: though it is true, that many times they did prevent both [t], and prevail; and might without inconvenience so do, when the eminence of some person was so discernable, that their grosser judgments could not mistake in the choice; though transgressing their rank, in demanding even the worthiest before their turn came. The same rule holds in the ordaining of superior bishops, seeing they have all their Church, their people, their clergy, and their synod. The difference that St. Augustin

Antioch. (A.D. 341), can. x.; ap. Labb., ibid., tom. ii. p. 565. C, D.—So also Balsamon and Zonaras on these canons, ap. Bevereg., Synodic., tom. i. pp. 338, 339: and Isidor. Hispal., De Offic. Eccles., lib. ii. c. 6. p. 599. C. ed. Du Breul.—See above in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii.: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 44—67.

[o] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 11—13: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 52.

[p] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 9—11, 19.

[q] Corrected from MS.; "ordinances," in folio edition.

[r] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 5, 6, 21:—Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 75, 76.

[s] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 12—18: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 71—76.

[t] As in the celebrated instances of S. Ambrose and S. Augustin: see Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 17. notes m, n.

(*Breviculo Collationis*, iii. *diei*[u]) observes in the consecrating of the pope—that it is done by the bishop of Ostia, not by any metropolitan,—is an exception to a rule. So
189 was Dionysius ordained in the year 259, if we believe the acts of St. Laurence[v]. And, therefore, that Pelagius I. was ordained by two bishops and a priest of Ostia (as his life in Anastasius[x] relateth), by the strictness of the Nicene canon voids it[y]. For how can he have carried the greater part of the bishops? The condescension of the apostles' canon[z], and consent *ex post facto*, might make it good and valid; by the same reason as afore[a]. The state of particular Christians is not of such consequence to the Church, that it should be regularly the business of a synod; though for the assistance, concurrence, and consent of the clergy of each Church, I refer myself to that which I have said elsewhere[b], and which would be too particular to be debated in this abridgement.

[Absolution, and celebrating the eucharist, acts of a priest; preaching and baptizing, also of a deacon.]

§ 63. As for the matter of penance in things that come not to the knowledge of the Church, I have no cause to repent me of that which I have said in the Right of the Church[c]: where I have shewed, that penance and absolution, in the inward court of the conscience, extends as far as the communion of the eucharist, from which penance excludes, and to which absolution restores; that all priests, and none but priests, receive by their ordination power of celebrating the eucharist, that is to say, of consecrating and communicating the same; and that it cannot be done by any other without very great sacrilege; and that, for an argument of the power of the keys in the hand of every priest, though limitable by the rule and custom of the Church to the inward court of the conscience: that the offices of preaching

[u] "Sicut nec Romanæ Ecclesiæ (episcopos) ordinat aliquis episcopus metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis episcopus." S. Aug., Brev. Coll. cum Donatistis, Collatio Tertii Diei, § 29; Op., tom. ix. p. 571. A.—Quoted by Blondel, Apol. pro Sent. Hieron., Sect. iii. P. iii. § De Ordinationibus, p. 366.

[v] "Et ordinaverunt venerabilem virum Dionysium, eumque consecravit Maximus Ostiensis Episcopus." Act. S. Laurentii, in fin.: ap. Surium, Vitæ SS., Aug. 10. p. 99.—Quoted by Blondel as in last note.

[x] "Dum non essent episcopi qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, . . et Andreas presbyter de Ostia; et ordinaverunt eum pontificem." Anastas., in Vita Pelagii I. A.D. 555; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. v. p. 787. C.—Quoted by Blondel as in note u.

[y] See above, § 54. note m.

[z] See above, § 54. note n.

[a] See above, § 51.

[b] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii.: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii.

[c] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii.

BOOK III.

and baptizing are regularly communicable to deacons, but in case of necessity even to those of the people[d], always by delegation from their superiors the bishops: in sign whereof, neither was it the custom that any man should consecrate the eucharist, preach, or baptize, in the bishop's presence, but himself, or by his appointment[e].

[Reading the Scriptures, and singing the psalms, the deacon's office.]

§ 64. As for the reading of the Scriptures, and the singing of psalms in the church; it is so well known to have been the deacon's office in the ancient Church, that there were several ranks of deacons appointed for those several works, *Lectores et Psaltæ*[f] (which now, like those in the Church of Rome, help to make the inferior orders): the rule of the Church being grounded upon undeniable wisdom, and the authority of St. Paul, forbidding novices to be promoted; that exercise in the inferior offices of the clergy might be a condition requisite to advance unto superior degrees in the clergy.

[1 Tim. iii. 6.]

[Whether priests only can celebrate marriage.]

§ 65. Now, for the celebrating and blessing of marriage by priests only, I must go no further at present; because, having shewed that it is to be allowed by the Church[g], I have not yet shewed, that it is to be solemnized by the blessing of the Church[h].

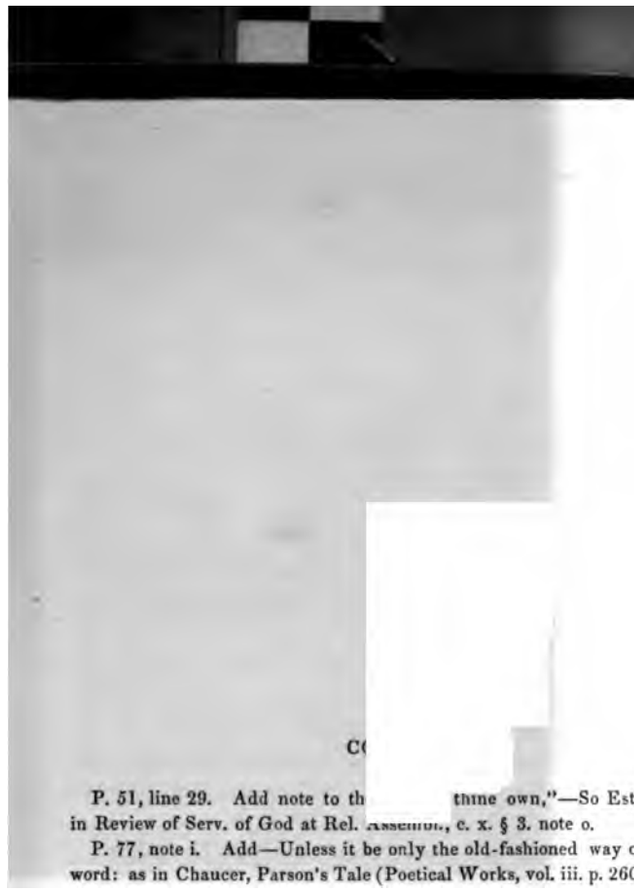
[d] So in folio edition.

[e] See above, § 46. note t: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 52. note b: Prim. Gov., c. x. § 1—3: Review of Prim. Gov., c. x. § 2, 3.

[f] See Serv. of God at Rel. Assembl., c. x. § 11, sq.: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 70.—Whether, in the first two centuries of the Church, the readers were deacons or presbyters or what else, being first known as a distinct order from both in the time of Tertullian; see Bingham, III. v. 1, 2. That the Psalmistæ or ψάλται were a distinct order from the Lectores after the latter had become a distinct order themselves (although they are, while the ψάλται are not, among the minor orders of the present Church of Rome): see Bingham, III. vii. 1. In the Apostolic Canons (can. xlii. and lxviii., ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. pp. 36. B, 40. E) the minor orders mentioned are the ὑποδιάκονος, the ἀνάγνωστης, and the ψάλτης; and none besides: to which the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. viii. cc. 16—31; ap. Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. i. pp. 411—417) add the deaconess, making however no provision for the ordination of the ψάλτης as of the others. Thomassin (Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl., P. I. lib. ii. c. xxx. § 1—4. tom. i. pp. 319, 320) determines, precisely in Thorndike's sense, that "nihil probabilius quam veluti quasdam portiones (minores ordines) esse diaconatûs, aliis aliisque temporibus et necessitatibus ab eo discerptas;" and that "fuisse in minoribus ordinibus veluti tyrocinium quoddam, ubi diutius ad sacras literas et ad pietatem exercitati, ad diaconatum deinde et ad superiores ordines pervenirent."

[g] Above, in c. xiii.

[h] Below in c. xxx. § 17.



C(

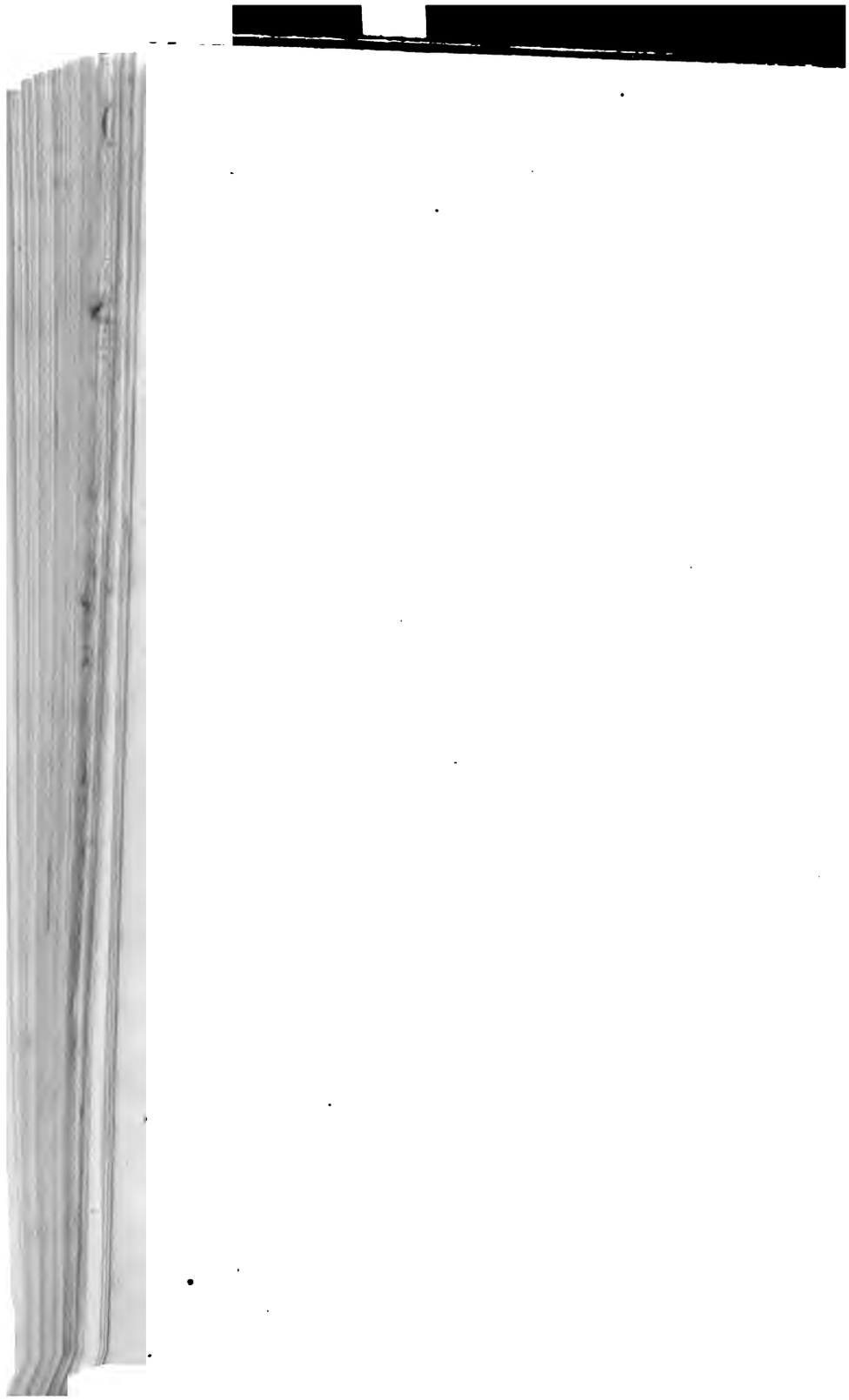
P. 51, line 29. Add note to th thine own,"—So Estius, as quoted in Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Assemb., c. x. § 3. note o.

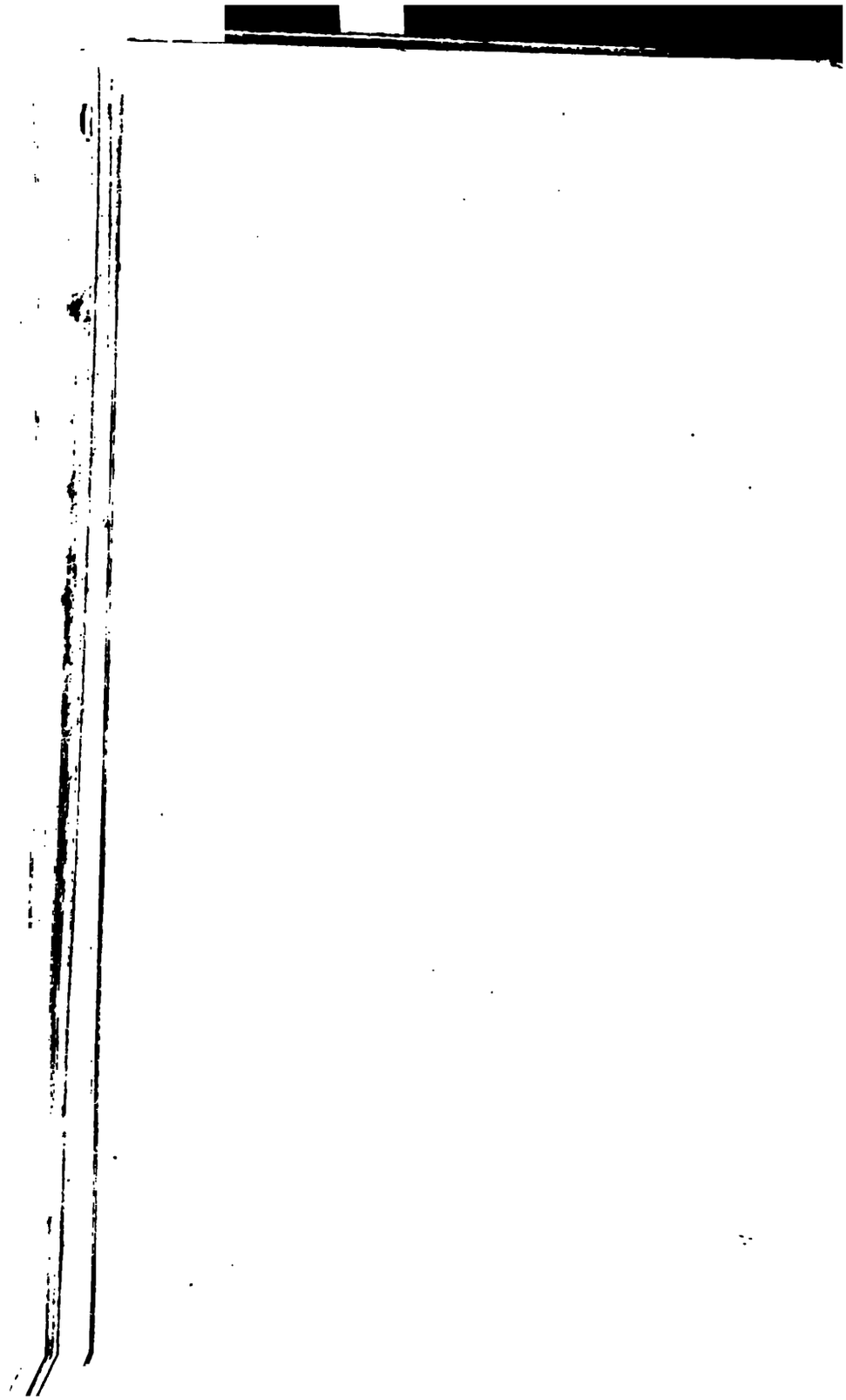
P. 77, note i. Add—Unless it be only the old-fashioned way of spelling the word: as in Chaucer, Parson's Tale (Poetical Works, vol. iii. p. 260. Lond. 1845), "The *spices* of penance ben three."

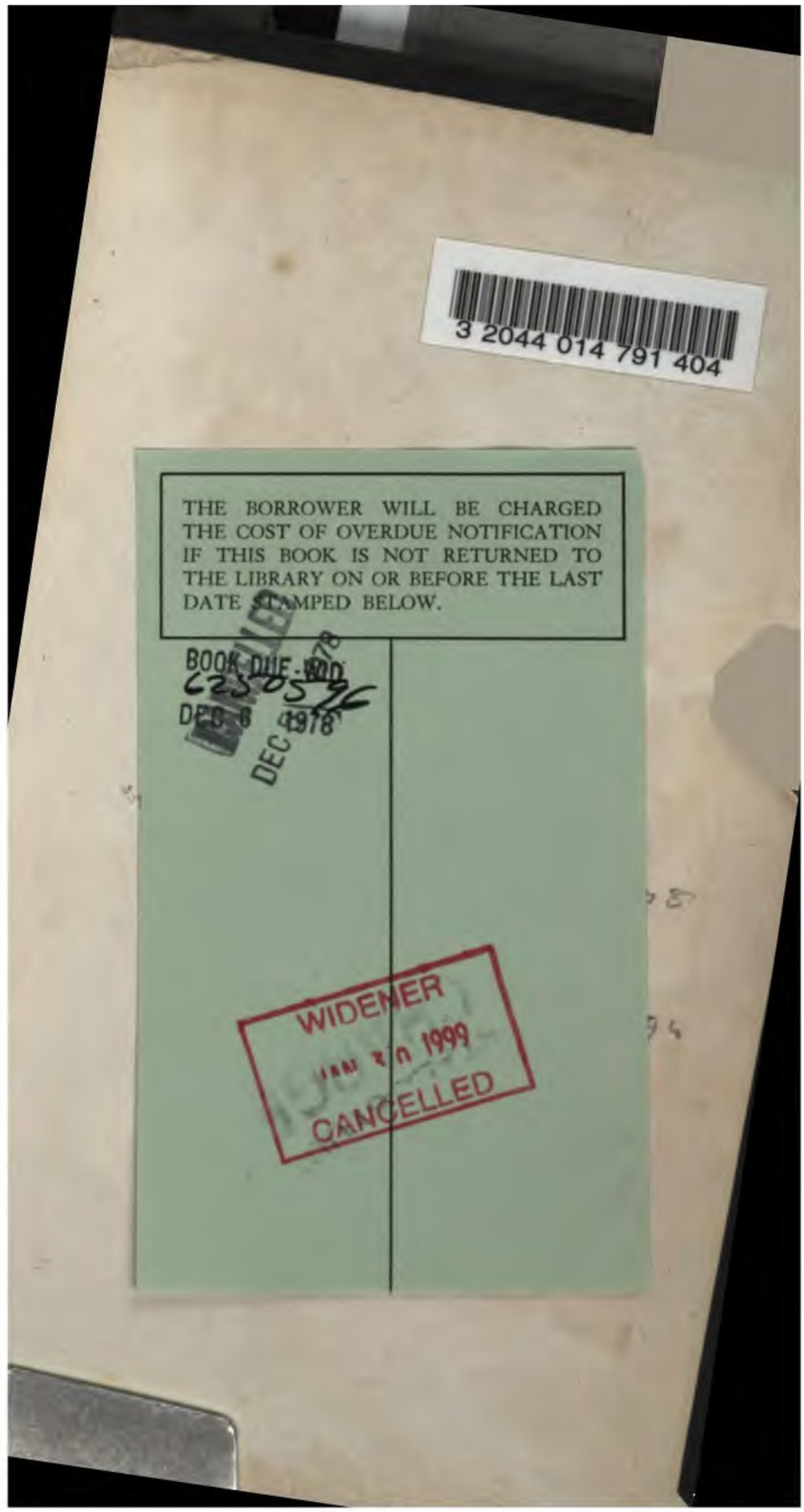
P. 388. At the beginning of note e, insert—So Johannis Marshami Προπυλαῖον, signature a. 1; prefixed to Dugdale's Monasticon, first published in 1655: from whence also comes the incorrect reference to S. Jerom below, in § 9. text to note h.

P. 390, note m. For "has not been traced," read—is to the Προπυλαῖον Johannis Marshami, signature a. 1: who also quotes the passages of Scripture above in the text.

—— note o. Instead of the present note, read—See Marsham as in note m.






3 2044 014 791 404

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

BOOK DUE WID
DEC 6 1978
DEC 6 1978

WIDENER
JAN 20 1999
CANCELLED